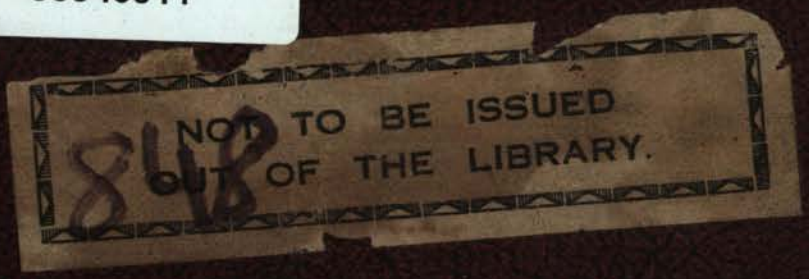

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OF

MAHOMMEDAN HISTORY,

FROM

THE DEATH OF THE ARABIAN LEGISLATOR,

TO THE ACCESSION OF

THE EMPEROR AKBAR,

AND

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE MOGHUL EMPIRE

IN

HINDUSTAUN.

FROM ORIGINAL PERSIAN AUTHORITIES.

BY MAJOR DAVID PRICE,

OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S SERVICE.

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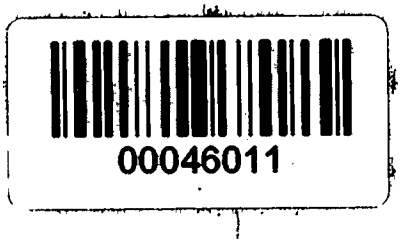

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Page 10, line 4 from the top, dele *upon him*, at the beginning of the line.
16, in the margin, *for* A. H. 137, *read* 145, and *for* A. D. 755, *read* 762.
37, 17 from the top, *for* humcsne, *read* hurricane.
113, 17 from the top, *for* susceeded, *read* succeeded.
179, lower line but one, *for* his, *read* is.
187, 7 from the bottom, *for* seied, *read* seized.
208, 4 from ditto, *for* ordnance, *read* ordinance.
216, in the first marginal reference, *for* A. D. 1553, *read* 1253.
Do. in the lower marginal reference, *for* A. D. 1125, *read* 1255.
224, 3 from the top, dele *in* after expedient.
349, 10 from the top, *for* this, *read* thus.
357, 3 from the top, *for* noble, *read* noblest.
380, 18 from ditto, *for* prōs, at the end of the line, *read* pro.
384, 4 from the bottom, *for* Tûrkan, *read* Tûran Shah.
418, 17 from the top, *for* he, *read* the.
459, 17 from the bottom, *for* possible, *read* possibly.
475, 14 from the bottom, *for* firmanent, *read* firmament.
510, 14 from the bottom, *for* merchanics, *read* mechanics.
522, 10 from the bottom, *for* deemed, *read* doomed.
538, 6 from the bottom, *for* to, *read* of.
558, in the 2nd line of the margin, *for* 67, *read* 61,
566, 18 from the bottom, *for* on, *read* or.
567, 3 from the bottom, dele *under*,
568, 16 from the top, *for* superintend, *read* superintending.
571, 12 from the top, prefix *of*.
651, in the bottom line, *for* flowet, *read* flower.
708, 7 from the top, *for* than, *read* to.

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Origin of the Seljucides, or race of *Seljûk*. They settle in Khorassaun and are successful against Sultan Mussaoud of Gheznein. Sultan *Toghrel Beg*, Ist monarch of this race. Balkh and Khaurezm added to the acquisitions of the family. Toghrel Beg is received at Baghdad. He espouses the daughter of the Khalif Ul Kaeim at an advanced age and dies. Alep Arslan, IId of the race of Seljûk. Nizam-ul-mulk of Tûsse appointed prime minister. The greek emperor Diogenes taken prisoner, and liberally dismissed by Alep Arslan. Who is finally assassinated by the governor of a petty fortress on the banks of the Oxus. His splendid character. Melek Shah, IIId monarch of the race of Seljûk. Employs his kinsman Suliman in the reduction of Syria. Subjugates Transoxiana. Alleged transactions between him and one of the Greek emperors. Magnanimity. Unworthy treatment and death of the distinguished Vezzeir, Nizam-ul-mûlk. He dies at Baghdad soon afterwards. His exalted character. Æra established during his reign. Sultan Burguiaurug, IVth of the race of Seljuk. Contest between him and his half brother Mahmûd. Whose death puts him in ultimate possession of Isfahaun. Consigns the government of Khorassaun to his brother Sunjur. Hostilities with his other brother Mahommed. Accommodation. His death. Sultan Mahommed, Vth of the race of Seljûk. His alleged expedition into India. Death and character. Sultan Sunjur, VIth of the race of Seljuk. Is defeated by the Khaun of Karakhatay. Is successful against Alla-ud-dein the Ghourian. The Ghuzzian Turks driven into revolt against his authority, he becomes their prisoner. After an arduous captivity he ultimately effects his escape, but dies shortly afterwards. Great power of the race of Seljuk, expires with this monarch. The narrative recedes. Sultan Mahmud, of Hamadaun, and Irak Ajem. Sultan Toghrel, of the same. Sultan Mûssâoud, of the same. Parentage of Kuzzul Arslan, and Jahaun Pehlewaun Mahommed. Combination against the government of Sultan Mussaoud. Defeated. His subsequent prosperous reign and death. Melek Shah the IId, of Hamadaun and Irak Ajem. Inglorious reign. And death. Sultan Mahommed, son of Mahmud. Sultan Sûliman Shah. Sultan Arslan. Splendid reign. Sultan Toghrel, last of the race of Seljuk in Irak Ajem. Remarkable conjunction of the planets in his reign. Jealousies between him and Kuzzul Arslan. By whom he is expelled from Hamadaun. Is restored on the death of that chief. Kûtlûgh Eynaunje invites Tukkesh Khaun of Khaurezm to the invasion of Irak; which terminates in the conquest of that country. The death of Sultan Toghrel, and the extinction of this branch of the race of Seljûk Of the Kermaunian branch of the same race. First, Kawerd the son of Tchegher Beg. Second, Sûltan Shah. Third, Tûran Shah. Fourth, Iran Shah. Fifth, Arslan Shah. Sixth, Melek Mahommed. Seventh, Toghrel Shah. Eighth and last, Mahommed Shah. Of the Rûmian or Anatolian branch of the race of Seljuk. First, Suliman the son of Kuttulmesh. Second, Kilidje Arslan. Third, Sultan Mûssâoud. Fourth, Sûltan Mûssâoud the IId. Fifth, Kilidje Arslan the IId. Sixth, Sûliman the IId. Seventh, Key Khossrou. Eighth, Key Kâwus. Ninth, Key Kobaud. Tenth, Key Khossrou the IId. Eleventh, Suliman the IIId. Twelfth, Key Khossrou the IIId. Thirteenth, Mussaoud the IIId. Fourteenth, Key Kobaud the IId, in whom this branch of the family expired under the power of Ghazan Khaun. Error in the preface of the first volume, rectified - - - - - - 314

CHAPTER IX.

Four Hundred and Ninety first to the Seven Hundred and Ninety fifth of the Hidjrah.

Origin of the kings of Khaurezm of this period. Kûtbuddein Mahommed, Ist monarch of this dinasty. Atseiz, IId of the Khaurezm Shâhies. Declares his independence. Is attacked and expelled the province by sultan Sunjur of the race of Seljuk. Recovers the country and concludes a treaty with that monarch. Renewal of hostilities, and final accommodation. He extends his conquests to the Jaxartes. His death and reputed character. Ayeil Arslan, IIId of the Khaurezm Shahies. Sultan Shah, IVth of the Khaurezm Shahies. Tukkesh Khaun, Vth of the same dinasty. Subjugates Persian Irak. But is defeated on the Seyhun. Hostilitids with the Khalif Ul Nausser. Revolt in Persian Irak suppressed. War with the Ismauilians of Alnowut. Death of Tukkesh Khaun. Sultan Mahommed, VIth of the Khaurezm-shahies. He secures Khorassaun against the Ghourians. Hostilities with Gûrkhaun the Karakhatayan. Terminate unsuccessfully for Sultan Mahommed. He reduces Gheznein. Diverted from an expedition towards Baghdâd by impending hostilities with *Jenguciz*. Incidents which gave rise to those hostilities, Indignation of the Moghûl monarch on the murder of his subjects at Otraur. Sultan Mahommed proceeds towards the Seyhun. Attacks the Moghuls under Jûjy Khaun. Is terrified and withdraws towards the Oxus. Is persuaded to retire into Persian Irak. Is pursued into Mazanderaun. Takes refuge on an Island in the Caspian where he dies. Sultan Rokken-ud-dein. Sultan Gheyauth-ud-dein. And Sultan Jullaul ud-dein Mengberny, the last of the Khaurezmshahies. Adventurous career of Jullaul-ud-dein. Intrepid demeanour on his retreat across the Indus. He returns towards Persian Irak. Difficulties in his way. He finally obtains possession of Azerbâijaun. Invades Iberia and captures Teflis. His expeditious march from that place to Kermaun. He is defeated by the Moghuls. Captures Ekhlaut, and punishes the garrison for the offence of their governor. He is defeated by the Seljukian Sultan of Anatolia. And finally by the Moghuls in Azerbâijaun. Uncertain termination of his life. Total extinction of the Khaurezmshahies, with Jullaul-ud-dein. Of the four branches of the Atabeks. Emmaud-ud-dein Zengui, Ist of the Atabeks of Mossule and Syria. Second, Nûr-ud-dein Mahmud. Third, Melek Salah. Seyf ud-dein, IId of Mossule and Diarbekir. Kutb ud-dein, IIId of the same. Seyf-ud-dein the IId, IVth of the same. Ezz-ud-dein Vth of the same. Arslan Shah VIth of the same, and Ezz-ud-dein Mussaoud VIIth and last of the Atabeks of Mossule and Diarbekir. Of the Atabeks of Azerbijaun. First, Eyldekez. Second, Atabek Mahommed. Third, Atabek Kuzzul Arslan. Fourth, Atabek Abû Bukker. Fifth and last, Atabek Ouzbek. Of the Atabeks of Farss. First Atabek Segher. Second Atabek Zengui. Third Atabek Tuklah. Fourth Atabek Saud. Taken prisoner by Mahommed the Khaurezmian. But released on becoming tributary. Fifth Atabek Abu Bukker. Tributary to Hulauku, and the patron of Sheikh Sâdy. Sixth Atabek Mahommed. Seventh Atabek Mahommed Shah. Eighth Atabek Seljuk Shah, last of the male line of the Atabeks of Shirauz and Farss, condemned to die by order of Hulauku. Ninth Atabek Aeysh, the consort of Mangû Teymur, the son of Hulauku Khaun. Of the Hazaûraspides, or Atabeks of Laristaun. First, Abu Tauber. Second, Atabek Hazaurasp. Third, Atabek Tuklah. Fourth, Atabek Alep Arghû. Fifth, Atabek Yûssuf Shah. Sixth, Atabek Afrasiâub. Seventh, Atabek Ahmed. Eighth, Atabek Yûssuf Shah, the IId. Ninth and last of the Hazauraspides, Atabek Afrasiab the IId. Of the Karakhatayans in Kermaun. First Borauk Haujeb. Second Sultan Khaujah Hukk. Third Kutb-ud-dein Mahommed. Fourth the princess Kûtlûgh Turkan. Fifth Sultan Seyûrghetmesh. sixth the princess Padshah Khautun. Seventh Sultan Mahommed Shah. Eighth and last of the Karakhatayans of Kermaun, Sultan Shahjahaun. Origin of the race of Mûzuffur. First, Ameir Mûzuffer the son of Munsûr. Second Ameir Mahommed. Made governor of Yezd by Abu Saeid. Marries the daughter of Sultan Shahjahaun the Kermaunian. Obtains the government of Kermaun, on the reduction of Shirauz. Hostilities with Ameir Abu Ishack Aynju. Finally produce the siege and reduction of Shirauz, on the part of Ameir Mahommed. Who fails however in an attempt to capture Isfahaun. That city is ultimately taken by his nephew.

Shah Sultan. Morose behaviour towards that chief. Ameir Mahommed reduces Tebreiz, but abandons it on the approach of Sultan Aweis the Eylkhaunian. His own sons conspire against and seize his person. He is deprived of sight. Subsequent restoration to authority. Final banishment to Kermaun, and death. Third, Shah Shujia. Fourth, Sultan Zeyne-ul-aubbedein. Fifth and last, of the race of Mûzuffur, Shah Munsûr, is killed in a battle with Teymûr, by whom the power of the family is finally extinguished. Of the Serbedaurians in Subbuzwaur. First, Abdurrezauk. Second, Ameir Mûssaoud. Third, Eytemûr. Fourth, Kellû Asfendiaur. Fifth, Fuzzulullah. Sixth, Shums-ud-dein Ally. Seventh, Khaujah Yaheya. Eighth, Zeheir-ud-dein. Ninth, Heyder Kassaub. Tenth, Ameir Lûtfullah. Eleventh, Hussun Damaghauny. Twelfth and last, Khaujah Ally Mûeyud. Origin of the Sultans of Ghour. First, Sultan Hûsseyne Jahânsouz. Second, Seyf-ud-dein Mahommed. Third, Gheyauth ud-dein Mahommed. Fourth, Shahaub-ud-dein. Fifth and last of the Ghourians, Sultan Mahmûd. Is assassinated by certain Khorassaunies in the train of Ally Shah, the brother of Tukkush Khaun the Khaurezmian. - - - - - - 389

CHAPTER X.

From early periods to the Six Hundred and Fifteenth of the Hidjerah.

Origin of the nations of Tartary. Of Yapheth and his progeny. Of Tûrk. Of Tchein. Descendants of Tatar Khaun, and Moghûl, the sons of Alenjah Khaun. Illustrious character of Oghûz Khaun. Names assigned by him to several of the Tatar or Tartar tribes. His final arrangements. His sons and successors. Destruction of the Moghûl nation in the time of Aeil Khaun, by Tûr the son of Feridoun, and Sounje Khaun, monarch of the Tatars. Escape of Keyan and his three relatives to the valley of Irganah Koun. Origin of the Keyaut and Derelguein Moghuls. Their eruption from Irganah Koun. Recovery of the lands of their ancestors. Supposed position thereof. Their 1st monarch after the eruption, Yeldûz Khaun. Alan Koua his granddaughter. Her mysterious history. And origin of the Neyrûn Moghuls. Her son Bûzunjur Kaan, cotemporary with Abû Mosslem. His successors. First, Bouka or Bouga Khaun. Second, Doutoumnein Khaun. Third, Kaydu Khaun. Fourth, Baysungur Khaun. Fifth, Toumnah Khaun. Prophetic dream of his son Katchouly Bahauder. Deed of settlement in consequence. Sixth, Kabal Khaun. Seventh, Kaueilah Khaun. Eighth Burtan Bahauder who succeeds to his brother. Ninth Beysouka Bahauder. Birth of *Jengueiz*. Death of his father, Beysouka. Temûtchein the early name of Jengueiz. His age at the death of his father. He is abandoned by his principal officers. Takes refuge with Oung Khaun, monarch of the Keraeit, at Karakorum. His services and rapid advancement excite the jealousy of the courtiers. Combination to destroy him. He escapes to the lake Baljoutah. His succeeding triumphs over all his adversaries. He assumes the name of Jengueiz Kàan, *king of kings*, on the suggestion of an enthusiast. Some account of the impostor. Succeeding operations of Jengueiz. Expedition against Khatâi, or northern China. Short account of the Kârakhatayans. Who obtain possession of Turkestaun to the Oxus. Their monarch Gûrkhaun betrayed by Koushluk the Nayman, his son in law. Alliance of the latter with Mahommed the Khaurezmian. Unsuccessful. The Nayman finally seizes the capital of Balasaughûn. And deposes the Kârakhatayan monarch. Kûshluk extends his conquests to Kashghar and Khoten. He is at last expelled his usurped dominions by the troops of Jengueiz, under Hubbah Nûyan, and cut off by his pursuers, in Badakhshaun. Jengueiz determines on war with Mahommed the Khaurezmian. State of Asia at this period - 457

CHAPTER XI.

Six Hundred and Fifteenth to the Seven Hundred and Seventh of the Hidjerah.

Jengueiz proceeds on his expedition. Crosses the Seyhûn. Takes possession of Bokhâra. His unpolished demeanor on entering that city. Which he ultimately destroys. Siege and destruction of Otraur by his sons. Submission of Jûnd. Reduction of Tonkaut

and Khojend. Gallant retreat of Teymûr Mêlek governor of the latter place. Sequel of his history. Jengueiz appears before Samarkand. Reduction of that metropolis. Expedition of Hubbah and Soweydai through the provinces of the Persian empire in pursuit of Sultan Mahommed the Khaurezmian. Slaughter at Rey. At Kazvein. In different parts of Azerbâijaun and Iberia. Their return round the North of the Caspian into their own country. Siege and reduction of the capital of Khaurezm. Fearful slaughter of the inhabitants. Capture and destruction of Termedi. Jengueiz crosses the Jeyhûn. Destroys Balkh. Besieges and captures Taulikan and Bamian. Defeats Jullaul-ud-dein on the Indus. Proceedings of Tûly Khaun during his expedition into Khorassaun. Siege, capture, and horrible massacre at Meru. Entire destruction of that noble city. Siege and destruction of Neyshapûr. Siege and composition of Herât. Absurd proceedings of the inhabitants, produce a renewal of the siege. Ultimate destruction of the place, and the horrors with which that event was attended. Proceedings of Jengueiz, who recrosses the Jeyhûn, and Sevhûn. And ultimately returns to his capital of Karakorum. War with Sheiderku or Sheidezku, monarch of Tanjout. Dreadful battle and victorious progress of Jengueiz. Declining health warns him of his approaching dissolution. He arranges the succession to his vast dominions. Further arrangements and death of that great conqueror. His wives and children. Perfidious massacre of Sheiderkou and his followers, in consequence of his dying instructions. Ougtâi Kâan, Ist of the successors of Jengueiz. Transactions of his reign. Death of Tûly Khaun. Restoration of Herat under the instructions of Ougtai. Other instances of his benevolent character. His death. Vast extent of his dominions. Guyûg Khaun, IId of the successors of Jengueiz. Predominance of the Christians at his court. Question whether the Prester John of the Nestorians is not to be sought for in this prince. He dies in the neighborhood of Samarkand. Mangû Kâan, IIId of the successors of Jengueiz, elected through the influence of Bautû, Khaun of Keptchauk. He sends Hûlaukû towards the Oxus. His expedition against the empire of China. In the course of which he dies. Kûblai Kâan, IVth of the successors of Jengueiz. Builds the city of Khaumbâlegh Cambalu, or Pekin. Teymûr Kâan, Vth of the successors of Jengueiz. His intemperate life, and death. Cursory enumeration of these princes to Adâi the XIXth and last. 500

CHAPTER XII.

Six Hundred and Fifty sixth to the Seven Hundred and Third of the Hidjerah.

The history again recedes. Hûlaukû Khaun, first of the Persian monarchs of the race of Jengueiz. His expedition into Syria. Proceedings in that province, and return into Azerbaijaun. The Sultan of Egypt destroys his garrison at Damascus. Siege and reduction of Miafaurekein, and of Mardein. Of Mossule. Horrible punishment of Melek Sâlah the prince of Diarbekir. Animosity between Hulauku, and his kinsman the Khaun of Keptchauk. Hostilities between them in Georgia. Part of the army of Hulauku defeated by his adversary. His death. Sketch of his character. Alleged encouragement of science. Observatory at Meraughah constructed by his orders. Abaka Khaun, IId of the Perso-Jenguizians. Hostilities continued between him and the Khaun of Keptchauk. He defeats the Tcheghatayans in Khorassaun. His troops defeated in Syria by the Sultan of Egypt. His death. Notice of authors who flourished during his reign. Nekûdaur, entitled Sultan Ahmed, IIId of the Perso-Jenguizians. Embraces Mahommedism. Is opposed by Shazadah Arghûn, whom he defeats and takes prisoner. Arghun is enlarged from imprisonment by a conspiracy. Sultan Ahmed abandoned by his followers. Betrayed into the hands of his competitor, and finally put to death. Arghûn Khaun, IVth of the Perso Jenguizians. Transactions of his reign. Saud-ud-doulah, a jew, appointed prime minister. His successful administration. Becomes intoxicated with his good fortune. Put to death by a conspiracy of the Ameirs, during the illness of Arghun Khaun. Death of that monarch. Keykhautû, or Gunjautu Khaun, Vth of the Perso-Jenguizians. Suppresses all opposition to his authority. His inconsistent character. Expedient of bank notes to supply his exhausted treasury. Produces an insurrection at Tebreiz. The expedient is abandoned. His adulterous excesses occasion a conspiracy against his government. He is seized in his camp and

put to death by the conspirators. Bâidû Khaun, VIth of the Perso-Jenguizians. His short reign and death. Sultan Mahommed Ghazan VIIth of the Perso jenguizians. His early history. Contests. And final reconciliation with Ameir Norouz. He engages to become a convert to Mahommedism. Marches into Azerbaijaun to assert his claim to the supreme power. Accommodation with Baidû Khaun, which terminates unpropitiously. He publicly embraces Mahommedism. Marches afresh towards Azerbaijaun. Capture and death of Baidu Khaun, and final accession of Ghâzan Khaun. Minor arrangements. Invasion of Khorassaun by the Tcheghatayans, repelled by Norouz. Conspiracy against that chieftain, and against his master defeated. Unjust charge of treason preferred against Norouz. In consequence of which he flies to Herat. Where he is ultimately betrayed to his enemies, and put to death. Depredations of the Nikodrians. And expedition to chastize them. The historian Fazzel-ullah appointed one of the joint-vezzeirs. Great drought, famine and pestilence. Invasion of Syria by Ghazan Khaun. Who defeats the Sultan of Egypt near Emesa. He returns into Diarbekir. Failure of his troops in an attempt to reduce the castle of Damascus. Second expedition into Syria. Terminates without any thing remarkable. Khauniam æra established. Third expedition into Syria. Ghâzan Khaun resigns the prosecution of it to his generals. They are defeated with great slaughter, by the Sultan of Egypt. Ghazan Khaun returns to Tebreiz. Futile attempt to disturb his government. His death, and character 563

CHAPTER XIII.

Seven Hundred and Third to the Eight Hundred and Twelfth of the Hidjerah.

Accession of Ouljâitû, entitled Sultan Mahommed Khodabundah, VIIIth of the Perso-jenguizians. He erects the castle, and founds the city of Sultauniah. Birth of Abû Sâeid. Expedition to reduce Guilau. Partial discomfiture and ultimate success. Attention of Ouljaitu to the improvement of his dominions. Expedition against Syria. Capture of Rahebah on the Euphrates. Abû Sâeid invested with the government of Khorassaun. Death and respectable character of Ouljaitu. Sultan Abu Saeid, IXth of the Perso-jenguizians. Dissension between his ministers. Which terminates in the disgrace and execution of the learned Fazzel-ullah. Usurpation in Khorassaun, on the part of Shâhrzadah Beyssour, the Tcheghatayan. Ultimately suppressed by Ameir Hûsseyne, the predecessor of the Eylkhaunians. Irruption of the Ouzbeks, or Tartars of Keptchauk into Georgia chastized by Ameir Tchobaun. That chief excites the odium of some of the principal commanders employed in that province. Combination to destroy him defeated. Abu Saeid by his distinguished valour acquires the title of *Bahauder*. The sister of that monarch is married to Ameir Tchobaun. Vexatious claims set on foot by the rapacity of that chief, finally abandoned. Death and respectable character of Ally Shah, the vezzeir. The sultan becomes enamoured of Baghdad Khautûn the wife of Sheikh Hussun the Eylkhaunian. His passion discountenanced by Ameir Tchobaun, her father. His consequent disgrace with the sultan. Defeat of the troops of Termasherin Khaun, in the province of Gheznein. Immoderate ambition of Damashk Khaujah. Punished. Abu Saeid determines on the destruction of Tchobaun and of the whole family. Tchobaun on his part prepares for hostilities. He is abandoned by the greater part of his army. Ultimately betrayed and put to death at Herât. Sketch of his character. And brief account of his children. The sultan espouses Baghdad Khautûn. Her former husband made governor of Rûm. Death of Abu Saeid. By some ascribed to poison. Notice of cotemporary characters. Birth of *Teymûr*. Arpa Khaun, Xth of the Perso jenguizians. His short and turbulent reign, and death. Mûssa Khaun, XIth of the Perso-jenguizians. Proceedings to subvert his authority. He ultimately absconds. Mahommed Khaun, XIIth of the Perso-jenguizians. Extensive power of Sheikh Hussun the Eylkhaunian Opposed by Sheikh Hussun the Tchobaunian, by whom he is defeated. Mahommed Khaun is put to death. The princess Sauky Beg, XIIIth of the Perso-jenguizians. Proceedings between the two rival chiefs. Of whom the Eylkhaunian is expelled from Azerbaijaun by the address of his opponent. Jahaun Teymur, XIVth and Suliman Khaun XVth of the Perso-jenguizians. Sheikh Hussun the

Eylkhaunian, is repeatedly defeated in his attempts to regain a footing in the Persian provinces. Death of Togha Teymur Khaun. Troops of Hussun Tchobauny defeated in Arabian Irák. That chief is finally assassinated by his wife. Accession to power of his brother Melek Ashruf. Previous proceedings of that chief. Who with his uncle joins the party of the younger son of Ameir Tchobaun. Noushirvaun XVIth and *last* of the Perso-jenguizian race. Predominant power, and tyranny of Melek Ashruf. His dominions are invaded, and he is finally put to death by the Khaun of Keptchauk. Sultan Aweiss, IId of the Eylkhaunians. In adddition to western Irak obtains possession of Azerbaijaun. His successful reign. And death. Sultan Husseyne, IIId of the Eylkhaunians. Hostilities with the Turkmauns. Advancement of Aadel Aga. Who eludes the designs of his enemies. Baghdad is seized by a brother of the Sultan. Recovery and subsequent loss of that city through the effeminacy of the Sultan. He is put to death by his brother Ahmed. Sultan Ahmed Jullâeir, and Sultan Bayezzid, last of the Eylkhaunians. Early contests between these princes, and with Shahzadah Sheikh Ally of Baghdad. Who is killed in action by Kara Mahommed the Turkman. Accommodation with Sultan Bayezzid, and Aadel Aga. Usurpation at Baghdad, punished by Sultan Ahmed. Renewal of hostilities with Aadel, who is defeated, and claims the support of Shah Shujia of Shirauz. The latter betrays him, but is defeated in his own design against Sultauniah. Which falls into the hands of Sultan Ahmed. The Envoys of *Teymûr* appear at Tebreiz. Are conducted to Baghdad. Final expulsion from his dominions of Sultan Ahmed, by the armies of Teymûr. His ultimate return, defeat, and death, in a contest with Kara Yûssuf the Tûrkman. Conclusion of the VOLUME . . . 634

CHRONOLOGICAL RETROSPECT

OF THE

PRINCIPAL EVENTS

OF

Mahommedan History,

&c.

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CHAP. I.

IT may perhaps be made a question, whether it is not a circumstance favorable to the peace, though not to the civil liberties of mankind, that in most instances, the foundation of a new dinasty should be ordained by providence to be laid in blood: since to this it may be owing that, in general, the best and wisest men shall be reconciled to labour on under the more endurable evils and inconveniences of despotism and arbitrary power, rather than encounter the horrors and atrocities of revolutionary madness. But whatever lessons we may derive from such an example, the elevation of the house of Abbas would appear to have been attended with circumstances of sanguinary ferocity, and deliberate cruelty, that have been seldom surpassed in the records of history; and as it commenced in blood, so it will be found, in the sequel, to have terminated its career in the most dreadful scenes of havoc and massacre. A. H. 132. A. D. 750.

Ally, or as he is very frequently denominated, Abdullah, and surnamed Abûl Abbas Seffauh, *Abûl Abbas the sanguinary*, was the son of Mahommed, the son of Ally, the son of Abdullah, the son of Abbas, the brother of Abûtauleb, and son of Abdulmûtleb. The

A. H. 132. A. D. 750. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

events which in our former volume we attempted, however inadequately, to trace, having seated this prince with sufficient stability at the head of the Mahommedan empire, he laboured of course with suitable diligence to secure the submission, and provide for the tranquillity of the several cities and departments of his extensive dominions. To his uncle Abdullah the conqueror of Merwaun, he assigned the government of both the provinces of Syria and Egypt; and to another uncle, Dâoud the son of Ally, that of Hejauz and the sacred cities of Mekkah and Medeinah. The troops destined for the siege of Waussit, where Yezzid the son of Amrû Hobairah had been long preparing for a formidable defence, were entrusted to the management of Abû Jauffer, betwixt whom and his elder brother, there appears to have ever subsisted a confidence and cordiality, in similar circumstances, not often paralleled. Abû Jauffer was accompanied on this service by Hussun Kohtbah, in conjunction with whom he proceeded in due time to the reduction of Waussit; which had been for some years considered the capital of Irâk, and contained within its walls perhaps the last hopes of the house of Ommeyah. When he had, however, by a gallant resistance, for eleven months protracted the fate of the place, the grandson of Hobairah received intelligence of the death of Merwaun, and determined to capitulate with his besiegers. On a solemn promise from Abû Jauffer, of indemnity for himself and his garrison, he accordingly put that prince in possession of the city, and was with other chieftains of his party, enrolled among the troops of the house of Abbas: but being soon afterwards detected by Abû Jauffer in a clandestine attempt to excite revolt against the reigning government, it was not difficult to obtain from Abûl Abbas, an order to authorize his destruction; and he was accordingly put to death with the greater part of his principal associates to the number of forty persons; of whom Abdurraihman the son of Beshir, and Mûeyen the son of Zaydah, were indeed the only individuals suffered to escape.

ABUL ABBAS SEFFAUH, Ist Khalif of the house of Abbas.

Abûl Abbas had in the mean time, at an early period of his government, signalized his unsparing vengeance against the vanquished race of Ommeyah. At Damascus in particular, his uncle Abdullah proceeded by his instructions, to cut off every distinguished member

of that now unhappy family, that he could lay his hands on; and it is stated that, on one occasion, the mutilated carcases of seventy of these chiefs who had been beaten to death with clubs, were laid one upon another, covered over with a slight carpeting, and thus constructed into a kind of platform, on which, with a barbarity truly savage, the governor of Damascus seated himself to partake of a sumptuous repast, and to celebrate the triumph of his party. When there were no further living victims to satiate the spirit of revenge, he proceeded to violate the repositories of the dead. The sepulchres of all the princes of the house of Ommeyah, that of Omar the son of Abdulazziz alone excepted, were immediately broke open, and their contents burnt to ashes and scattered to the winds. The body of Hashaum the son of Abdulmêlek, which had not yet suffered dissolution, was treated with particular and unavailing indignity; after which it was burnt like those of the rest, and the ashes consigned to the winds of heaven. The same vindictive scenes were also exhibited at Mossûl, where an indiscriminate slaughter of the friends and adherents of Merwaun was carrying on under the directions of Yaheya the son of Ally; another of the relatives of Abûl Abbas, who may therefore be considered to have established ample claim to the appellation of sanguinary.

A. H. 132. A. D. 750. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Neither was this prince disposed to forget the designs originally entertained in favor of the descendants of Fautima, by Abû Selmah Jellauly, and the consequent delay to his own elevation, which those designs were supposed to have produced. This personage he therefore also determined to destroy on the first fair occasion. But as it was a measure which might be attended with some inconvenience, unless it were sanctioned by the previous concurrence of Abû Mosslem, the Khâlif resolved on dispatching his brother Abû Jauffer into Khorassaun; at the same time to receive that powerful chieftain's pledge of allegiance, and to sound his inclinations on the subject. On his arrival at Merû, Abû Jauffer experienced from Abû Mosslem the reception which was due to the representative of his sovereign; and obtained from him without difficulty, the paishkesh, or customary presents, in testimony of allegiance. After the interval of a few days, Abû Jauffer explained, at a private interview with Abû Mosslem,

A. H. 133. A. D. 751. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

the further objects of his mission, and obtained from him the declaration, that both he and Abû Selmah being each of them the slaves of Abûl Abbas, there could be no question, that for any transgression of duty, either would be equally liable to the punishment of death. Having thus successfully accomplished every necessary object of his visit, Abû Jauffer returned to Kûfah. When, according to the oriental phrase, his arrival and the execution of Abû Selmah, were the business of the same instant of time. Others, however, state that Abûl Abbas put a period to this obnoxious person's existence, previous to the arrival of his brother.

It is perhaps of little importance to be told, that in the regular order of events, the journey of Abû Jauffer into Khorassaun should properly have preceded the siege and reduction of Waussit. But it is something material to observe, that while Abû Jauffer resided at Merû on this occasion, Abû Mosslem on some slight pretext or other, caused Sûliman Kesheir, one of his oldest and most faithful associates, to be put to death in the very presence of his princely visitor; who did not fail to derive from the circumstance an impression of resentment and displeasure, which was never obliterated. And it is further said,* that when on his return to Kûfah, his brother demanded, what he had remarked in Abû Mosslem, he replied that he had found in him the haughtiest of tyrants; and that he had reason to suspect that, while Abû Mosslem lived, he must submit to lead but a contemptible and abject sort of existence. He cautioned him at the same time to lodge these hints in his own bosom, until he should have an opportunity of judging, from personal observation, of the character of that able and warlike chieftain.

A. H. 134. A. D. 751.

On the death of Dàoud the son of Ally, in the course of the year one hundred and thirty-three, the government of Hejauz was conferred by Abûl Abbas on his maternal uncle Zeiaud, the son of Obaidullah; and in the course of the year following, he removed his court from Kûfah to Ambaur on the Euphrates, the ancient store house of the kings of Persia; and there laid the foundation of Medeinah Hashmiah, the city of the Hashemites.

* Tarikh Tebry.

In the year one hundred and thirty-five, a revolt against the authority of Abû Mosslem took place in the provinces beyond the Oxus, under Zeiaud the son of Salah; but Abû Mosslem in person conducting an army against the insurgents, their general disappeared, and taking refuge in the cottage of one of the native peasantry, the latter to ensure himself against the resentment of the victorious party put his guest to death, and conveyed his head to the conqueror. Soon after he had re-established his authority on this occasion, Abû Mosslem, during the year one hundred and thirty-six, proceeded towards Arabia, on the design of a pilgrimage to Mekkah. Repairing first to the court of Abûl Abbas, he there experienced the most favorable and distinguished reception, although Abû Jauffer exerted all the influence in his power to persuade his brother to put him to death. But refusing to confer upon Abû Mosslem the appointment of general of the pilgrims, on the plea of a previous application from Abû Jauffer, the Khalif incurred, notwithstanding, the resentment of Abû Mosslem to a very violent degree; the latter complaining to his friends, that Abûl Abbas and his brother, generally residing on the spot, or near it, were never without a convenient opportunity of performing their devotions in the sanctuary of the Kaaubah; and that it would have become them, for this year at least, to assign to him the charge for which he had solicited. This produced, however, no alteration in the arrangement; and both Abû Jauffer and Abû Mosslem departed for Mekkah with impressions mutually unfavorable towards one another. But as Abû Mosslem had provided two hundred camels for the conveyance of his kitchen equipage alone, and he took care to precede his rival a days journey during the whole of the march, most of the convoy of pilgrims availed themselves twice a day of a plentiful repast, to which they were publicly invited by the officers of that general. By a similar course of ostentatious liberality at the close of the visitation, in clothing great numbers of the pilgrims from distant quarters, and the whole of those employed in the ministry of the sacred places, and by other proofs of munificence beyond all ordinary precedent, Abû Mosslem acquired on this occasion the title of Ameir in fact, while they bestowed on Abû Jauffer that only of Ameir in name.

A. H. 136.
A. D. 753.
Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

A. H. 136. A. D. 754. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

However, while his brother was engaged in the pilgrimage to Mekkah on this occasion, the Khalif Abûl Abbas sickened and died. His death appears to have been hastened by the following very trifling circumstance, which otherwise than as a record of God's displeasure against the indulgence of personal vanity, would be scarcely worth the relation. He was, it seems, reckoned the handsomest man of the age in which he lived: and one day contemplating the graces of his person as he stood before a mirror in one of his apartments, he could not forbear exclaiming, that he was indeed, as Sûliman the son of Abdulmêlek had once pronounced him, the very prince or paragon of youth and beauty; and as he concluded with a fervent ejaculation, that heaven might give him health and length of days in the enjoyment of all his singular advantages, he had scarcely closed the sentence, when he overheard one of his domestics observe to another, "there remains betwixt thee and me only the period of two "months and five days." These words were immediately applied by the Khalif to his own destiny, and he expressed his humble resignation to God's providence. In a few days afterwards he sickened of a fever, which breaking out in a pestilential or putrid eruption over his whole body, caried him off, at the age of forty-two, on the thirteenth of the month of Zilhudje;* precisely sixty-five days from the period at which he had noted the observation of the slave.

Calculating from the period of his nomination and election by the inhabitants of Kûfah, this prince may be stated to have filled the throne of the Khalifs for four years, seven months, and eleven or twelve days: but from the death of Merwaun his reign would appear to occupy an exact period of four years. His character, if we are to credit the representation of some historians,† was that of a liberal, benevolent, and able prince, although the dreadful effusion of blood, which preceded his accession to the sovereign dignity, hath acquired for him the odious appellation of Seffauh. In the early part of his reign the functions of the vizzaurut, or ministry of state, were discharged by Abû Selmah Jellaul; but when this person was put to death, the office was consigned to Yaheya the son of Khaled, of the

* 8th of June, 754.

† Tarikh gûzeidah, and Binnauguty, or Finaukety.

race of Barmek; and it is therefore from this period that we are properly to date the influence of that celebrated family. As one method to establish the sanctity of his authority, Abûl Abbas procured the mantle of the prophet for the sum of four hundred dinaurs;* and this precious relique became, as might have been expected, in after times, one of the most venerated articles in the regalia of the Khalifs. A. H. 136. A. D. 754. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Ul Munsur Billah, *(Dei gratiâ victor)* Abû Jauffer the son of Mahommed, second Khalif of the house of Abbas, received on his return from Mekkah, at the station of Zaût ul Urrek,† the intelligence of his brother's death, and immediately suspending his march until he had been joined at that station by Abû Mosslem, he communicated to that chief the information which had reached him. By a stretch of confidence which, adverting to recent circumstances, may appear perhaps extraordinary, he urged the expediency of his proceeding without delay to Kûfah, there to exert his influence in preserving the tranquillity and securing the attachment of that part of the empire; and with a dispatch, which on his side at least bespoke sincerity, Abû Mosslem at the head of ten thousand horse, hastened accordingly to Kûfah; where Eissa the son of Mûssa, a collateral descendant of the race of Abbas, and the cousin german of Ul Munsûr was, at the same time, industriously employed in calling upon the people to support his own pretensions to the Khelaufut. The arrival of Abû Mosslem however suddenly disconcerted all his ambitious designs, the inhabitants of Kûfah immediately testifying their attachment to the party of that popular chieftain; and Ul Munsûr repairing shortly afterwards to the spot, Eissa quietly submitted; and atoning, by all the apologies which he could offer, for his recent hostile attempt, he experienced from that monarch a degree of clemency in the remission of his offences, for which, from the contemplation of former precedents, he had perhaps but little reason to hope. Ul Munsûr, Ild Khalif.

Ul Munsûr appears to have considered his authority now established upon pretty secure foundations; when occurrences in Syria arose, which threatened to produce an agitation yet sufficient to cast him from his throne. His uncle Abdullah the governor of Damas-

* 229*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* † Or *Zautul Erek*, not far from Mekkah.

A. H. 136. A. D. 754. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

cus, was no sooner apprized of the death of Abûl Abbas, than he proceeded to assemble the inhabitants of that city and territory; and to them declared, that at the period when Abûl Abbas proposed to send an army in pursuit of Merwaun, he publicly announced that whoever of the descendants of Abbas would undertake to conduct the enterprize, to the final destruction of the fugitive monarch, should be considered after himself, the next in succession to the empire; that he was the person by whom such enterprize was undertaken and achieved to its consummation, was a circumstance too fresh in their recollection to require on his part any further argument to demonstrate; but at all events, when coupled with the previous formal declaration of the deceased prince, that it was sufficient to authorize the assertion which he now made, and was determined to maintain, that the Khelaufut was in justice devolved to himself. The Syrian nobles, and such of the troops of Khorassaun as were present at Damascus at this period, did not hesitate on hearing such a declaration to pledge their allegiance to Abdullah; who was enabled soon afterwards, at the head of a powerful army, to proceed to Harran in upper Mesopotamia, the governor of which, he prevailed upon to enter into a treaty. At that place, however, he put no less than seventeen thousand of the natives of Khorassaun to death, from an apprehension, that, on the first opportunity they would not fail to go over to Abû Mosslem. From Hâran he hastened shortly afterwards to Nissebein; in the neighbourhood of which, in a camp which he immediately surrounded with intrenchments, he determined to abide the decision of his claims with the troops of Ul Munsûr, by this time in motion from all quarters to oppose him.

In effect, Abû Mosslem, though already doomed to perish the moment his services were no longer considered necessary, had been dispatched by Ul Munsûr, at the head of a numerous force, to give battle to his uncle. Appearing accordingly in due time before the intrenchments of Abdullah, and after experiencing a resistance of five months, the fortune of that invincible general was once more triumphant. Towards the end of the last month of Jummaudy of the year one hundred and thirty-seven,* he succeeded in forcing these

* December, A. D. 754.

intrenchments; although Abdullah contrived to make his escape to Bassorah, at this period under the government of his brother Sûliman. Here he continued for some time in concealment; but the rays of Ul Munsûr's intelligence penetrating to his retreat, he was ultimately sent for by that prince, and confined to a building, the foundations of which had been laid in salt. At the expiration of a few days the Khalif caused the site of the building to be inundated in the course of the night, and the foundations giving way on the dissolution of the salt, the walls suddenly fell in, and the unfortunate Abdullah was thus buried in the ruins. A. H. 137. A. D. 754. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

As soon as he was apprized of Abû Mosslem's victory, an agent had been employed by Ul Munsûr to take charge of the booty which had been thus acquired by the success of his general; a circumstance which, though conformable to the usage of the most flourishing periods of the Khelaufut, gave to that general the highest offence; and he did not scruple to declare very publicly, and with the strongest expressions of indignation, that after having had the blood of so many thousands so long at his disposal, he was at a loss to conceive what could have happened to render his integrity suspected, where their mere property was concerned. This, in addition to former arguments of displeasure, contributed to hasten the crisis of those jealousies which had for some time subsisted between this haughty and powerful chieftain, and his sovereign; who is also affirmed to have been long on the watch for an opportunity to destroy the acknowledged instrument of his elevation. However that may be, the irritations which continually arose, on the subject of the booty at Nissebein, at length determined Abû Mosslem, with intentions which could not well be misunderstood, and without the Khalif's permission, to withdraw into Khorassaun. The departure of his general seems to have awakened at the same time, in Ul Munsûr some very alarming apprehensions: and he immediately sent letters to him, to announce that he had conferred upon him the government of Syria and Egypt, and to urge him to proceed without delay, to take possession of those important provinces. To such letters, however, he paid but little attention, continuing his journey without halting until he came to the city of Râi: where he was overtaken by Abû Hameid Merûrou-

A. H. 137. A. D. 755. dy, dispatched afresh by Ul Munsûr, by every possible intreaty to urge him to return.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur. These would however probably have produced but little impression upon him, were it not for some other important considerations obtruded upon him at the same time. For at such a crisis, gained over by the promises or threats of Ul Munsûr, Abû Dâoud, whom he had so recently left in charge of Khorassaun, also wrote to him to suggest the expediency of submitting to the Khalif's authority, in terms which clearly indicated, that, if he persisted in his present design, he should oppose his entrance into that province with all his force: so that embarrassed on every side, Abû Mosslem was at last constrained to reconcile himself to the alternative of repairing to the presence of Ul Munsûr, rather than confide to the dubious purposes of an ungrateful dependant. But before he took his final resolution on this subject, Abû Isshack the Merûzite, one of his friends, was dispatched to the court of Ul Munsûr, to discover as far as possible, how that prince was disposed to treat him. The messenger returned in a short time, and assured him that he could not perceive in the Khalif's demeanor, any circumstance that did not bespeak the kindest and most favorable disposition towards him. On which, in spite of the pressing and urgent solicitations of many of his more discerning friends to the contrary, he took his final departure for Rûmiah of Medâyein, at this period the residence of Ul Munsûr.

On his arrival in the neighbourhood of Rûmiah, a numerous assemblage, consisting of every distinguished individual of the race of Hashem, that could be collected on the spot, hastened by the directions of Ul Munsûr to do honor to Abû Mosslem; and by these he was conducted with extraordinary pomp and ceremony to the presence of that monarch, by whom he was embraced with every appearance of cordiality, and with every expression of favor and benignity. Four days, however, subsequent to this apparently cordial reception, when Abû Mosslem repaired on his customary visit to the palace, the Khalif, rather unexpectedly, began to recount the instances of offence, which on different occasions he had experienced from the man, who had vindicated,* with such signal success, the

* Sâheb-ul Dâwat, the title usually bestowed upon him.

precarious claims of the house of Abbas. Every apology, every argument, which Abû Mosslem made use of, either to justify or excuse himself, seemed to aggravate rather than assuage the resentment of Ul Munsûr; until at last, as if his indignation had carried him beyond all bounds, the Khalif struck his hands together, when at this preconcerted signal, Othman the son of Neheik and three other captains, who had lain concealed for the purpose, suddenly rushed upon Abû Mosslem, and as he was totally unprepared for defence, very soon dispatched him with their scimitars. The body was then wrapped up in a coarse mantle, and left in the corner of the apartment, where it was exhibited by Ul Munsûr to his courtiers, as they alternately entered; and the gre part of whom, either from apprehensions of his power, or from . e austerity of his temper, and the imperiousness of his manners, had long since conceived so great a dislike for the fallen chief, that they appeared rather disposed to rejoice at, than lament his premature destruction.

A. H. 137. A. D. 755. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

This, on Wednesday the twenty-fifth of the month of Shsbaun, in the year one hundred and thirty seven,* was the fate of Abû Mosslem, at the early age of thirty-seven, and when he had held the government of Khorassaun for a period of eight years and some months; neither the magnitude of his past services, nor the contemplation of future advantages to be derived from his acknowledged talents and valour, being sufficient to screen him from the jealous fears, and ultimate vengeance of a despotic sovereign. But it seems to be without question, that his power was already far too extensive for any subject, and that he had designs in meditation subversive to that authority, which he had so long and successfully laboured to establish. This last consideration alone, will form with many a sufficient apology for that act of severe and anticipated vengeance under which he fell. In other respects, if, as is generally supposed, blood must have blood, the life of Abû Mosslem could not have been expected to have terminated otherwise than in a violent death. Exclusive of those who perished in the field of battle, the number of whom, according to our author, can alone be estimated by him who knows all secrets, and who is the infallible judge of truth, not less than six hundred thousand persons are positively stated to have been put to death by this cele-

* February 12th, A. D. 755.

A. H. 137. A. D. 755. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

brated warrior. His eventful story has been wrought into a very interesting romance entitled the Abû Mosslem Namah,* well known in the east, and in which, in the tissue of extravagant adventure, with which it is frequently overcharged, many surprising truths have doubtless been interwoven.

There resided at this period in the province of Khorassaun, a person of the Magian superstition, whose name was Senbâd, originally of Neyshapûr; and who, notwithstanding his zeal and attachment for the worship of fire, had been long enrolled among the followers of Abû Mosslem, of whose favor he appears to have enjoyed so great a share as to have rendered himself of considerable importance among the natives of that province. On intelligence of the death of his patron, this person availed himself of the circumstance, to promote his own ambitious designs; and having seduced a great multitude not only of his own, but of the Mahommedan religion, to join his standard, he proceeded at their head to give battle to Abû Obaidah; an officer who then commanded at Râi on the part of Ul Munsûr, and whom he defeated, making captives of vast numbers of Mussulman families that fell into his hands in consequence of his victory. This successful outset gave encouragement to the idle and disaffected to join him from all quarters, and his force was soon augmented to one hundred thousand men. Ul Munsûr did not however delay to employ a powerful division of his troops to suppress the dangerous insurrection; neither did the insurgent on his part seem disposed to decline the contest. He hastened from Râi to meet the troops of the Khelaufut, and in some part of the intervening desert came to an action with them, in which he was, in his turn, totally defeated. He nevertheless escaped from the field of battle into Tebristaun, where he sought the protection of the Sepahbed, or prince of that inaccessible territory. Here his short lived career was destined to terminate. The laws of hospitality were withheld from the rebel who had contended unsuccessfully against established power; he was put to

* A very fine copy of the work here alluded to, was transferred by the writer of these pages, at Surat, about the year 1794, to Mr. Peter Bruix, the then French resident; and is probably now in the National library at Paris.

death by the Sepahbed, with all the associates of his flight, and their heads were transmitted to Ul Munsûr. A. H. 138. A. D. 755.

An incalculable booty, consisting of a great part of the treasures of Abû Mosslem, and of others who had been the partners of his victories, having, however, on the defeat of the magian, fallen into the hands of Jumhour, the successful general of Ul Munsûr's troops, that monarch, impelled either by his necessities, or avarice, once more put the tranquillity of his government to hazard, by demanding that the captured property should be surrendered to his agents. Such a demand was in this instance again considered injurious and oppressive, and Jumhour immediately prepared to resist the authority from whence it had proceeded. But Ul Munsûr being early apprized of these hostile designs, endeavoured by the most vigorous measures to crush them in their birth. In the year one hundred and thirty-eight, Mahommed, one of the descendants of Aïshauth the son of Keyss, was appointed to chastize the author of this fresh rebellion, and accordingly hastened towards Râi. Jumhour had however abandoned that place, and fled towards Isfahaun, of which he obtained possession; but being thither pursued by a detachment of Mahommed's troops, he continued his flight, taking the direction of Azerbayjân; during which, some of his associates tired at last with these unprofitable and distressful peregrinations, seized the person of their leader, and cut him to pieces with their swords. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur."

In the course of the year one hundred and thirty-nine, Abdurraihman, one of the sons of the Khalif Hashaum effected his escape into Mughreb; the coast of Africa, westward of Egypt, so called; and having obtained possession of several cities in that territory, succeeded in creating for himself an independent sovereignty, which in defiance of the power of the house of Abbas, continued in his family for nearly two centuries afterwards. A. H. 139. A. D. 756.

Ul Munsûr had now re-established his court at Medeinah Hâshemiah, the city founded by his brother, either on the site of Anbaur, or immediately in the neighbourhood of that place: when, in the year one hundred and forty, he became exposed to considerable danger from the insurrection of the Roundiah, of whom, our narrative furnishes us with the following brief particulars. Their founder,

A. H. 140. A. D. 757. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

whose name was Abdullah Rowendah, and from whom of course they derived the designation by which they are here distinguished, was, originally, one of the agents employed in Khorassaun, to promote and vindicate the claims of the house of Abbas; but engaging in some violent dispute with Abû Mosslem, he was, with the majority of his followers, put to the sword by that sanguinary chief. Great numbers of the party escaping, however, to different quarters, and having been subsequently relieved from their apprehensions by the death of their most formidable adversary, they issued about this period from their hiding places, and rendered themselves singularly conspicuous at Medeinah Hàshemiah, by an impious attempt to obtrude upon Ul Munsûr the assumption of divine honors. For this purpose passing in procession round the Khalif's palace, they audaciously proclaimed that he was "the Lord and preserver of the universe." But Ul Munsûr, on information of the blasphemous proceeding, having seized the persons of about one hundred of the ringleaders, and conveyed them to prison, the remainder of these infatuated miscreants, became so exasperated by the measure, that they immediately rushed into the opposite extreme; they announced that since Ul Munsûr disdained the honors which they had offered him, they would destroy him, and exalt for themselves another deity. With this impious resolution they appeared before the prison gates in great crouds, preceded by an empty Tabût, or shrine, or coffin; and having enlarged their chiefs, proceeded in the same tumultuous array towards the palace, in order to carry into execution their future design against th eperson of Ul Munsûr. That prince had, however, received intelligence of the danger; and throwing himself on the back of a mule, hastened at the head of a very slender escort to oppose the insurgents. In the mean time, Mûeyun the son of Zaydah, formerly noticed to have escaped from the siege of Waussit, and whose courage and liberality rendered his name as proverbial with his contemporaries, as those of Rûstum and Hautem, most unexpectedly assailed the fanatical multitude, and compelled them to disperse in every direction; and being also attacked from the other side by the guards of the palace, they were for the most part finally cut to pieces. An exertion of courage so seasonable on the part of a pro-

scribed individual, such as Mûeyun, made the deepest impression on the Khalif's gratitude; and of this he gave a solid and distinguished proof in the government of Yemen, which was immediately conferred upon the object of that gratitude. A. H. 140. A. D. 757. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

In this place we are called upon to observe, that an attempt to detail, in a regular series, and under their respective dates, such a multiplicity of events, as distinguished the reign of Ul Munsûr, would swell what was originally designed as an abridgment to the most tedious prolixity. The author announces therefore, his intention to confine the narrative, in future, to such circumstances as may appear essentially important, or worthy of record. To this our readers will probably subscribe their cheerful concurrence. But if, after all, the selection should not always prove the happiest, we can only urge in apology, modes of thinking and acting widely different from our own; and that diffusion of light, which has subsequently contributed to enlarge the conceptions of mankind, in climates more congenial to the growth of a just, though frequently fastidious criticism; of that criticism, which in the absence of intuitive judgment, will sometimes lead us to discriminate, and seize on such objects alone as are best calculated for the instruction and example of future ages.

A disposition decidedly hostile, had, it seems on many occasions, betrayed Ul Munsûr into acts of severity and violence, towards the descendants of Ally and Fautima; and the slightest suspicion being with him sufficient to justify the seizure and confinement of their persons, his prisons became ultimately crouded with the most distinguished individuals of that ever persecuted and unfortunate family. By these accumulated injuries goaded beyond forbearance it was that, in the last month of Jummaudy,* of the year one hundred and forty-five, Mahommed the son of Abdullah, a grandson of Imaum Hussun's, and one of the most exalted in reputation among the stock of the Seyuds, at length displayed the standard of revolt in Hejauz; and having put to death all the officers of Ul Munsûr's government, and made himself master of the sacred cities of Mekkah and Medeinah, his authority was immediately acknowledged by the family of A. H. 145. A. D. 762.

* September, 762.

A. H. 137. A. D. 755. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

the prophet, and generally throughout the whole province. But Eissa the son of Mûssa, a cousin german of Ul Munsûr's, hastening on intelligence of the insurrection, by orders of that prince, at the head of a respectable force, towards Medeinah, a series of hostilities commenced under the walls of that city, between him and Mahommed the Fautimite, and continued with equal destruction to both parties, until the fourteenth of the month of Ramzaun,* on which day, having been abandoned by his followers, the leader of the insurgents sought and obtained, what appears to have been the peculiar lot of his family, the crown of martyrdom. The authority of Ul Munsûr, was hence re-established without further difficulty or opposition. But on the first day of the same month of Ramzaun,† Ibrauhim the brother of Mahommed had also appeared at the head of a formidable insurrection at Bassorah, which for some time seemed to threaten the most serious consequences. Soffeyan the son of Mauweiah, who presided over the province on the part of Ul Munsûr, at first secured himself in the palace of government; but being ultimately compelled to capitulate, the affairs of Ibrauhim obtained such an ascendancy, that the force which assembled round his standard, soon accumulated to a total, which was little short of one hundred thousand men.

The alarm of Ul Munsûr, on intelligence of this formidable revolt, was not diminished by the knowledge that his armies were at the same period distributed through the different provinces of the empire, at no small distance from each other; and, though the report of his brother's fate, which reached Ibrauhim on the twenty seventh of the month, for a moment seemed to stagger the expectations of that insurgent, it was nevertheless boldly resolved in a council of war, to advance directly towards Kûfah, at this period the abode of Ul Munsûr. Such a movement was not calculated to allay the apprehensions of the latter; but Eissa the son of Mûssa, and Hameid the son of Kohtbah, both returning at the very crisis of his fate, with the troops which had been engaged against the insurrection in Hejauz, they were immediately dispatched to oppose Ibrauhim. In an action which shortly afterwards took place with the insurgents, the troops

* December 5th, A. D. 762. † November 22nd, A. D. 762.

of Ul Munsûr were however defeated; but those of Ibrauhim too fatally intent upon plunder and the slaughter of the flying enemy, were themselves unexpectedly attacked in the rear, by Jauffer, and Mahommed, both of the race of Abbas, and in their turn thrown into irretrievable confusion: and that part of the army of Ul Munsûr which had apparently fled from the field of battle, suddenly turning upon their pursuers, completed the consternation; during which, Ibrauhim having received an arrow-shot in the throat, he immediately fell; and his head being as usual struck off by the conquerors, they returned in triumph to the presence of Ul Munsûr.

A. H. 145. A. D. 762. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

In the mean time the insurrection of the Roundiah had long since given to Ul Munsûr an entire aversion to continue his abode at Medeinah Hashemiah: and he had in consequence directed his architects, in the course of the year one hundred and forty-five, to find out some convenient spot for the construction of a new city. On a very minute and careful survey, their selection ultimately fixed on the place now occupied by the "city of peace," the present metropolis of Baghdâd: a spot which is at the same time observed, to have been covered with habitations,* at a period of very remote antiquity. Ul Munsûr having in person approved of the situation, and the astrologers having chosen an auspicious period for the commencement of their labours, the architects proceeded without delay to trace the foundation of this celebrated capital. The attention of the Khalif being, however, rather seriously attracted by the hostilities in which his troops were about the same time engaged with the descendants of Ally and Fautima, the progress of the work was considerably retarded this year. But his mind was no sooner relieved by the triumphant termination of those disturbances, than he resumed the execution of his favorite design, and in the course of the year forty-six, brought it to a conclusion.

The site of this renowned metropolis is perhaps already too well known to require from us a more particular specification. We shall

* The ruins of the ancient Seleucia.

A. H. 146. A. D. 762. Khoiaussut-ul-akhbaur.

only remark here, that although originally erected on the Mesopotamian, or right side of the Tigris, we may in the course of the narrative be sometimes led to think that the imperial residence, with the principal part of the population, was occasionally shifted to different sides of the river, as the approach of danger or insult from east or west might render such a transit expedient. From the report of modern travellers, we however find that, in the year 1774 at least, the citadel and the far greater part of the town, with the seat of the government, continued about four hundred miles* above Bassorah, on the left bank of the just mentioned river, where it is from two hundred to two hundred and fifty yards wide, according to the lesser or greater curvature of the bridge; and where, in the middle of the month of June, when it is supposed to be at the highest, it gives a depth of forty-six feet, with a current of seven miles an hour, at the centre of the bridge of boats; and fourteen feet six inches, with a current of one mile and a half an hour, from the thirtieth of September to the twentieth of October, when the river is considered at the lowest.† With respect to the name, if that indeed were of any importance, there appears to exist some difference of opinion among etymologists; according to one set of historians, there had been of old in the neighbourhood, a garden or cultivated inclosure, called Baghdâd, the garden of justice; while others, allege that Bugh, or Bagh. was the name of an idol worshipped by the ancient inhabitants, and that Bughdâd therefore signifies "*Deodata*," the gift of Bugh. Between these two opinions we are left to determine for ourselves, as to that which accords the nearest with truth and probability.

We learn at the same time from the narration of another historian,‡ that the materials of the ancient metropolis of Medayein, situated from eighteen to twenty miles lower down the Tigris, were employed by Ul Munsûr in the construction of his new capital; contrary to the advice of his minister Sûliman the son of Khaled, of the race of,

* This must be along the sinuosities of the river; otherwise the direct distance does not appear above three hundred geographical miles. In Dr. Howells's journal the distance from Bassorah to Baghdâd, along the Euphrates by Hella, is computed at 465 miles.

† Vide Parsons' travels, where the distance above Bassorah, from misprint probably, is stated at seven hundred miles.

‡ The compiler of the Tarikh guzeidah.

Barmek, who urged every argument to dissuade him from the impolicy of destroying one city, for the mere selfish gratification of having it recorded to posterity that he had built another. And that in truth discovering when too late, that he had exhausted his materials, and incurred a prodigious expence, without making any considerable progress towards the completion of his design, the Khalif came to a sudden resolution to abandon the undertaking altogether. But the same minister representing, that having once engaged in the work, it would be injurious to his fame to leave it unaccomplished, since it would then be objected to him as a reproach, that a former monarch had constructed, what he, with all his boasted power, was unable to demolish; he resumed the execution of his plan. Nevertheless at the intreaty of Sûliman, the palace of Medayein, or at least a part of it, was left entire, to serve as a memorial to posterity of the divine mission of the prophet, his illustrious relative; the dome of it having, according to the belief of the Mahommedans, been cleft asunder on the very night which gave birth to that extraordinary person. And there can be little difficulty in pronouncing the lofty and magnificent ruin, still, or very recently, frowning in solitary majesty in the neighbourhood of the Tigris, below Baghdâd, and called the Tauk-e-Kessra, or arch, or portal, or perhaps hall of Noushirvaun, to be a remnant of the once gorgeous abode of the ancient Persian monarchs.

A. H. 140. A. D. 763. Tarikh gûzeidah.

Although, from the work before us, it might appear, that the next twelve years of the reign of Ul Munsûr, passed with the intervention of few circumstances worthy the record of history, a reference to collateral information,* will teach us nevertheless that this was a period by no means deficient in those materials which usually engage the attention of the historian. On the eastern extremity of the empire in particular, the government of Khorrassaun was involved in a series of arduous hostilities, with the Tartars of Transoxiana, and with the followers of the impostor Mokinnia, who had recently disseminated his opinions with alarming success, along the fertile vale of Soghd. But as this is a subject which will claim some share of consideration under the succeeding reign, we may venture to attend the author to

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

* Tarikh Tebry.

A. H. 158. A. D. 775. the year one hundred and fifty-eight, which terminated that of Ul Munsûr.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur. Towards the close of that year we are informed, on the most respectable authority, that the attention of the Khalif Ul Munsûr was forcibly arrested by an inscription on a wall, which, in two Arabic couplets, pretty clearly indicated that he was to prepare for the stroke of death. Under the impression of melancholy which took possession of his mind, in consequence of this mysterious warning, he determined to avail himself of the approach of the month of Zilhudje, to proceed on a religious visit to Mekkah, either to dispel his apprehensions or to meet his fate. On his arrival at the well of Meymûn,* one of the stations on the road to Mekkah, he was however seized by his last illness, and there expired on the night of the sixth of Zilhudje,† of the year one hundred and fifty-eight, at the age of about sixty-three: and calculating from the death of his brother, after he had possessed the throne of the Khalifs for a period of twenty-one years and four months. The event was concealed until the ensuing morning, when, as the nobles and principal members of the court hastened, according to custom, to attend their sovereign's pleasure, they were called upon by Rebbeia the Hâjeb, or chamberlain, to pledge their allegiance to Mehedy, who was already considered as heir apparent to the imperial dignity: to which as they assented without difficulty, they were then permitted to discharge the last solemn duties to the now lifeless remains of the departed monarch.

Of the character of Ul Munsûr, we derive from the Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur but little information, further than that his original name was Abdullah, and that by his extraordinary penury and avaricious qualities he acquired the unpopular appellation of Dowauneky and Abû Dowaunek, or father half-penny; daunek being the sixth part of a dirhem. Whereas, when unaccompanied with extortion, in a prince who holds the property of his subjects at command, a parsimonious disposition is perhaps, in the catalogue of human infirmities, that which possesses the strongest claim to be transplanted among the

*Beire-e-Meymûn. †October 6th, 775.

virtues; in Ul Munsûr however, from the motive of disinterested paternal tenderness to which it is ascribed, even the odious accompaniment, seems by the author of the Tarikh gûzeidah, to be commemorated with a sentiment of applause. A. H. 158. A. D. 775. Tarikh gûzeidah.

Having called upon his ministers to declare without disguise, what it was that they perceived to be the most defective in the character and disposition of his son and successor Mehedy, he learnt from them, in reply, that Mehedy, with every other possible virtue, was however deficient in one very essential quality; that which impels us to cultivate the love and approbation of our fellow creatures. Upon this, Ul Munsûr is said to have immediately and designedly abandoned those just and liberal maxims of government by which he had hitherto secured the affections of his people, and to have had recourse to such measures of rapacity and exaction, as by the invasion of their property, soon rendered him as much their aversion, as he had formerly been their delight. When he found, however, that his dissolution was approaching, he sent for Mehedy, and told him, that for his sake he had so long submitted to incur the odious imputation of tyranny, so foreign to the natural disposition of his heart; that he had deposited among the records of the treasury, correct vouchers of the several exactions, which in the prosecution of this singular plan he had been led to practice; and he now therefore solemnly charged him, when his father should be no more, to make to the rightful and injured owners the most scrupulous restoration of the whole of their property. Thus, by exposing himself to the temporary reproach and hatred of his subjects, affording to his son an unfailing expedient to win and secure their lasting applause and affection. And we are further informed, that by an implicit concurrence with these his father's dying instructions, Mehedy deservedly enjoyed the entire accomplishment of this perhaps unexampled scheme of parental solicitude.

The last person that exercised the functions of the Vizzaurut under Ul Munsûr, was, according to some authorities, the abovementioned Rebbeia, here stated, to be the son of Yûness, and celebrated as a second Hautem Tâi, for his unbounded munificence and

A. H. 158. A. D. 775. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

liberality of spirit. The same distinction is, however, by others, assigned to a certain Abû Ayûb, of whom we know nothing but the name. And we are finally told, that Ul Munsûr had, by different wives, eight sons and two daughters; the latter by a lady of the race of Ommeyah. It was during the Khelaufut of Ul Munsûr that Imaum Abû Haneifah, because he declined the office of Kauzy which had been proposed to him, or, as it is elsewhere improbably represented, because he denied the doctrine of predestination, was detained in that imprisonment, to which he ultimately fell a victim.

CHAP. II.

UL MEHEDY BILLAH* Abû Abdullah Mahommed, son of Ul Mun- A. H. 158.
sûr, third Khalif of the house of Abbas, repairing to Baghdâd A. D. 775.
immediately on the death of his father, was there acknowledged in the Kholaussut-
latter end of the month of Zilhudje, with prompt and unanimous zeal ul-akhbaur.
by every class and description of its inhabitants. Determined to
merit the attachment of his people, and the applause of posterity,
this excellent prince bestowed his earliest exertions to revive the
obsolete and neglected laws of impartial justice, and to abolish those UL MEHE-
corrupt and arbitrary practices, which, by generating discontent, DY BILLAH
resistance, and revenge, among the oppressed and injured, have so often IIId Khalif
terminated in the destruction of the oppressors. With these wise of the house
and benevolent views he caused, in the very commencement of his of Abbas.
reign, every prisoner in his dominions to be set at liberty, excepting
such only as were under confinement for the guilt of blood, or for
some infringement on the rights of individual property.

We have already adverted to the imposture and insurrection of Mokennia, who is here said however to have commenced his revolt in the course of the year one hundred and fifty-nine. The true name of this extraordinary impostor is represented to have been Hukkeim the son of Aittan; but being in person of a diminutive stature, with some disgusting deformity of countenance, he usually wore a mask of gold to conceal the deformity; and became known in the world indiscriminately by the appellation of Berkia, and Mokennia, the man with the mask, though his disciples conferred upon him the more honorable appellative of Haushem. Having probably travelled in India, Mokennia presumed to usurp to himself the character of the

* This title may perhaps be properly rendered *Dei gratiâ Perductor*, by the grace of God, the *guide*.

A. H. 159. A. D. 776. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

deity, supporting his pretensions, as far as our author is to be understood, on the doctrine, that Omnipotence having assumed the human form, or become incarnate in the person of Adam, it was for this reason that the angels fell down and worshipped the common father of mankind; that he had since become repeatedly visible in the persons of the prophets and philosophers, and of those exalted sovereigns who had rendered themselves illustrious either by their exploits or their virtues; that he had recently animated the frame of the heroic and invincible Abû Mosslem; and that at the present period he had condescended to inhabit his own frail and perishable carcase.

Mokennia made his appearance as a legislator first at Merû; but finding probably that his imposture experienced no very favorable reception in that quarter, he removed in process of time into the territory eastward of the Oxus, where, in an impregnable fortress, not far from the city of Kesh, he fixed his abode, and succeeded in engaging a multitude of proselytes of all descriptions; but more particularly among a class of people, either then or subsequently, denominated the Seffaidjâmahgan, from the white vestments in which they affected to clothe themselves. In order to confirm among his disciples the impression of his supernatural powers, he is said, by his extraordinary skill in the magic art, to have framed a telessem, or talisman, by means of which he produced either from, or above a certain well or deep pit, a luminous orb* in resemblance like the full moon, and which, for the space of two whole months continued every night to cast its lustre to the distance of five fursungs, or Persian leagues, in every direction. This was the moon of Nakhsheb sufficiently familiar to the oriental reader, and so frequently apostrophized by the Persian poets.

Tarikh gûzeidah.

From other authorities we are further informed, that Mokennia, who pretended to divine inspiration at least, if not to a participation in the divine nature, was a native of Baudgheiss; had been employed as secretary to the diwaun, or council, of Abû Mosslem; and having been wounded in the eye by an arrow, was therefore constrained to wear the golden mask or visor. He is acknowledged to have been a man of extraordinary scientific acquirements; and having possibly made considerable progress in natural philosophy, and more particu-

* Produced, it is supposed, by the skilful management of a mirror or mirrors

larly in chymistry, to have availed himself of these advantages, to impose upon an unenlightened multitude. When he had possessed himself of Saum and Sûjûd, two fortresses in the neighbourhood of the cities of Kesh and Nakhsheb, his tenets dilated with great rapidity through the surrounding territory; and if the compiler of these pages has not been misinformed, they continued to prevail until very lately in some of the countries adjoining to the Oxus. A. H. 159. A. D. 776. Tarikh gûzeidah.

But, to resume our narrative, the Khalif Mehedy, on intelligence of this revolt against his authority and religious principles, dispatched one of his generals, Abû Sauid the Jershite, at the head of a powerful army into Mawerunneher, the countries of Transoxiana so called, in order to exterminate the dangerous innovation. Having withdrawn into his principal fortress, the impostor was there besieged by the troops of the Khelaufut. In a short time, finding that one of his best captains had been assassinated in an extraordinary manner, in his own quarters by three of Abû Sauid's soldiers,* and that another with three thousand of his people who guarded the exterior fortifications, had surrendered to the enemy,† he became convinced that the besiegers must soon be masters of the place; and immediately determined to execute a design, to which his imagination had probably been long familiar, and by which he calculated that he should completely elude the scorn and vengeance of his adversaries. In short, he administered a mortal poison to the whole of those who remained about his person and in the interior of the fort, a single female alone excepted, who, aware of his purpose, contrived to conceal herself and escape. When he perceived that his people no longer exhibited any symptoms of life, he consumed their bodies to ashes; and that not a vestige might remain to disclose the circumstances of the horrid catastrophe, he concluded this tragedy by plunging into a large caldron of distilled liquid, of a property so exquisitely subtile, that no part of his body was left unresolved, the hair of his head only excepted, which floated on the surface of the liquid. The female who had escaped this scene of murder and self-destruction, perceiving that all was now closed in the silence of death, ascended the ramparts of the fort, and announced Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

* Tarikh Tebry. † Ibidem.

A. H. 159. A. D. 776. Khoolaussut-ul akhbaur.

to the besiegers, that if they would engage to respect her person and spare her property, she was ready to open the gates to them. Abû Sauid very readily acceded to terms so advantageous, and the gates being accordingly thrown open, his troops entered to take possession; when they received, to their equal horror and astonishment, from the solitary inhabitant of this scene of death, a faithful relation of all she had witnessed. It continued however long afterwards the belief of the Seffaidjâmahgan, or Seffaidpôshan, which signifies the same thing, that Mokennia and his faithful companions were gone to heaven, and that he should yet at no distant period be restored to them, and make his re-appearance on earth.

A. H. 160. A. D. 777.

In the course of the year one hundred and sixty, Eissa the son of Mûssa the Abbaside, after long resisting the importunities of Mehedy, was at last prevailed upon to abdicate his claims to the succession, to which he had been presumptively appointed by the dying instructions of Ul Munsûr. This obstacle being removed, Mehedy experienced no further difficulty in completing his arrangement in favor of his son Mûssa Haudy, who was now accordingly declared heir apparent to the Khelaufut. Soon afterwards he determined on a visit of devotion to the temple of Mekkah, and to the sepulchre of his prophet at Medeinah. But as mortification or penance, neither of them constitute any of the requisites of the pilgrimage, he took care to provide for his journey across the arid sands of Arabia, by an equipment of five hundred camels, loaded with ice and snow. His other preparations are probably to be calculated on a corresponding scale; and several thousand pilgrims who would otherwise have been compelled to perform the journey on foot, were conveyed, and also subsisted at the Khalif's expence. His stay at Mekkah was further distinguished by numerous proofs of liberality, bestowed on the various classes engaged in the care of the sanctuary of the Kaaubah, for the ordinary covering of which, he caused to be substitued a magnificent canopy of gold embroidery.

The narrative is now carried forward to the year one hundred and sixty-six, during which Mehedy settled the succession next after Mûssa, on his second son Hârûn, whom on this occasion he dignified with the title of Raschid, the prudent, and in ratification of

whose appointment he exacted the solemn assurances and engagements of his court. A. H. 166. A. D. 782.

The only act of severity, of which the reign of this beneficent prince seems to furnish an example, happened about this period; and is contained in the following statement, which, as it may serve in some measure to relieve the tediousness of the narration, we shall claim the indulgence of our readers to introduce. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Dàoûd the son of Tahman, though employed as one of the secretaries of the celebrated Nûsser Seyaur, maintained, nevertheless a very intimate correspondence with Yaheya the son of Yezzid the Fautimite, of whom we have formerly spoken; and indeed with the whole family of the Seyuds, to whom he evinced on a variety of occasions a disposition most zealous and friendly. When that unfortunate person had been defeated and killed, and punishment was inflicted on his destroyers, on the subsequent victorious progress of Abû Mosslem, Daoûd was not the last to join the standard of a revolution, which he conceived to assert the claims of his favorite family, without however experiencing from Abû Mosslem any of that encouragement, which he had probably been induced to expect. On the death of Dàoûd, his son Yakûb, the most intelligent of his children, and the subject of this article, attached himself with all his brothers, and with undiminished zeal, to the family of the Fatimites; and joining Ibrauhim the son of Abdullah of that race, in his formidable revolt against the authority of Ul Munsûr, became on the defeat and death of his chief, a captive to that prince; who sent him to ruminate on the follies of ambition, in the wholesome solitude of a prison.

On the accession of Mehedy, it was, however, the lot of Yakûb with many others to be released from his confinement; and being admitted into the service of that benevolent prince, became in a short time, in consequence of his social qualities and fascinating conversation, a very distinguished favorite, of which he received from his sovereign the most conspicuous proof, in his exaltation above his competitors to the dignity of president of the diwaun, or council of state and finances. In the full period of his prosperity it unfortunately happened, that Yakûb should have had his thigh broken by

A, H. 166. A. D. 782. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

the kick of a horse; an accident by which he was constrained to be an exile from the presence of his sovereign for some days; long enough indeed to furnish the envious minions of a court, and particularly the Vezzeir Obaidullah, with an opportunity to produce a considerable change in his master's opinion.

When he recovered the use of his leg, as it was subsequently related by his son Ally, Yakûb was sent for to attend his sovereign; and obeying the summons with his usual zeal, he observed on entering the presence chamber, that it was furnished and decorated with more than ordinary splendour; and what appeared further singular, he perceived a young female of exquisite beauty seated by the Khalif's side. The monarch demanded of his favorite on his appearance, what kind of impression he felt from the contemplation of the splendid scene; and when he replied, that this world could furnish nothing parallel to it, he was perhaps agreeably surprized, when the Khalif told him, that including the gorgeous furniture, magnificent decorations, and that most lovely female, he was to consider the whole his own. Yakûb was proceeding to express his acknowledgments, when the Khalif further observed, that he had occasion for his assistance; on which, placing himself in a more submissive posture on his feet, before Mehedy, Yakûb humbly disclaimed, on his part, any pretensions to require from his sovereign an expression of his will in language so condescending; that he had only to issue his commands, and it would be the glory of his life to carry them into execution. "By thy creator," said Mehedy, "wilt thou engage to execute what "I shall enjoin thee?" "Most truly," replied the minister; "place "thy hand upon my head and swear it," added Mehedy; which being complied with, and a donative of one hundred thousand dirhems bestowed by the Khalif, as a further incentive to stimulate his zeal, he proceeded to explain, that the piece of service for the performance of which he appeared so anxious, was to rid him of the continual agitation of mind which he experienced, from his knowledge of the ambitious designs of one of the sons or descendants of Imaum Hussun; whom he should therefore entrust to his approved fidelity to put to death, in such a manner as to be unknown to all but himself. The Hussenite was then shewn to him in bonds, the Khalif

at the same time telling Yakûb that the prisoner should be conveyed to his house in the course of the evening, by a confidential eunuch. A. H. 166. A. D. 782. Tarikh Tebry.

Accordingly, when the night came, the Khalif's magnificent present, with its accompaniments having already found its way to the house of Yakûb, the unhappy prisoner was also conveyed thither in the manner that had been agreed upon. In the mean time it appears that the bondmaid had received the Khalif's instructions to watch the conduct of Yakûb towards his prisoner; and to communicate to him what she should be able to discover, by the eunuch whom, with herself he had bestowed upon the suspected favorite. When the lady had resided some days under the protection of Yakûb, the latter received a request from his prisoner that he might be admitted ed to an interview before he put him to death. In compliance with this request, the Hussenite was accordingly introduced alone to the presence of Yakûb; of whom appealing to the religion which he professed, he demanded, whether he could reconcile himself to appear in the presence of his maker, covered with the guilt of his blood, whom he knew to be the lineal descendant of the daughter of his prophet. "God forbid!' replied Yakûb, "I am on the contrary, seeking for the means of dismissing "thee from Baghdâd, and setting thee at large." Only forbear to "molest me," said the Hussenite, "and I well enough know the way "to get out of Baghdâd." He then explained the method by which he proposed to escape, which was by the road to Bassorah, whither he designed to fly for protection. "Take the hundred thousand dirhems "which I have received from Mehedy," said Yakûb, "and make "the best of thy way; but hast thou no one whom thou wouldst "desire to accompany thee." The Hussenite acknowledged that there were two friends, whom he named, whose attendance would be agreeable to him. "Send for them immediately," replied Yakûb; "and leave Baghdâd this very night; the money with which I have "supplied thee, will be sufficient to bear thy expences; be however "advised by me—remain not at Bassorah, but throw thyself for "protection into the land of Hâbesh."

This conversation was over heard from behind the hangings of the apartment, by the bondmaid, who communicated the whole to Mehedy without delay, by the Eunuch who had been assigned her for this purpose. The following morning Yakûb repaired as usual to the

A. H. 166. A .D. 782. Tarikh Tebry.

Khalif's presence. "What hast thou done by the Hussenite, of "whom I gave thee charge some days since?" said Mehedy to him as soon as he made his appearance: "with respect to him at least," replied Yakûb, "I have relieved my sovereign from all anxiety; for he was put to death the self same night." "Is it so by thy creator?" observed Mehedy; "most truly," replied Yakûb." "Thy hand," said the Khalif, "and swear it by my head." Yakûb accordingly swore by the life of Mehedy, and by his Maker, that he had put the Hûssenite to death.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Mehedy now called to the attendants to bring in the three men who had been intercepted the night before by his orders; and the doors of an adjoining apartment being thrown open, the Fautimite and his two companions were ushered into the presence. Yakûb sunk to the floor in an agony of confusion and astonishment. The Khalif however spoke to him no more, but beckoning to his guards, they conveyed him to prison; and as he himself related at a subsequent period, he was thrown on this occasion into a dark and narrow dungeon, in which horrible situation he continued so long, that his visual powers at last entirely failed him, and his body became, like that of the most savage quadruped, over-grown with long and shaggy hair.

At the expiration of sixteen tedious years, however, Yakûb found himself unexpectedly released from this abode of misery, and brought once more to the cheering light of day. Being led by his conductors to the presence of the sovereign, he was directed to make his obeisance, and having so done, they inquired if he was aware to whom his salutations were addressed. He replied, that he supposed them to be directed to Mehedy. "Mehedy," said they, "is long since "taken to the mercy of his God." "Am I then in the presence of "Haudy?" demanded Yakûb, "neither is Haudy among the living," replied those who attended him; "peradventure it is Harûnurrash-"eid," "even so," said they; "thou art required to make known thy "wants." "My only wish," replied the hoary suppliant, "is to "pass the remainder of my days at Mekkah." "In that thou art "gratified," said the attendants, "ask again." "Alas," observed

Yakûb, "my views have been long since closed to the solicitation "of further favors." He was then, according to his desire, conveyed to Mekkah, where he did not long survive his enlargement; an enlargement which is ascribed to the gratitude of Harûn, for the favorable terms in which, during the period of his prosperity, Yakûb had spoken of him to his father. A. H. 169. A. D. 785. Tarikh Tebry.

If there was any amusement to which Mehedy was particularly devoted, it was that of the chace; and to enjoy this favorite pursuit without interruption, it was his custom to retire once in the year to a village beautifully situated in the territory of Bauspendan, about midway between Baghdâd and Mossûl. In this village, to which he had given the name of the gardens, and the village of delight, he had erected a magnificent country palace, or kiosk, of a number of stories, surrounded with balconies, or galleries, for the enjoyment of the diversified beauties of the neighbouring rural scenery. Thither, accompanied by his household, Mehedy had, as usual, repaired in the season of one hundred and sixty-nine; and had resided there for some days. When one day, as he was taking his repose at noon, in an apartment of the pavilion, his guards and domestics watching at every entrance, he was suddenly awakened by a person throwing open the door; and from thence, repeating in a voice sufficiently audible to have attracted the notice of his guards, three couplets in the Arabian dialect, which are, however withheld in the relation. The Khalif immediately calling to his attendants, and demanding who it was that uttered these sentences, they united in declaring that the expressions were sufficiently distinct in the repetition of their sovereign, but denied having seen any one. "Whoever it "was," said Mehedy, "his business seems to have been to forewarn "me, that my concerns with this world are come to a conclusion." At all events the circumstance occasioned considerable distress of mind and depression of spirits; and ten days afterwards he perished by an accident equally melancholy and unforeseen.

Nothing however can be more contradictory than the circumstances of his death, as related by different historians. According to some of these, it is stated, that in the afternoon of the day on which he perished, about the third hour of prayer, he was on horseback

A. H. 169. A. D. 785. Tarikh Tebry.

watching for game; when an antelope being started, his dogs were let loose upon it, and giving his horse the reins at the same time, he pursued with his usual eagerness and spirit. The antelope took to a ruined building, the entrance of which was so low, that the slightest reflection might have convinced Mehedy, that it was impossible to clear it on horse back. He persisted however in the pursuit, and laying his breast close to the pummel of the saddle, endeavoured in that posture to force the entrance; and his back being thus broke by the violent pressure against the architrave, he fell from his horse, and expired on the spot. His lifeless body was immediately conveyed to the palace, amidst the loud and almost frantic lamentations of his family and domestics, by whom, for his mild and amiable qualities, he appears to have been deservedly adored. One of his dearest friends however, in lamenting the untimely fate of Mehedy, is made to acknowledge on the occasion, that he had long foreseen that, one time or other, this inordinate passion for the chace would terminate in his destruction; for in studying the records of ancient history, it could not escape him that such princes as had resigned themselves without reserve to the impulse of any violent propensity, had, with few exceptions, ultimately perished in the indulgence.

On the other hand, we are instructed to believe that the death of Mehedy was produced in the following manner. Among the women of his Hâram, there were two for whom he appears to have entertained a pretty equal degree of affection; but as one of them seems to have possessed an advantage in his esteem, he had assigned to her a superiority in the Zennaunah. The other whose name was Hassanah, conceiving from this preference a violent jealousy against the favored lady, determined to destroy her; and in order to accomplish her diabolical purpose, she prepared a dish of confectionary, or marmalade, into which it was not difficult to introduce some poisonous ingredients, which she sent, by one of her attendants, as a present to the person whom she supposed to be the only obstacle to her undivided controul over the affections of her lord. Unfortunately as the maid was proceeding on her errand, a little before sun set, she happened to pass under one of the balconies of the palace, from which Mehedy was at the moment looking down; and the confectionary,

which was uncovered, attracting his attention, he became desirous of tasting, and called to the girl to bring it up to him. Having learnt from whom, and to whom she was conveying her charge, he told her to lay the dish down before him ; "for Hassanah will, I am sure," said he, "be far better pleased that I should partake of her present than any one else." And having accordingly indulged without scruple or suspicion in the treacherous repast, the benevolent Mehedy, before the sun had well disappeared below the horizon, was a corpse. The fatal present is however, at the same time, otherwise described, to have consisted of pears, the best and largest of which having contrived to impregnate with poison, Hassanah placed uppermost in the dish, and which being selected by Mehedy, produced his almost immediate death.

A. H. 169. A. D. 785. Tarikh Tebry.

But whatever might have been the occasion of it, the death of Mehedy is generally allowed to have taken place either on Thursday the sixth of Zilhudje, of the year one hundred and sixty-eight,* or early in the month of Mohurrem† of the year following, at the age of forty-three, and after a prosperous reign of nine years and eight or nine months. He was buried under a favorite poplar in the gardens of his hunting seat in Bauspendaun, above described, the last solemn rites being performed, in the absence of Mûssa, by his second son Harûnraschid.

In his person Mehedy is described to have been of a sallow complexion, in stature tall, and of the happiest proportions. He was however red haired, and had a white spot or blemish in his right eye. In many of the qualities of his mind, he far surpassed the whole succession of the race of Abbas. In justice, clemency, and liberality, he was not excelled by any of them. As a proof of the latter quality, if indeed it was not profusion, might be instanced his speedy circulation of his father's accumulated treasures, amounting to the almost incredible sum of six hundred millions of dirhems,‡ and fourteen millions of dinaurs.§ Neither was he by any exceeded in true piety, in purity of life and manners, and in humanity and mildness of disposition, though inflexible in severity against heresy or innovation

* June 17th, A. D. 785.

† Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur. ‡ About 18,750,000*l.* § About 6,417,000.

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wherever it raised its head. The memory of this prince is in truth held to our contemplation, arrayed in so many attractions, that we are irresistibly led to dwell something longer upon the subject, than may perhaps be thought strictly necessary.

His zeal to redress the wrongs of the injured, and in general to investigate the complaints of his people, was so active and sincere, that he uniformly presided in person in the hall of justice, a custom which had probably been for some time discontinued; and it was his particular charge, that his presence should, on those occasions, be open without exception, to every professor of law and theology: not only that they might assist his memory, and rectify his mistakes, but that he might be restrained, by a sense of shame and propriety, from the guilt of an unjust decision.

As a proof perhaps that this, his love of justice, was not less ardent when his private interests were affected, than in matters where he was entirely indifferent, we are informed, that a person having one day brought before him a complaint against one of his own agents, for unjustly dispossessing him of an estate; the Khalif affirmed that the estate in truth belonged to himself and had been long in his possession; nevertheless that the complainant, however he denied his right, was bound to produce every proof that was attainable, to establish the grounds of his claim. The man requested that the Khalif would be responsible in his own person, in order that if he established his claim, he might appeal directly to his own justice. "Let Kauzy "Abdullah the son of Ullayah," said the man, decide between us." "I agree to abide by his decision," replied the Khalif; and immediately descending from the tribunal, he seated himself on one of the benches with the plaintiff by his side, calling upon the Kauzy to judge impartially between them. The Kauzy demanded of the complainant accordingly what he could allege in support of his claim. The man rested his cause on the simple and positive assertion of his right to the property. Mehedy was then desired to state what he had to offer on his part, and contented himself with repeating his former declaration, that the estate was his by right, and by possession; and that he was an entire stranger to the grounds of the man's pretensions. The plaintiff now requested that the Khalif might be asked to

declare, how long he had been in possession of the estate, and whether before or subsequent to his accession to the Khelaufut? "That," said the Kauzy, "is not at all incumbent on him to answer: "he denies thy claim, and with thee it entirely rests to establish "it by the proof. If thou hast any, let it be produced; otherwise "thou art the best judge in thine own concern, and aware of what "must follow." Relinquishing the contest, the man now quitted the bench on which he had been sitting, and retired among the by-standers. But Mehedy, communicating without delay with the Kauzy, acknowledged that the estate had indeed come into his possession, since his accession to the throne, (and peradventnre by means which he was not prepared to justify.) At all events the Kauzy was now desired to attest that he resigned it to the claimant; and accordingly a deed was drawn up, and executed on the spot, confirming the transfer in all the requisite forms; the Kauzy further pronouncing that one such act of voluntary justice, was of more value in the sight of Omnipotence than the distribution of a million of dirhems to the poor.

Another instance, which, though in itself not particularly striking, yet, as it serves to illustrate the character of a preceding monarch, whose virtues under a nobler dispensation, would probably have enrolled him among the most distinguished benefactors of mankind, we cannot prevail upon ourselves to omit. A descendant of the well-known Zobair, complained to Mehedy, that an estate in Syria, which he described, had been usurped from his family by Walid the son of Abdulmêlek, with circumstances of arbitrary cruelty, which had deeply aggravated the injustice; and that although he had subsequently laid his complaint before every succeeding Khalif, he had never been able to procure either reply or redress. Mehedy demanded why he had not preferred his complaint to Omar the son of Abdulazziz, that virtuous exception to the tyrants of the race of Ommeyah. The man alleged that he had done so, but that his application had been just as unavailing as in other quarters. "Surely," said Mehedy, "Omar was Imaum among the Benni Ommeyah." "Sovereign of the trne believers," observed the suppliant, "the son of Abdulazziz did many things which he ought not

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"to have done." "Produce me a single instance," replied Mehedy. "on the birth of every infant to the race of Ommeyah," observed this man, "an assignment was immediately made for its subsistance on "the public treasury of, from three to five hundred dirhems; whereas "in the same circumstances, the allowance to the illustrious race of "Hâshem never exceeded sixty dirhems;* this is a sufficient proof "of his unjustifiable partiality, towards those of his own blood. Inde- "pendently of which, it is equally notorious that he never cancelled "any of the ordinances or decisions of the monarchs of the house "of Ommeyah, however unjust in their operation." "Is this true?" demanded Mehedy, addressing himself to his minister Obaidullah; "with respect to Omar it is perfectly so" replied the minister; "the partiality of Omar for the iniquitous race of Ommeyah was "never questioned." "Let the estate be restored to this man," said Mehedy; at the same time expressing his regret, that after having so long looked to the virtuous Omar, although of a race whom he detested, as a bright example of integrity and justice, the knowledge of such a circumstance should have dispelled the flattering illusion.

Of his singular clemency and placability of temper, we are at the same time required to receive the following as an example. One of his principal commanders, who had been more than once pardoned for his misconduct, was again found guilty of some aggravated crime, and brought to receive the judgment of his sovereign. Mehedy demanded if he was lost to every sense of shame; and how long he proposed to persist in his profligate practices. The reply was perhaps more remarkable than the question. "If I am not ashamed of "my offences," said the delinquent, "neither let my sovereign be "ashamed of his clemency; and may heaven bestow upon him a "hundred years of life, that while a hundred such as I am commit a "hundred crimes a day, an opportunity may never be wanting for the "exercise of that glorious attribute." It is perhaps needless to add, that either through compassion, or admiration at the readiness and singularity of the reply, Mehedy again forgave him. Of his liberality, which was perhaps not very remotely akin to profusion, something has been already spoken. Our author proceeds to add, that until Mehedy set the example, it was never said that a reward of fifty

*1*l. 7*s*, 6*d*.

thousand dirhems had been in any instance bestowed upon poetical merit. His munificence towards an Arabian poet, of the name of Merwaun the son of Hefzah, extended however on one occasion to seventy thousand dirhems.* In his celebrated visit to Mekkah, to which we have also formerly adverted, his liberality was so unbounded that no sovereign in the annals of Isslâm has in that respect been ever placed in competition with him; since, exclusive of one hundred and fifty thousand pajâmahs, or pantaloons, which he distributed to the poor, he gave in charitable distributions on that single occasion, no less a sum than thirty millions of dirhems.†

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In his piety, the amiable Mehedy is described to have been no less exemplary than in his other virtues, with this further advantage, that in him it was not a mere ostentatious punctuality in the performance of the duties of his religion, but the source of sincere and active benevolence. Of this we are also furnished with one or two instances, sufficiently striking to merit our attention for a moment. On one occasion, during the severity of a hurricsne, he was heard while prostrate on the floor, to supplicate his creator in the following impressive language. "Lord God! in the government of this thy prophet's "people whom thou hast committed to my charge, I have doubtless "been guilty of manifold transgressions; yet I implore thee, let not "that people be responsible for any guilt of mine, but by the never "fading remembrance of Mahommed's virtues, do thou listen to their "prayers." In these supplications he continued until the storm subsided.

On the authority of Rebbeia, who had once held the office of chamberlain‡ of the household to this prince, we are further informed, that among the apartments of the imperial palace of Mehedy there was one, the walls and ceiling of which being of stucco of the purest white, without sculpture or painting in any shape, it had been called the Daur-ul-beyza, or mansion of light. This apartment, in the discharge of his office, the chamberlain had occasion to enter one evening while the Khalif was engaged in his private devotions. The moon happened to shine at the moment with full splendor, and shed

* 1,604*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* † About 687,500*l.* ‡ Haujeb.

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its silver lustre to every corner of the chamber. And to render the contrast more striking to the eye, the floor was covered with a crimson carpet, and a sofa of the same colour lay in the room, before which stood Mehedy in linen robes of the purest white, absorbed in meditation. A pillar intervening between the sofa and the entrance, Rebbeia silently approached unseen and unobserved, and placed himself behind the Khalif; the latter proceeding in his devotions without interruption, occasionally reciting some of the chapters of the Korân, with a modulation so harmonious, as in a manner to fascinate the hearer. Such indeed were the sensations of the narrator, that he described himself equally at a loss to determine, whether his admiration was most excited by the spotless elegance of the apartment, the mild splendor which was shed through it by the moon, the snow white form of the Khalif, wrapped in meditation standing before his God, or the sacred strains of revelation, which flowed in such melodious accents from his lips. The Khalif continued with an audible voice to repeat several Sûrahs, or sections of the inspired volume, until he came to that passage, which in meaning and substance, expresses the following denunciation. "Whoever among you shall "commit evil; whoever shall cut off another from his kindred in the "land of my inheritance, upon that man hath God Almighty pro- "nounced his eternal malediction. The ears of the understanding "are become deaf, and the eyes blind. Why do ye not attend to that "passage of revelation in which the Almighty declares, that there is "a lock upon their hearts, which hath rendered them incapable of "instruction or conviction."

When the Khalif came to this passage, continues the relation of Rebbeia, he repeated it twice over, the tears streaming from his eyes to the sofa which lay before him. But in order to make the circumstance more intelligible, we are now told, that a few days before only, Imaum Mûssa the son of Jauffer, on an accusation that he had sought in Khorassaun, to promulgate his rights to the Imaumut, or supremacy in matters of faith, had been seized and committed to the custody of the same Rebbeia. However that may be, Mehedy, after finishing the chapter, and closing his devotions with the usual forms of salutation, still keeping his attention fixed towards

the Keblah, demanded, if there was any one by; and one of the attendants answering, he desired that Rebbeia might be immediately sent for. That person now spoke, announcing to his sovereign that he was already present, having, as he said, been attracted by his recitation of the Korân. Mehedy directed him to go without delay and bring Mûssa to his presence. Rebbeia went away accordingly, and returned soon afterwards, accompanied by Mûssa, to the presence of Mehedy, whom they found seated on the sofa, his eyes still swimming in tears. "Son of Jauffer," said the Khalif, addressing himself to his prisoner, "God Almighty has pronounced his awful "curse against the man who shall dissever the ties of consanguinity. "It is a guilt which, for my part, I am determined not to incur; "and it will behove thee to profit by my example." Then continuing to address him, he observed, that it was not his intention to lay any further restraint upon his conduct than an oath, that while he lived he would not appear against his authority; but that when he was no more, he would be at liberty to pursue the dictates of his own judgment. And having received from him the engagement which he required to this effect, he set him entirely at large the very same night.

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We shall conclude the character of Mehedy with the final observation, that of all the monarchs of the house of Abbas, he is said to be the only one who totally abstained from the use of wine, or intoxicating liquors; but it seems to be objected to him, that he was much devoted to the pleasures of music and song, in which every one that professed to be skilful, was admitted to frequent his presence with unrestrained freedom.

There is, however, one further anecdote of Mehedy, which we cannot forbear adding to the above; and this is we believe to be found in the Tarikh gûzeidah. He had incurred some degree of censure for having treated one of his relations with a neglect, which was inconsistent with his ordinary generosity of spirit. In order however to prove that his conduct in this instance had been rashly prejudged, without attending to his motives, he made choice of the following expedient. He caused a valuable piece of gold to be placed on a conspicuous part of the bridge of Baghdâd, or of some other city, at which he then happened to reside; and desired this

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particular relative to pass over, on some trifling errand or other, on which he pretended to employ him. When he returned, as it appeared, without noticing the precious metal, which had been thus placed in his way, he was desired to explain his reasons. His reply went to state, that both in going and returning, it had occurred to him as a matter of curiosity, to try how he should be able to pass the bridge if he were blind; and in the prosecution of this hopeful experiment, he had accordingly on both occasions closed his eyes. On which Mehedy thought fit to observe, that those to whom we were bound by the ties of consanguinity, were in general to be treated like the hair upon our persons; some of which it was the custom to decorate and perfume with the nicest attention, while there was some which it was convenient to extirpate and cast away from us. It will possibly occur to the reader, that the experiment here resorted to, for the purpose of proving the incapacity of an individual, is said to have been once put in practice with success, to prove the incredulity of the volatile and inconstant inhabitants of a celebrated metropolis in the western world.

Ul Haudy B'illah, IVth Khalif of the house of Abbas.

Ul Haudy B'illah,* (or rather b'Illah) Abû Mahommed, Mûssa the son of Mehedy, fourth Khalif of the house of Abbas. At the period of his father's premature and unlooked for death, Mûssâ ul Haudy was absent near she southern shores of the Caspian, engaged in hostilities against Shervein, the yet independent prince of Tebristaun. His younger brother Harûn had originally proposed to claim for Ul Haudy the allegiance of the troops who were immediately on the spot, and to convey the remains of the departed monarch for sepulture to the metropolis; but from this he appears to have been dissuaded by the counsels of Yaheya the son of Khaled, and the consideration of the donative, which the military had already introduced the practice of demanding on the accession of every new sovereign. A point which it was therefore thought prudent to postpone for adjustment at Baghdâd; and Harûn contented himself for the present, with transmitting to his brother, by Nuzzeir, the then chamberlain of the household, (perhaps the chief of the eunuchs) the ring,

* Dei gratiâ indicator-guide.

staff, and mantle of the prophet, and those other articles which usually passed to the succeeding Khalifs, accompanied with his condolence for the death of their common parent, and his congratulation on the event of his accession to the sovereign power. A. H. 169. A. D. 785. Tarikh Tebry.

It is to be observed that the late Khalif, on his departure for Bauspendaun, had deputed the government of Baghdâd, and the numerous body of troops which it contained, to Rebbeia; the officer, perhaps, of whom we have so recently spoken. Encouraged by the unsettled state of affairs, unavoidable to an interregnum, these troops mutinied against the authority of their governor, declaring that they should engage their allegiance to no one until they had received, not only the inauguration money, but a gratuity of two years subsistance, which they clamorously demanded on the occasion. Rebbeia, on his part, desired to remind them, that he alone who possessed the power and authority of satisfying their demands, was yet absent from the spot; and he therefore requested their patience until the arrival of Ul Haudy, the legitimate heir to the succession, who might, as he thought proper, adjust their claims. That, at any rate, without his instructions, he should not comply with their demands. The seditious soldiery positively refused to suspend their claims, proceeded to plunder the palace of their governor, and would have put him to death, had he not seasonably contrived to secrete himself from their fury. Soon afterwards, Harûn reached the capital, accompanied by his faithful counsellor Yaheya, of the race of Barmek; who appears to have been immediately authorized in conjunction with Rebbeia, to accommodate the demands of the soldiery: the treasure and jewels of Mehedy being in the possession of Kheizraunah, one of his women, the common mother of Mûssa and Harûn. Yaheya taxed Rebbeia of erroneous policy in creating such an unseasonable agitation among the troops; that he should have yielded to their demands, rather than endanger their attaining to a magnitude, which by the time that Ul Haudy should arrive, it might be difficult, if not impossible, either to satisfy or controul. Yaheya undertook however to mediate with the soldiers; and succeeded in bringing them to an accommodation, on engaging to make good to them their subsist-

A. H. 169. A. D. 785. ance for eighteen months; which was accordingly paid them on the spot.

Tarikh Tebry. Of this measure, Ul Haudy received an account some time previous to his arrival at Baghdâd, and he did not delay to communicate to Yaheya by letter, his entire approbation of what had been done. Shortly afterwards he entered his metropolis in person, accompanied by the principal officers of his court, having performed the journey from Tebristaun, in the comparatively short space of twenty days. The city was immediately restored to complete tranquillity; the sovereign authority became irrevocably established in Ul Haudy; the Vizzauret, or office of Vizzeir, was conferred on Rebbeia; Ally the son of Eissa ben Mâhan was appointed captain of the imperial guards: and a treaty of peace was definitively concluded with the prince of Tebristaun. We are further informed, that the new Khalif made his entry into Baghdâd, on this occasion, on the eleventh day of Suffer;* a month and some days subsequent to the demise of his father.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur. Among the events which distinguished the short reign of Ul Haudy, that which earliest claims our notice, is an insurrection excited in Hejauz by Hûsseyne the son of Ally, the Hussenite: to which it would appear that he was the more easily provoked, by the disputes in which he was perpetually embroiled, with Omar the son of Abdulazziz, the governor of Medeinah, and grandson of Abdullah Omar. Having however at last openly declared against the authority of Ul Haudy, the Hussenite proceeded to solicit the support of the people in favor of his own rights; and being joined by a sufficient body of followers, he was enabled after several conflicts, to expel the governor, and make himself master of Medeinah. On the twenty third of Zilkaudah,† eleven days after he had been in possession of Medeinah, he quitted that place and proceeded towards Mekkah; and on his arrival in the neighbourhood of that city, issuing a proclamation that every slave who joined his standard should be free, he procured a considerable augmentation of force, by the number of men of that description, who immediately hastened to his camp.

*About the 22nd of August, A. D, 785. † The 25th of May, A. D. 786.

His career was however destined to be of short duration. Ul Haudy was no sooner apprized of this revolt against his authority, than Mahommed the son of Sûliman, of the race of Abbas, proceeded by his orders with a competent force to punish the insurgent, and re-establish his government in Hejauz. At the station of Zitûi, a short distance from Mekkah, and on that day in the early part of Zilhudje, when the pilgrims array themselves in fresh apparel, an action took place between the troops of the Khelaufut and those of the insurrection, in which the latter abandoning themselves to a shameful flight, left their leader to perish on the field of battle. The body of Hûsseyne was found where he had fallen, by one of the family of Abbas, who immediately struck off the head and laid it before his commander; by whom it was conveyed as usual to the metropolis of the Benni Abbas, as the surest attestation of his triumph.

A. H. 169. A. D. 786. Kholaussut ul-akhbaur.

As the advocates of Zendicism, a class of schismatics equally stigmatized for its atheistical and other detestable doctrines, appear to have acquired at the same time their greatest ascendancy, and to have been generally, if not finally extinguished, under the reign of Ul Haudy, we cannot perhaps introduce in a better place, the account which is here given of that very obnoxious sect, on the authority of the Tebrian chronicle.

Their leading, and distinguishing principle seems to have been an entire secession from the doctrines of Mûssulmanism; the precepts and ordinances of which, they publicly held in equal contempt and ridicule. The prophet they admitted to have been a man of consummate abilities; through the exertion of which, and his extraordinary powers of language, he found means to establish the prevailing religion, and to compile the much boasted pieces exhibited in the volume of the Korân; claiming, as they said, no small degree of merit from his prohibition of incestuous intercourse, with mother, sister, and daughter. And yet to any other human being of equal talents and intelligence, it would be easily practicable to introduce a similar system of legislation. For their part, they acknowledged that, like the Magians, they cohabited with equal freedom, with mother, daughter, and sister. They equally set at nought, and cast into ridicule, as absurd impositions, those fundamental precepts of Mûssulmanism in particular, which

Tarikh Tebry.

A. H. 169. A. D. 786. Tarikh Tebry.

inculcate the necessity of prayer and fasting, alms and pilgrimage. When they observed, for instance, the zealous Mosslems associated in decent order for their devotions, they would scoff at them as so many camels preparing to receive their burthens; and when they knelt, and went through the routine of their prostrations, they failed not to incur the homely reproach of setting their faces to the earth, while they presented the opposite extremity to him who ruled the skies. In the same strain when, at Mekkah, they witnessed the processions round the temple of the Kaaubah, the zendicists would demand with a scornful grin, whom it was the enthusiasts sought in that antiquated building; and when they observed the sacrifice of sheep on the great festival of the Korbaun, they would ask with affected pity, and indignation, of what mischief these mild and defenceless quadrupeds had been guilty, that their innocent blood should be thus brutally spilt in all directions. Thus also, when the pious multitude traversed the hills of Seffa and Meruah, in the neighbourhood of the sacred city, they would inquire with equal scorn and derision, what these men had lost, that they ran in such wild extravagance, about the rocks and mountains. For thus it was, that on all occasions, they perpetually derided every circumstance that related to the laws and observances of Isslâm.

In other respects, we are not to be surprised if we find it stated, that among all the various systems of faith, which had hitherto prevailed in the world, that of the Zendeiks was the most detestable, and the least productive of moral good; it being the opinion of the Ulema, or theologists, that their doctrines were far more pernicious than those of Magian, or Jew, or Christian, or Idolater of whatever denomination; since, observes our author, with a reasoning not distinctly obvious, there is not an advocate of either of the systems to which we have alluded, who does not allege, when he exchanges one mode of faith for another, that he has relinqnished error for the sake of truth; nor is there an opinion, or proposition advanced in either of them, which their respective professors would decline to support by such proofs and arguments as they have it in their power to produce. The very source indeed of their doctrine seems to lay in the grossest incredulity and sophistry, considering, as they do, the

most sacred laws and observances, whether of Mûssulman, Jew, or Christian, as founded in error and absurdity. A. H. 169. A. D. 786. Tarikh Tebry.

As to the nature of their belief, if belief that can be called which denies all revelation, they hold both the existence of God, and the legation of his prophets to be equally erroneous and unnecessary. That this world, since it has been in existence, has existed in its present form; and such as it is, it will continue as long as it shall endure. That the whole animal creation is generated and perishes like the vegetable; which springs from the earth, is dried up, and restored to the elements in the course of the year, none being able to conceive whence it came, or whither it is disappeared; the production and destruction of animals and vegetables being, at the same time, both ascribed to the influence of the heavenly bodies, and particularly to the sun, moon, and stars, perceivable to human vision. In other respects, it would appear, that they agreed in reprobating those actions which the wisest men of all professions have generally proscribed as disgraceful, and injurious to society; lying, for instance, and tyranny, or unjust violence towards our fellow creatures. They were moreover scrupulous to avoid the commission of any of those things, which are, in their nature, either scandalous or indecorous; being studious in particular, to appear in such dresses only as were graceful and becoming in the eyes of the world. This therefore includes the whole theory and practice of the sect, for in religion or law, they professed nothing further: and their system, as far as we have been able to define it, has received from Oriental writers, among other denominations, that of Mundanism; probably as limiting our existence and expectations to the confines of this perishable world. Such, at any rate, is the most obvious interpretation which the author of these pages has been able to assign to the terms, "*Kalaum-e-dehrnian*, doctrines of the Mundanists." The other terms are omitted in the manuscript. It will at the same time, possibly occur to the reader, that this odious and persecuted sect might have been led, by a perusal of the works of the Grecian philosophers, known to have been long since translated by the princes of the house of Ommeyah, to adopt the principles of Epicurus.

A. H. 169. A. D. 786. Tarikh Tebry.

It is at the same time affirmed, that its professors were, for the greater part, composed of the most distinguished members of society; equally distinguished in all the learning of that age, in eloquence, and in their genius for Arabian poetry. For such, it is admitted, was Abdullah the son of Ul Mûkeffia, not less celebrated for the purity and eloquence of his language and writings, than for his masterly skill in Arabic, which has classed him among the most sublime and eloquent, in that copious and impressive dialect; and of which his beautiful translation into that language, of the Kaleilah-wo-Dûmnah, (the ox and the wolf, the apologues of Baidpay or Pilpai, so called) is adduced as a splendid and imperishable monument. And to him has accordingly been assigned the first place in the records of the sect. Such also is described to have been Ally the son of Neftein, one of the chief commanders of the army, during the reign of Ul Haudy; an officer of the highest military reputation, and among those most immediately employed about the person of the sovereign. His father, Neftein, had been the favorite slave, or domestic, of Ul Munsûr, and held the office of keeper of the great seal of the Khelaufut under that monarch, by whom he is said to have been honoured above all mankind. He continued to hold the same distinguished trust, both under the benevolent Mehedy, and his successor the reigning prince. His son Ally, together with his eminent command in the army, possessed the superintendance in chief of the department of intelligence; the various occurrences which took place in different parts of the empire, being conveyed to him in detail by the proper agents, and by him digested and communicated to the sovereign: for, observes our author, like Yezdan the son of Bâdan among the genuine Persians, Ally the son of Neftein was extolled as the most skilful penman of the age in which he lived. Another of these worthies, was Abdullah, the son of Obaidullah the Vezzeir of Mehedy, who occasionally officiated as the deputy of his father, under the government of that illustrious monarch. Others were Abdullah the son of Dâoud, of the race of Abbas, and nearly allied to the sovereign on the throne; and Yakûb the son of Aukkail descended from Hâreth the son of Abdulmûtlub, at this crisis the acknowledged Peir or presbyter of the prophet's family, and head of the illustrious race of

Háushem; neither of whom were to be restrained from embracing the tenets of this obnoxious and persecuted sect. A. H. 169, A. D. 786, Tarikh Tebry.

Recommended by these distinguished persons, the dogmas of Zendicism were received to a surprising extent among all classes and descriptions of men; among the most illustrious for their learning and talents, as well as the superiors of religion, and the heirs and representatives of the noblest families. In the time of Mehedy, those in particular to whom the austerities, the observances of Mûsulmanism were become laborious; to whose indolence and luxurious habits the task of early prayer, of frequent ablution in the rigors of winter, and of fasting in the oppressive heats of summer, had become burthensome, or intolerable; to all those, in short, who considered it a hardship to dispense with a small proportion of their wealth in alms, or to restrain themselves in any shape in the indulgence of their apetites and inclinations, as required in the sacred volume of the law, the tenets of the Zendicists became a welcome and convenient relaxation.

It remains to be observed, that when, under the same reign of Mehedy, their proselytes became thus numerous and formidable, the chiefs above mentioned consulted together on the means of giving to their doctrines a permanent form; by reducing them to a code of institutes, similar to that which governed the system, which it appears to have been their principal object to explode. "In the "whole design of his religion," said these innovators, "nothing that "Mahommed introduced, has been more powerful in its influence, "than what he has dictated in the pages of the Korân; that boast of "the Mosslems for sublimity of language, for the closeness and perspicuity of its periods, and the infinite variety of its mysterious "allusions; which it is their pride to extol, as having baffled every "effort of the orators, poets, historians and rhetoricians, from the "period of its descent to the present day, to produce in the whole "Arabian language, a single section equal in sublimity and beauty of "style. For," continued they, "is it not proudly asserted by his "followers, that if the language of men and genii were combined "together to effect such a purpose, it would be found impossible to "compose any thing parallel to it? for how indeed should it be possi-

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"ble to speak as God hath spoken, and to perform what he, in his "infinite power, is alone capable of accomplishing!" Upon such considerations, the leaders of the sect resolved that it was incumbent upon them to produce a book in composition more exquisite, and in matter more sublime than the Korân; to be exhibited to their followers as what had been invented, through the powers of his own consummate eloquence, by Mahommed himself. Here we are constrained to confess that this passage, unless indeed it be an error in the manuscript, appears totally inconsistent with what we are taught to expect from the premises; which had led us to suppose it was the object of these men to prove that by the mere exertion of human skill, they were capable of producing what should be superior to the boasted performance of that celebrated impostor.

Be this, however, as it may, the following four persons pledged themselves for the execution of the undertaking; The already mentioned Abdullah Mûkeffia; Abdullah, the son Obaidullah the Vezzeir; and Abdullah the son of Dàoud, of the race of Abbas; with Salah the son of Abdulkodûs, now first introduced to our notice; and altogether, in talents and eloquence, the most distinguished among Arabians. But as the most eloquent and accomplished men of that age, had long since acknowledged the superior talents of Abdullah Mûkeffia, his collegues united in assigning to him the task of diction and composition; which he accepted on the following stipulations. That he should be allowed an entire twelve-month to complete his undertaking; that he should be furnished immediately with so many thousand dirhems in specie, and such a supply of parchment and writing paper, as he should require; the paper to serve him in the preparation of the draught; and the parchment, for the finished copy to be fairly transcribed by his own hand, as best calculated to admit of such erasures as might be found further necessary, in giving to the performance its utmost perfection, before it was committed to the world. He moreover required, that, during the period in which he should be thus employed, all his expences should be punctually defrayed; that he should be daily supplied with that species of aliment which he described, and knew to suit best with his constitution, and to augment the powers of invention without impairing

either the health or the faculties; and, that he might be entirely relieved from every species of anxiety, he further required that a person should be particularly entrusted with the care of providing for these expences, and of supplying all his wants. Finally, in order that his mind might be perfectly at ease against every apprehension, either of detection or arrest, or of being even suspected to be engaged in such an undertaking, he demanded that no person should be allowed on any pretence to enter his presence, excepting the attendant employed to receive his orders. On these conditions he pledged himself, at the end of the year, to produce a complete performance, in every point superior to the Korân; and each of the party, engaging respectively for one or other of these stipulations, the son of Ulmûkeffia proceeded without further delay to the execution of his design.

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At the expiration of six months out of the twelve, in which he was pledged to complete his work, no person having hitherto been suffered to intrude upon his meditations, his friends became anxious to learn what progress he had made towards a conclusion; and no longer to be restrained from the gratification of their curiosity, they met together and hastened to his apartment. There they beheld him sitting pen in hand, deeply absorbed in study, a sheet of paper laying unfolded before him; and on each hand of him, heaps of paper, written over on all sides, and torn to fragments. "Well friend," said his visiters, "how hast thou employed thyself for these last six "months?" "Alas" answered he, "I have employed myself in vain; "for I have done nothing." "How so," demanded they. "The first "day on which I entered upon my undertaking," replied Abdullah, "I applied myself, with the sheets of the Korân laid before me, to "select from it all those particular passages, which I conceived to be "the most remarkable for beauty and sublimity, and which I there-"fore thought the most difficult to emulate or excel; it being my "design to employ myself in the refutation of such passages, while "my faculties were yet fresh and undisturbed, and before the fatigues "of study should have blunted or impaired the powers of composition. "For this purpose I commenced reciting them over and over to "myself, in order to be the more completely master of the subject,

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"and the better able to discriminate their imperfections. Yet during "six whole months that I have thus employed myself, have I been "foiled by a single passage; neither in all that I have invented, "dictated, and written, obliterated and destroyed, have I yet suc- "ceeded in discharging myself of one sentence that has either met my "own approbation, or that, in the judgment of others, will bear a "comparison with the passage which it was designed to excel." His friends desired to know what that formidable passage might be, which had thus on the very threshold, defeated his exertions; he told them it was a certain sentence, which he repeated to them, from the story of Noah, as related in the Korân. They then requested that he would explain to them what he might have committed to paper on the subject; that on a more deliberate inspection, something might be yet discovered that had possibly escaped his own observation. The son of Ul Mûkeffia communicated to them accordingly; all that he had composed and transcribed, than which it required nothing further to convince them of the truth of the statement which he had just given them; for in the whole of the enormous mass of papers, in which he had almost buried himself alive, they could not discover a single line or sentence, which either in composition or argument could bear the slightest comparison with the sacred text, which for six months he had, in one instance only, attempted to surpass. An occasion is here taken to repeat, that this man was acknowledged to be possessed of talents and genius, not inferior to any one of the age in which he lived. "If in six months," observed his friends on this mortifying discovery, "thou hast failed to produce "the refutation of one solitary passage in the Korân, in what rea- "sonable period dost thou conceive it possible, either to controvert "or parallel the numberless ordinances, decisions, mysterious and "wonderful maxims, with which that extraordinary volume so "extensively abounds? This is a task to which thou art decidedly "incompetent. Arise, and consign it to some one better qualified." The project was however finally relinquished as a hopeless concern, and they were compelled to rely, for the advancement of their doctrines, on other expedients, less dubious in the experiment, and peradventure more favorable to their views of success.

At all events their proselytes continued to multiply, with considerable rapidity, until, under the reign of Mehedy, too openly aspiring at predominance, the Almighty influenced the councils of that prince to destroy them by the sword, in a manner so effectually, that of all their leaders, few survived. Two chiefs of the illustrious race of Hâshem, the great grandfather of the prophet, were however suffered for a time to escape the destiny of their associates. These were Yakûb, here called the son of Ul Fuzzul, perhaps of Aukkail already mentioned, and Abdullah the son of Dâoud, of the house of Abbas, both indebted for their preservation to a vow of Mehedy's. For so many of that distinguished race had been already cut off by the sanguinary vengeance of Ul Munsûr, that Mehedy began to apprehend the entire extinction of the family; and he had therefore sworn never to put any of them to death. He was accordingly satisfied with immuring these two noble persons for life within the enclosure of a prison. When Hâdy ascended the throne of the Khalifs, they were however commanded to his presence, in order that they might be prevailed upon to abjure their pernicious principles. They continued, notwithstanding, unshaken in their prejudices: persisted in their declaration, that the religion of the Mosslems was nothing, and that the Korân was neither the word, nor Mahommed the apostle of God. "At any rate," added these men, "produce to us the proofs "of your system, that we may examine and convince ourselves, "before we embrace it." On which the whole body of Ulema learned in the law, with the readers and expounders of the sacred code, entered into a public and solemn disputation with them, and, if we may credit the assurance of our author, established their claims to orthodoxy on the clearest proofs. Their arguments were however lost upon these misguided fanatics, who persevered with inflexible obstinacy, in rejecting the wholesome truths of Isslâm. And a daughter of Yakûb, being found on her own avowal, pregnant by her father, the incestuous intercourse became an aggravation of his crimes and impieties, and he was, together with the same daughter, and the wretched associate of his errors, condemned to terminate his existence on a gallows. This is said to have extinguished, for the present at least, every remnant of a sect, which for some time appears

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A. H. 169. A. D. 786. to have excited in the disciples of the Korân, no inconsiderable alarm for the stability of the orthodox religion.

Tarikh Tebry. Resuming the narrative the history proceeds to observe, that the Khalif ul Hâdy had for some time lived on terms of great displeasure with the dowager Kheizrânah, the common mother of himself and Hârûn. This princess had, it would appear, during the life of Mehedy, experienced an indulgence without bounds, her husband withholding from her nothing that she desired, even to the marks of public honor usually reserved for the person of the sovereign; the general and great officers of state being long accustomed to pay homage at her palace, before they proceeded to the presence of Mehedy; thus in appearance at least, fixing the precedence in dignity at the gate of Kheizrânah. She possessed herself, moreover, of what does not exactly seem either becoming or expedient in the system of oriental manners, the channel of every application to royal favor. On the accession of Ul Hâdy, she continued to conduct herself, as if she expected to retain this species of influence unimpaired; but her son finding himself considerably embarrassed, soon determined to retrench that influence, by treating all her applications with a steady and mortifying refusal. Under these circumstances, a female attendant, who was the bearer of such communications as occasionally passed between the Khalif and his mother, had conveyed to him an application from the same quarter, in behalf of Abdullah the son of Mâlek, captain of the guards, or household troops, in the time of Mehedy, which he, as usual, rejected. The application was repeated by the mother in person, who implored that her son would spare her this one mortifying refusal, as her word had been particularly pledged on the occasion; and she assured him it would be the last time that he should suffer from a mother's importunities. To this Ul Hâdy demanded in a tone of indignation, who she conceived herself to be, and on what grounds authorized to promise, or engage her influence to promote the views of any man; neither did he comprehend the object of that concourse, which, as if it were the mansion of royalty, daily resorted to her gate. It would become her far better to confine herself to domestic occupations; to her spindle and cotton; to the study of her Korân, and the discharge of her religious duties. For

what purpose encourage that useless resort of applicants at her gate? Henceforward, if he found that a single individual frequented her palace with any such design, she might rest assured of his highest disapprobation and displeasure. On which, Kheizrânah quitted his presence in tears and sorrow. A. H. 169. A. D. 786. Tarikh Tebry.

This was followed by a stern charge to his courtiers to discontinue, at their peril, that species of intercourse with *his* mother, which, when their own mothers were concerned, they had acknowledged to be so gross a violation of decorum. This succeeded in banishing the resort of suitors from the palace of Kheizraunah: but the attempt which he made about a month afterwards to destroy her by poison, under the mask of proffered kindness, would be sufficient, without any further proof, to brand with infamy the memory of Ul Haudy, were it not in some degree surpassed by the implacable cruelty of a mother's vengeance, to which he ultimately fell himself a victim. For the present, however, the altercation terminated in a solemn vow, on the part of Kheizraunah, that she would never more hold either converse or communication with this unnatural son.

It is alleged that Ul Haudy, before he had been long in possession of the sovereign power, entertained the design of extruding his brother Harûn from his claim to the succession, for the purpose of securing it for his own son Jauffer: and the circumstance coming to the knowledge of Harûn, the latter consulted with Yaheya the son of Khâled, of the race of Barmek, whose consummate prudence was long become proverbial with every rank and age, on the steps which he was to follow for the preservation of his rights. Yaheya admonished him, without disguise, to beware of acceding to any proposal which might eventually debar him from the glories of a crown. Of which honest admonition, Ul Haudy, by some means or other, becoming apprized, Yaheya was immediately seized and committed to the wholesome solitude of a prison. From thence, as was related at a subsequent period by Mahommed, one of the sons of that illustrious minister, he addressed a note to Ul Haudy, requesting that he might be favored with a prizate interview, as he had some advice to offer, of considerable importance. He was accordingly admitted to the presence of Ul Haudy, who demanded what it was Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

A. H. 169. A. D. 786. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

he had to say. "I would first desire to know," observed Yaheya in reply, "whether at the present crisis, if a misfortune were to happen to the person of my sovereign, which may his servant never live to behold, the different orders of the people are prepared to submit to the authority of a minor, such as Jauffer, so long before he has attained to the age of discretion," "That is a reflection from which I have derived some uneasiness," said the Khalif. "I believe it not impossible," continued Yaheya, "that certain distinguished personages of the race of Hâshem," whom he named, "might interfere on such an occasion; and that the sovereignty might, "not improbably, depart altogether from the sons of Mehedy." After allowing to the Khalif a moment's reflection, Yaheya assumed sufficient confidence to state further, that he conceived it, for the present, most advisable to desist from urging the abdication of Harûn; and that he would be responsible to prevail upon him to acknowledge the authority of Jauffer, the moment he became of age. Ul Haudy appears to have assented to this species of arrangement, and permitted Yaheya to return to his prison. Nevertheless, it will soon be found that the jealousy, the aversion, which had possessed the mind of Ul Haudy against his brother and his too zealous adviser, was of a nature that no palliative could remove or appease.

Such a state of mind could not, perhaps, long continue unproductive of some violent result. Accordingly Hârethmah the son of Eyûn, one of the principal ministers of Ul Hâdy is introduced to relate, that he was summoned by his master to attend him one day contrary to custom, in his private cabinet. When he repaired to his presence, he was desired to secure the door, and be seated; and that when, in some degree of perturbation, he had obeyed these commands, the Khalif addressed him in the following terms. "Thou "hast doubtless witnessed the manner in which this dog of a schismatic, Yaheya the son of Khâled, presumes to comport himself "towards me, in his undisguised intrigues, to bias the affections of the "people in favor of Hârûn. This night it will behove thee to bring "me the head of Harûn." Trembling in every limb at these portentous words, the minister implored his master, with the deepest humility, to consider that Rashîd was his own and only brother, and

that if, without a crime, he should put him to death, he, the minister, would forever incur, both here and hereafter, the reprobation of God and man. "If my orders are disobeyed," observed Ul Hâdy, "thy own head will be the forfeit." On which, Harethmah feeling himself constrained to express his compliance, the Khalif proceeded further to direct, that when he had dispatched the business of Harûn, he was immediately to visit the prisons, and banish to another world, every individual whom he should find there, belonging to the race of Abûtaulcb. And he was last of all, to take a division of the troops and march towards Kûfah; which city, after withdrawing from it all the posterity of Abbas, with their dependants, he was to consume to ashes. Hârethmah again endeavoured to remonstrate on the magnitude of the task thus imposed upon him, when his master put an end to all argument, by assuring him that there was no alternative; and that he was not to stir from the spot until he received his final orders to proceed to the execution of the several duties, which he was now selected to discharge.

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Ul Hâdy then withdrew to some other part of the palace, leaving Hârethmah to meditate in silence and alarm on what had passed; the latter not a little aggravated by the apprehension, that having discovered his unwillingness to be the instrument of his cruelty, the Khalif was about to devolve the odious service to some other person; and that on his return, he should infalliby be made the sacrifice of his vengeance. At all events he determined, if it was his destiny to escape the present danger, to seek some distant abode, where unknown and undistinguished, he might pass his days in peace and obscurity. In this state of painful incertitude he continued until midnight, when a domestic appeared and told him that the Khalif required his attendance. On which, having solemnly repeated his profession of faith, as if about to die, he followed the domestic until he found himself in a part of the palace where his ears were assailed by the voices of the women. Here he made a resolute stand, declaring, that he should not advance a step further, unless he was directed to approach in the Khalif's own voice. At this moment he heard himself addressed by one of the females, who called out that she was Kheizraunah, and who desired him to enter, and behold what had befallen

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them. He accordingly ventured into the apartment, where Kheizraunah informed him from behind the hangings, that God Almighty had delivered himself and all mankind from the tyranny of Mûssa; for he was dead. "Go," said she, "and convince thyself." On which, removing the linen cover, which had been thrown over the face of Ul Hâdy, he found indeed, as she had represented, that the tyrant was no more. Kheizraunah then proceeded to relate, that coming to the apartment where he now lay, she had cast the veil from her head, and implored Ul Hâdy to spare the life of his brother; and that, continuing to resist all her intreaties with unrelenting obstinacy, he was suddenly seized with a fit of coughing, of which, as every expedient to relieve him proved unavailing, he expired. She concluded, by charging Hârethmah to repair without delay to Yaheya the son of Khâled, and announce the event, with her desire that he should immediately secure for Harûnrashîd, the entire allegiance of the people. In compliance with her instructions, Harethmah hastened accordingly to apprize Yaheya of the unexpected catastrophe, and to make with him the arrangements necessary to the inauguration of Harûn. Abdullah Mamûn, the eldest son of Harûn, by a concubine, was born, it would appear, the same night, which has therefore received from historians, the appellation of Leylut-e-Hashemîah, the night of the Hâshemites; being distinguished by the death of one Khalif, the enthronement of another, and the birth of a third.

The death of Ul Haudy has however been ascribed by historians to a variety of csuses. According to the statement of one of them, a worm was generated in his bowels, which prevented him alike from rest and sustenance, and in three days, after producing the most cruel suffering, put a period to his existence. This was pronounced by his mother a judgment for his crimes. Another statement is introduced to allege, that his women were bribed by the money of Kheizraunah, to smother him with bolsters, while overcome with wine and debauch.* By a third, it is ascribed to an immediate manifestation of divine justice, for an act of wanton and deliberate cruelty. Some days previous to his disolution, while

* Tarikh Tebry.

amusing himself in the neighbourhood of Eissa-abad, a Ferâsh, or carpet spreader, was employed in unfolding some hangings to intercept the view of the multitude from Ul Haudy, when the latter suddenly demanded of his courtiers whether they thought he had sufficient skill to lodge an arrow in the heart of this man. At the same time that they gave him full credit for his skill, they honestly represented the atrocious inhumanity of imbruing his hands in the blood of his unconscious and unoffending attendant. The Khalif was, however, not to be dissuaded from his rash experiment, and the unfortunate and unsuspecting Ferâsh, receiving the arrow through his body, expired on the spot. The foul deed immediately struck the wretched monarch in all its horrors. He sent for all the relatives of his murdered domestic, and endeavoured, by all the sacrifices in his power, to satisfy and appease their resentment. But the just vengeance of his creator was not to be averted. An eruption made its appearance on the upper part of his foot, in the shape of a small pimple, which though it was the employment of four persons to rub, or chafe it without intermission, never suffered him to enjoy a moment's repose. It at last produced a mortification, the odour of which was so offensive, that it became almost impossible to approach the apartment in which he lay. In this state he languished to the third day, when he sunk into the arms of death.

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This event, whatever were the circumstances by which it was occasioned or attended, is stated to have taken place at Eissa-abad, a dependency of the district of Mossûl, on the eighth day of the first Rebbeia, of the year one hundred and seventy;* Ul Hâdy being as yet no more than six and twenty, and having reigned but thirteen months and some days, calculating from the demise of his predecessor. He was buried in one of his gardens at Eissa-abad, his brother Harûn performing the funeral obsequies over his grave. In his person he is described to have been tall; in his countenance handsome, and in complexion fair. His lower lip being, however, shorter than the upper, and his upper teeth longer than the lip, were so protruded as to give to his visage an appearance rather ludicrous, and to procure him the nick-name of Mûssa Ettebaka, Mûssa shut your

Tarikh Tebry.

* September 6th, A. D. 786.

A. H. 170. A. D. 786. Tarikh Tebry.

mouth. In other respects, he has been branded to posterity as an inexorable and sanguinary tyrant, unsparing in his dispensation of the laws of public justice, which, untempered with mercy, he administered to the extremity of rigour.*

HARUN UR RASHID, fifth Khalif of the house of Abbas.

URRASHID B'ILLAH HARUN,† the son of Mehedy, fifth Khalif of the house of Abbas, on the night on which his brother perished in the manner above related, was securely established, through the prompt and united exertions of Yaheya the son of Khaled, and the above-mentioned Harethmah, or Harthemah, on the throne of the Khelaufut. Having performed the last duties to the remains of Ul Haudy, the new monarch hastened the next day to the metropolis of Baghdàd; where, with the seal of state, he consigned to Yaheya the son of Khaled, of whose prudence and attachment he had experienced repeated proofs, the entire and absolute management of his empire. In the ensuing month of Shavaul, his favorite consort, Zobaidah, was delivered of Mahommed ul Amein, just seven months and twenty days after his accession.‡

At the period of his exaltation, Harûn had attained to his two and twentieth year, having been born at Râi, or Rey, while his father was residing at that city; and the birth of Fazzel the son of Yaheya, taking place ten days afterwards, his mother was chosen for the nurse of Harûn, and Fazzel became thus the foster brother of his future sovereign; a circumstance which may further account for the unbounded influence enjoyed, under the reign of this monarch, by the illustrious family of Barmek.

As the allegiance of the principal officers of the army had been already pledged, at the requisition of Ul Hâdy, to his nephew Jauffer, Harûn's earliest attention was directed to remove this embarrassment; and the young prince was accordingly prevailed upon to make a public abdication of his claims; declaring, that he freely absolved from their engagements, those who had sworn to be faithful to himself, and that the imperial dignity had justly devolved to his uncle Harûn.

*Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur. † By the grace of God, the sage, discreet, prudent.
‡Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

When every precaution had been thus taken to secure his rights against all competition, Harûn, as he was standing one day surrounded by his troops near the bridge of the Tigris, related to his minister Yaheya that he had received from his father, a ruby, the value of which had been estimated at one hundred thousand dirhems.* This beautiful jewel, as he wore it on one of his visits to Ul Hâdy, had unfortunately excited the cupidity of that prince, and he was surprised on his way home, by a message desiring that it might be immediately sent to him. When this unexpected request was communicated to him, he happened to be on that part of the bridge near which they now stood; and feeling himself not a little provoked, he drew the ring from his finger, and immediately cast it into the river. He acknowledged at the same time, that a period of five months had elapsed, since the circumstance had taken place. Nevertheless he now desired that some divers might be immediately employed to try whether they could not recover his ring. These men, notwithstanding their representations of the impracticability of succeeding in such an attempt after such a lapse of time, were accordingly directed to plunge into the stream of the Tigris; and having sufficiently explored the bottom of the river, they at last, contrary to all expectation and probability, brought up the ring; which, as an omen auspicious to his reign, was received by Hârûn with abundant satisfaction. Such a circumstance may perhaps, by many of our readers, be considered too romantic for serious history; nevertheless finding it almost immediately on the threshold, we have not been able to reject it entirely. We shall now proceed to the more important events, such as they stand recorded in the manuscript before us, of the reign of this celebrated monarch, whose name and private history are already so familiar to our earliest recollections.

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Although the seals of his government had, in the manner already related, been consigned by Harûn to his minister Yaheya, of the race of Barmek, the dowager Kheizraunah had, in a great measure, resumed the influence which she had been seen to exercise, during the reign of Mehedy. Nothing was therefore, for a long time, carried into execution by the minister, without the previous consideration and sanction of that princess. In the mean time, Harûn, who

* 5,291*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

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seems to have embarrassed himself as little as possible with the cares of sovereignty, was engaged about this period on a visit to the ancient city of Tûss, which he repeopled, and restored to a state of repair.

In the commencement of the year one hundred and seventy-three,* on her return from a pilgrimage to Mekkah, Kheizraunah reposed, in the arms of death, from the anxieties of ambition. An event which lodged the delegated authority of government, without an associate, in the hands of Yaheya. The latter being then employed in Khorassaun, was immediately recalled, and his grandson, Abbas the son of Jauffer, appointed to succeed him as governor of that province.

In the course of one hundred and seventy-five,† Mahommed ul Amein, the son of Hârûn by Zobaidah, then only in his fifth year, was declared heir apparent to the Khelaufut, to the exclusion of his elder brother ul Mâmûn: an arrangement with which, as it was expected there might be some dissatisfaction among the people of Khorassaun, on account of the minority of Amein, Fazzel the son of Yaheya, the governor of the youug prince, and the foster brother of Hârûn, was deputed to preside over that province; instead of Abbas the son of Jauffer, who was now recalled, until the allegiance of that important part of the empire should be secured for the heir apparent elect. This object being however completed at the expiration of a twelve-month, Fazzel was himself recalled; and the government of Khorassaun transferred by Hârûn to his own maternal uncle Otreif, the couzin german of Kheizraunah, here stated to have been originally of Yemen; but being removed by the vicissitudes of war and fortune, to Mossûl, and ultimately to Tebristaun, she there fell into the hands of Mehedy, and became his favorite mistress. The address of Fazzel was next employed to secure for his pupil the allegiance of Irâk; and being equally fortunate in his exertions in that province, his services were immediately remunerated by the government of all the territory lying to the westward and northward of Khorassaun; including the dependencies of Râi, Koumiss, Tebristaun, (the ancient Hyrcania) and Kohestaun, Hamadaun and Nihawend, to the borders of Irâk, together with the whole of Azerbayjan, and part of Armenia.

* June or July, A. D. 789. † A. D. 791.

We are now brought to the year one hundred and seventy six, in which Yaheya the son of Abdullah ul Hûsseyny, the Fatimite, revolted against the authority of Hàrûn, and made himself master of the inaccessible province of Tebristaun. The fate of Hûsseyne, who fell near Mekkah, in the reign of Ul Hâdy, has already occurred to the attention of the reader. He left two cousins, Yaheya and Idris, brothers of the Mahommed and Ibrauhim, who revolted, the one at Medeinah, and the other at Bassorah, in the time of Ul Munsûr. On the death of their relative near Mekkah, Yaheya and Idris contrived to escape from the field of battle, the latter to Tinjah, supposed to be Tangier on the coast of Africa, where he successfully proclaimed the rights of his family, and was acknowledged by the people. But he was subsequently reached by the emissaries of Ul Hâdy, and destroyed by poison. Yaheya, on the contrary, directed his flight into Guilân, where he was cordially received by the natives, who recognized his authority, and soon enabled him to appear at the head of a numerous army.

A. H. 176. A. D. 792. Tarikh Tebry.

The adjoining province of Tebristaun being under the authority of Fazzel Barmekky, an army of fifty thousand men was allotted to him by Harûn, for the suppression of this revolt against his government. With this force Fazzel proceeded to the city of Râi, where he remained stationary for a twelve-month, engaged in a negociation with the insurgent Yaheya. At the expiration of that period, he prevailed upon Yaheya by various promises to lay aside his hostile views, and to throw himself on the clemency of Harûn. Before he finally consented, however, to place himself in the hands of his enemies, Yaheya transmitted to Fazzel the schedule of a treaty, to which he required the signature of the Khalif, as a guarantee for the performance of the conditions. The treaty was accordingly conveyed to Harûn; and returned by him soon afterwards, with his own ratification, attested by the hand writing of many of the principal members of his court, and of the most respectable citizens of Baghdâd. Yaheya no longer hesitated to commit himself to the protection of Fazzel, who proceeded without delay to conduct him towards the metropolis; and Harûn, on his part, appearing infinitely gratified by this attainment of his object, without the hazard of a conflict, ordered

A. H. 176. A. D. 792. Tarikh Tebry.

the streets of the city to be splendidly decorated for the reception of Yaheya, who was treated on the occasion with a distinction beyond his most flattering expectations. He continued to experience the same liberal treatment for about five months; but at the expiration of that period, on the pretence that some letters had been intercepted coming to him from the refractory Deylemites, he was thrown into prison. The sequel of his story will appear in due time.

In the course of one hundred and seventy-seven,* the government of Khorassaun was transferred, on the removal of Otreif, to Hamzah the son of Mâlek. That of Egypt was about the same time bestowed upon Jauffer Barmekky, the son of the prime minister, and the particular favorite of Harûn. Hamzah enjoyed his authority for about a twelve month, when he was recalled, and the noble and extensive province under his jurisdiction, consigned to the able and accomplished Fazzel. This latter took possession of his government in one hundred and seventy-eight,† and during the period of seven years, in which it is here said to have continued under his authority, although we do not exactly comprehend how this is to be reconciled with the appointments and removals, which will immediately appear, rendered himself not less distinguished by his exemplary justice and integrity, than by his consummate prudence and abilities. The following year Jauffer was sent for by Harûn, to appease the commotions which are acknowledged about this period to have arisen in Syria: such indeed as to have required the services of some of the most distinguished captains in the empire; and among others of Harethmah the son of Eyûn, who was withdrawn on the occasion from his command in Africa. Supported, however, by the presence and exertions of this able commander and his associates, Jauffer succeeded in a short time, in restoring the tranquillity of his province; and in the course of the year consigning it to the charge of a deputy, repaired to Baghdâd. Notwithstanding the circumstance just related, with respect to his brother Fazzel, the government of Khorassaun was now conferred upon Jauffer, that of Syria, with probably that of Egypt, being assigned to his son Eissa. In the course of the same year, having contracted some dislike to the metropolis of Baghdâd, because, as he alleged, the air of the place did not agree with his constitution, Harûn transferred his residence to Rakkah on the Euphrates, (the

* A. D. 793. † A. D. 794.

ancient Nicephorium) here stated to be a dependency of Mossûle, having established Ul Amein in the government of the capital. From Rakkah he removed, however, in a short time to Heirah; but receiving some offence or other from the inhabitants, he quitted that place after adding considerably to its buildings, and returned again to Rakkah, which appears henceforward to have become his principal and favorite residence. A. H. 180. A. D. 796. Tarikh Tebry.

During the year one hundred and eighty, we are informed that Harûn was engaged at the head of a great army, in a religious expedition against the territories of the Greek empire; of which, however, the author has furnished us with no other circumstances, than that he reduced and laid in ruins, the city of Sefsauf, (the city of willows): but whether this refers to the subsequent hostilities in the time of Nicephorus the first, during which, it is said, that he destroyed the city of Heraclea, on the Euxine, it is not at present easy to determine. If the date is at all to be relied on, this invasion is, however, to be assigned to the reign of the ambitious Irene, whose contests with her son may have encouraged the hostile designs of Harûn. On his return from this expedition, Harûn conferred the government of Khorassaun upon Ally the son of Eissa ben Mâhan. But a charge of malversation being conveyed against that chief, he was recalled at the expiration of a twelve month, being directed to leave his province under the administration of a deputy. The governor of Khorassaun appointing his own son Yaheya to command in his absence, hastened to vindicate his conduct, loaded with a profusion of presents for the Khalif, whom he found means to conciliate without great difficulty; and in short, to convince that he had been unjustly calumniated. He was in consequence sent back in triumph, to wreak his vengeance on his accusers. About the same period an insurrection broke out in the territory of Nissa, on the border of Khorassaun towards Kharezm, of which, a certain rebel of the name of Ebenul Khateib, was at the head. But Ally the son of Eissa, being directed as the lieutenant of Ul Mamûn, now associated with his brother as co-heir to the empire, to oppose the insurgent, their chief was soon afterwards killed by that commander, and the insurrection entirely suppresed.

A. H. 186. A. D. 803. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

During the year one hundred and eighty six, Harûn, accompanied by the two young princes, his sons, proceeded on a religious visit to the two sacred cities. While at Yathreb, (Medeinah, formerly so called) he distributed to the inhabitants three separate and magnificent largesses, one in the name of himself, and the others in those of his two sons. Similar proofs of his liberality were exhibited at Mekkah; so that the charges occasioned by these disbursements, and other expences of his pilgrimage, are said to have amounted to the sum of one million of dinaurs,* and fifty thousand dirhems.† It has been already noticed, that Ul Amein stood nominated as sole successor to the throne of the Khalifs, as far back as the year one hundred and seventy-five; but as he and his elder brother grew towards manhood, their father sought to obviate the jealousies and hostilities which might too probably ensue, by an equal division of the empire between them. For this purpose he had recently caused Ul Mamûn to be publicly announced as heir to the Khelaufut, next after Ul Amein; on which occasion the empire appears to have been apportioned betwixt the two princes, in the following manner. The provinces eastward of the ridges of Hûlwaun, comprising the various territories of Kermanshâhan, Nihawend, Kom, and Kashân, Isfahaun, Farss and Kermaun; Râi, Koumiss, Tebristaun, Khorassaun, with Mauwerunneher, the country beyond the Oxus so called, Zâbûl, and Kâbûl, and the territory on the Indus, including a part of Hindostaun, were alloted to Ul Mâmûn. While Baghdâd, Wausset, Kûfah and Bassorah, with all western Irâk, the two provinces of Syria, Mossûle and Jezzeirah, (on the Upper Tigris and Euphrates) Hejauz and Egypt, to the remotest boundaries of the west, became the share of Ul Amein. In the instrument by which Harûn had thus disposed of this splendid inheritance, it was further stipulated that Ul Amein should fix the seat of his government at Baghdâd, and Ul Mâmûn at Merû; and that on the death of either, the whole of his allotment should devolve to the survivor. When it was however understood that, in this magnificent distribution, the Khalif had entirely excluded a younger son of the name of Kaussem, whose

*At the lowest 458.333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* † About 1,145*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*

education had been entrusted to Abdulmêlek the son of Salah, of the race of Abbas, the latter wrote to Harûn soliciting that his pupil might not be left so totally destitute of all participation in his favor. Some of the towns of Jezzeirah, with Mossûle, and the territory adjoining to the frontiers of Rûm,* and the defiles of Mount Taurus, were accordingly assigned to that prince, with the title of Mûtemmen, or trust worthy, which was conferred upon him at the same time by his father. To add the last solemnity to these arrangements, it is further said, that the two princes, Ul Amein and Ul Mâmûn, were publicly sworn in the sanctuary of the Kaaubah by their father, on this occasion, never to engage in hostilities against each other; all the nobles of the empire on the spot were called upon to bear witness to the engagement; and the stipulations of the instrument of succession thus solemnly ratified, being then published aloud from the vestibule, Harûn finally directed that a copy of it should be suspended at the door of the Kaaubah. But as the paper happened to drop from the hands of the person employed to suspend it, the by-standers drew from the circumstance, an omen inauspicious to the conclusion. They did not hesitate to predict that the expectations founded upon it, would never be realized; and that the harmony of the two brothers was not destined to be of any duration. These important arrangements dispatched, Harûn returned soon afterwards to Rakkah, sending Ul Amein to take up his abode at Baghdâd.

A. H. 186. A. D. 802. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Hitherto the character of Harûn, if it exhibits nothing peculiarly attractive, may nevertheless be contemplated, if not with approbation, certainly without aversion; but it is said that one of the inseparable properties of arbitrary power, is to pervert and vitiate the noblest propensities of the heart. At all events the story which now claims our attention, of his unrelenting cruelty to the illustrious race of Barmek, who had so long served him with such distinguished proofs of zeal and fidelity, would lead us to infer, that in a period of seventeen years, from a prince of moderate, if not amiable qualities, he was become a detestable and sanguinary tyrant.

Of this illustrious family, long known to the western world under the designation of the Barmecides, the oriental writers have in general united to consecrate the memory, to the esteem and applause

*Anatolia.

A. H. 186. A. D. 802. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur. of posterity. To Yaheya the prime minister, exclusive of his transcendent wisdom, and the most exalted mental attainments, they have in particular ascribed every laudable and virtuous quality that can aspire to, or command the love and admiration of mankind. His son Fazzel, together with the most unbounded liberality of disposition, they have endowed with the most exemplary and ardent zeal to promote the ends of justice. For Jauffer, another of the sons of Yaheya, in addition to all these qualities, which he also possessed in a very eminent degree, they claim an unrivalled excellence in skilful penmanship, and elegance of composition; the former an acquirement of no trifling value, before the inestimable discovery of the art of printing had superseded its importance. To Mahommed the third, they have assigned the most exalted magnanimity; and on Mûssa, the fourth son of this enviable parent, they have bestowed the wreath of prowess, and intrepidity of mind, in which he is said to have surpassed all parallel or competition. In short, such was the influence implanted in the bosom of Harûn by this unrivalled display of talents and virtue, that from the earliest period of his accession, to the year one hundred and eighty-seven, when his disposition towards them underwent a fearful change, the entire administration of his extensive dominions, in all its departments, was entrusted to the sole and exclusive management of Yaheya, and the admirable band of brothers whom we have just described; with this only distinction, that Fazzel, and Jauffer, but the latter in particular, enjoyed a more unreserved and intimate share in the confidence of their sovereign; which they nobly justified by the brightest example of liberality and beneficence.

Tarikh Tebry. When their father became advanced in years, Fazzel and Jauffer were alternately employed, at the discretion of Harûn, as his deputies in the civil administration of the empire; that being a branch of the service from which, by their military designation, the two other brothers, Mahommed and Mûssa, both Ameirs, or generals in the army, appear to have been excluded. Yaheya had at the same time other children; and each of the sons was the parent of a numerous family, which promised to continue the name to a remote posterity.

Each was distinguished by the highest employments of the state, either civil or military; and all grew great under the influence of their father's acknowledged talents and superior abilities. A. H. 186. A. D. 802. Tarikh Tebry.

It has been already intimated that of the two elder brothers, Fazzel and Jauffer, the latter enjoyed a more distinguished share in the Khalif's favor; this is, perhaps, to be accounted for by the following circumstance. We have seen it stated on a former occasion, that Fazzel was the foster brother of Harûn, nursed at the same breast. A tie which produced betwixt them, as might have been expected, the closest intimacy and affection. Hence in process of time, Fazzel became the associate of his master's most private pleasures, from which a liberal indulgence in wine was not excluded. But as these scenes of indulgence passed in the midst of the women of the Khalif's family, and were heightened by all the charms of poetry and music, Fazzel found it extremely difficult to close his eyes against the fascination which surrounded him. He therefore prudently withdrew himself from the spell, and above all things, ever afterwards abstained from the use of wine. Whether this was considered as a tacit condemnation of the debauched and effeminate life of his sovereign, we are left to determine. The favor of Harûn was, however, soon afterwards transferred to Jauffer, who became then, to his misfortune, the inseparable companion of those pleasures, from which his brother had, to all appearance, so prudently withdrawn.

Broken with age, and the cares and anxieties of his important and laborious trust, Yaheya had long since besought his master's permission to retire from office, and pass the remainder of his days at Mekkah. In this, however, he had not been able to succeed; Harûn alleging from time to time, that as his sons Fazzel and Jauffer were both eminently qualified for the Vizaurut, he might appoint either of them that he thought proper, to officiate in his room: that he would be always prepared to attend to such measures as they were disposed to submit for the sanction of his orders. He should only require of them still to avail themselves of the matured counsels and experience of their father, by subjecting such orders to his consideration, previous to their final execution. At the same time, though he forbore to acknowledge it, the inclinations of Harûn were already disposed in

A. H. 186. favor of Jauffer. But as Yaheya does not appear to have been aware
A. D. 802. of the preference, he made choice of Fazzel, to whom he accordingly
Tarikh Tebry. entrusted the seal of his sovereign; and Fazzel continued for a period of two years to exercise the functions of the Vizzaurut, or prime ministry, as his father's locum-tenens; Harûn all this time tacitly acquiescing in the choice. At the expiration of that period however, he conferred the ministry upon his favorite Jauffer; and taking the seal from Fazzel, he sent it to Yaheya with the following message. "As "thou art the best judge of their qualifications, it is of course at thy "option to lodge my seal with either of thy sons, as may best accord "with thine own discretion. Nevertheless I would remind thee, "that for my part, it is far from my intention that it should be disposed "of to either, contrary to thy inclinations." Yaheya now retained the seals in his own hands, and continued to discharge the duties of the Vizzaurut without a substitute until that period in which his fortunes were destined to experience a dreadful and memorable reverse. For continues the author, in this world is there that man who will venture to affirm, that, either among the ancient Persians, or the more recent sovereigns of Isslâm, any monarch hath ever assigned to minister or peer that influence over his government, and the domestic concerns of his family, which was enjoyed by Yaheya, and his sons; and after all, that it should have terminated so deplorably?

A variety of reasons have, however, been assigned for the disgrace and ruin of this celebrated family. And first of all, the protracted period of their ascendancy; for, when a person has continued long in the management of affairs, it is observed, that he will unavoidably have created a number of enemies, because it is impossible to please the whole world. Aware of this result, Yaheya besought his discharge from office, and was disappointed. As another circumstance which contributed to the fall of the race of Barmek, it is stated, that there lived at Rakkah, a person called Mahommed the son of Laith, surnamed Abû Rabbeia, related to the family of the prophet, and not less distinguished for his pious and blameless life, than for his capacity and literary attainments. By such considerations he had become a kind of oracle with the people; but unfor-

nately receiving some offence from Yaheya, he resented the injury by impeaching him to the Khalif, as a profligate and abandoned Zendicist. "How," said he in the letter which he addressed to Harûn on the occasion, "will their sovereign answer to his creator "on the awful day of retribution, or what possible reason will he "allege for placing the destinies of a faithful people at the disposal "of Yaheya the son of Khaled, his sons, and the other branches of his "family, deeply polluted as they are by the principles of Zendicism, "and infidelity in its most pernicious form?" To this malevolent accusation Yaheya was no stranger, although he seemed to treat it with silent contempt, until one day that Harûn pointedly interrogated him, as to what he thought of the character of Mahommed the son of Laith. "He is my lord," then replied Yaheya on his part, "an "hypocritical miscreant, not less to be reprobated for the depravity "of his principles, than for the pernicious doctrines by which he has "contrived to seduce the minds of the people; a base and malignant "slanderer, without faith and without religion in any shape." In the same strain he proceeded further to delineate the character of his accuser, until he produced at last, in the mind of Harûn, that impression to his disadvantage, which terminated in the confinement of his person. The accusation continued to operate, nevertheless, in the recollection of the Khalif; the religious persuasion of the family of Barmek became with him from henceforward the subject of perpetual inquiry; and the impressions which were already accumulating in his mind to their prejudice, derived additional force from the information which he received on that subject from such as were unfavorably disposed towards his minister.

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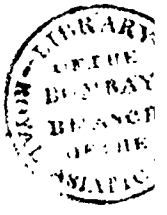

Another circumstance which is described to have impeached the attachment, or integrity, of Yaheya and his family in the opinion of their sovereign, is the following. We have already noticed the manner in which Yaheya, the son of Abdullah the Hûsseynite, who had revolted in Tebristân against the authority of Harûn, was prevailed upon through the intervention of Fazzel, to commit himself to his protection; the reception of that insurgent at Baghdâd, and his subsequent seizure and imprisonment. Harûn, not possessing on this occasion sufficient confidence in any one but Jauffer, committed

A. H. 186. A. D. 802. Tarikh Tebry. the unfortunate captive to his custody, with a particular charge to adopt the strongest precautions against the possibility of his escape. Yaheya continued under this species of restraint for some time; until one evening that he contrived to interest in his favor the compassion of his keeper. "Alas Jauffer," exclaimed he, "knowing whose "descendant I am, independent of any other claim to thy respect, "canst thou thus consent to be an accomplice in my death? Reflect "also on the solemn treaty, by which alone I was persuaded to lay "myself at the mercy of those, who have so basely violated their "engagements with me." "From this moment," replied Jauffer, "thou art at liberty; go where thou wilt: and I will be responsible "to Rashid." Yaheya accordingly made his escape; but as the circumstance became known to Fazzel, the Khalif's chamberlain, he immediately reported it to his master, whose patience on discovering the truth of the report is something remarkable. The next day, while engaged at his repast, the Khalif, with an appearance of indifference, demanded of Jauffer how matters stood with his prisoner. Jauffer replied that he was, as he had been directed to be, in close and rigorous confinement. "By my head and existence is it so," said Harûn, with a serious air; after a moment's pause, Jauffer ventured to acknowledge that he could not presume to stake the sacred person of his sovereign to a falsehood. That knowing him to be a just and innocent man, the descendant of his prophet, and the kinsman of his master, his heart had melted for the unhappy prisoner; and in short, that he had suffered him to make his escape. Dissembling his indignation, Harûn professed to approve of what he had done; telling him that he had only anticipated his own intentions, and that it was a proof that their minds were true to the same impulse. But though he concealed his displeasure in silence, it only sunk the deeper into his heart.

That which however appears to have sealed the destruction of this highly distinguished family was the following circumstance. Harûn had an elder sister of the name of Abbasah, older by a twelve month than Ul Hâdy, whom, when disposed to treat his brother with violence, she had never failed to soften by her intreaties; whom she had frequently withheld from urging those extremities against his declared

successor, which she equally dreaded to contemplate whatever might be the result. These good offices, so essential to his preservation, were not forgotten by Harûn on his accession to the throne. He distinguished Abbasah by the highest marks of favor; she became the depositary of all his secrets, the associate of his convivial enjoyments; and in short, of all the world, the most intimate in his confidence and regard. Of that social circle, to which the Khalif's sister, with many more of the loveliest females in the imperial family, were generally admitted, Jauffer, on the voluntary seclusion of his brother, had become a constant attendant. But finding himself at length considerably embarrassed by the presence of Abbasah, he began to apprehend that some time or other, either by words or looks, he might be betrayed into some error fatal to his peace. He therefore, like his brother, determined for the future to decline these dangerous interviews. The Khalif was not long a stranger to his motives, and he surprised him one day with a proposal to make Abbasah his wife, on condition that he would engage never to see her but in his presence: never to come in contact with her person, or to claim any of those privileges usual with man and wife; that alone excepted of sitting in the same circle with her. To these conditions Jauffer submissively subscribed, and Abbasah became accordingly his bride. They met as usual, and at a respectable distance conversed together in the presence of Harûn. But Abbasah happened to be one of the most beautiful women in the palace of the Khelaufut, and Jauffer was himself a very handsome and accomplished man. The result is not difficult to foresee. They contrived to meet where Harûn was not an associate of their interviews, and Jauffer's wife became the mother of a boy. The infant was privately conveyed to Mekkah, there to be brought up in charge of two faithful female attendants. But about a twelve month afterwards, in a quarrel with one of her maids, Abbasah, without adverting to consequences, struck her; and the girl in a fit of resentment, found means to disclose the dangerous secret of the child, to him, of all the world, from whom it was most necessary that it should be concealed. Harûn removed the revengeful female from the service of Abbasah, and placing her immediately among the women of his own hâram, charged her to

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forbear from conversing on the subject with any one; adding this circumstance to the other arguments of displeasure with which his mind was now become sufficiently exasperated against the whole family. In the mean time he contrived to ascertain the retreat of Yaheya, the Hûsseynite, who had sought an asylum in Khorassaun; where Ally the son of Eissa received timely instructions to adopt the necessary measures for seizing and securing his person.

The aversion of Harûn was by this time irrevocably confirmed against every individual of the family of his once favorite minister. Both he and his son Jauffer, in particular, were become equally odious to their sovereign. And the aged statesman receiving in his intercourse with the Khalif, daily proofs of this unfavorable change to his prejudice, in vain attempted to address him, to intreat his permission on the subject of retiring from office. Harûn continued to temporize with him, until Yaheya the Hûsseynite, being torn from his retreat in Khorassaun by Ally the son of Eissa the tyrannical governor of that province, was conveyed under proper security to Rakkah, and there immediately put to death: and the apprehensions of Harûn being thus laid at rest on that point, he no longer delayed to bring his account with the race of Barmek to a close. In the latter end of one hundred and eighty-six* he was engaged on another pilgrimage to Mekkah, in which he took care that Yaheya the minister, and his four sons should all of them attend him. At Mekkah, when he had absolved himself of the obligations connected with the sacred visit, he caused the infant child of Abbasah to be brought before him. He was struck with the singular beauty of the little innocent, and with the strong resemblance which it bore to its mother. Nevertheless he determined that it should die. But considering on calmer reflection that this helpless innocent was unconscious of offence, it was for the present spared.

On his Return from Mekkah, Harûn availed himself of some occasion or other to make a halt of three days at a station near Anbaur, on the river Euphrates. On the last of those days, he invited the three brothers, Fazzel, and Jauffer, and Mûssa, to his presence, and having caressed them with an appearance of extraordinary cordiality, he dismissed them once more to their quarters, with rich Khelauts,

* December, A. D. 802.

the customary dresses of honor. Similar marks of extraordinary kindness were bestowed upon their father Yaheya; so that the alarms which had been recently awakened in their minds were, by these means, in a great measure dispelled. When they assembled at afternoon prayers, Harûn observed to Jauffer, with his usual familiarity, that he was determined that night to enjoy himself without restraint in the society of his women; and that he should only dispense with his attendance on the express condition that he should be similarly employed. Jauffer retired to his quarters, and the Khalif withdrew, as he said he should, to the apartments of his women, and betook himself to his habitual indulgence in wine. In a little time he sent one of his domestics to inquire if Jauffer was engaged in the same harmless dissipation. Finding that such was not the case, the attendant appeared again with a message from Harûn, urging him by the life of his master, to imitate his example without further delay; for that his wine seemed deprived of all its zest, until he knew that his faithful Jauffer partook in the same enjoyments. Jauffer felt himself, at the same time, unaccountably alarmed, and averse to such a gratification; and reluctantly withdrawing to his chamber, called for the exhilarating beverage. It happened that he was attended by a favorite blind minstrel, of the name of Bouzgaur, to whom, after a few goblets, he could not forbear from communicating his apprehensions. The minstrel treated them as merely imaginary; roused his master to banish them from his thoughts, and resume his usual cheerfulness. But Jauffer further declared, that he found it impossible to dispel the uneasiness which seemed to haunt him. About the hour of evening prayer, another messenger arrived from Harûn with a present of nuts and sweetmeats for Jauffer, as a relish to his wine, from his own table.

A. H. 187. A. D. 803. Tarikh Tebry.

When midnight came, Harûn quitted the apartments of his women, and withdrew to his own. Calling for Messrour the eunuch, his favorite and confidential domestic, he directed him to convey Jauffer to his tent; where he was, without further preliminary, to strike off the head of that distinguished minister, and lay it in his presence. Messrour proceeded accordingly, and entering the apartment while Bouzgaur was singing some Arabic verses, stood sudden-

A. H. 186. A. D. 803. Tarikh Tebry.

by all the head of Jauffer, who started involuntarily at his appearance. The eunuch told him that he was summoned to attend the Khalif. Jauffer requested to know where he was to find him; and was informed that he had just left the apartments of the women, and retired to his own. He then intreated that he might be permitted to withdraw for a moment to speak to the women of his family; this last indulgence was withheld, Messrour observing, that any instructions which he had to communicate, might as well be delivered where he was. This he was accordingly constrained to do, after which he accompanied Messrour to his tents, on entering which, the latter immediately drew his sword. Jauffer demanded that the Khalif's instructions might be explained to him; and when this was complied with, cautioned the eunuch to beware how he carried into execution an order, which had evidently been given under the influence of wine and inebriety, lest when their sovereign should be restored to his recollection, it might be followed by unavailing repentance and remorse. He further implored, by the memory of their past friendship, that he would return to the Khalif's presence, and require his final commands. Messrour yielded to these intreaties, and appeared before Harûn, whom he found in the situation in which he had left him, expecting his return. "Is this the head of "Jauffer?" demanded Harûn. "Jauffer is at the door, my lord," replied Messrour with some trepidation; "I wanted not Jauffer," said the tyrant sternly, "I wanted his head." This was conclusive of the fate of the unhappy favorite. Messrour immediately withdrew, and returned with the head of Jauffer, which was now laid at the feet of his ungrateful master. He was then directed by Harûn to keep that head by him, until he should receive his further orders. In the mean time, he was enjoined to proceed without delay and secure the persons of Yaheya, his three sons, Fazzel, Mahommed, and Mûssa, and his brother Mahommed the son of Khaled; all of whom he was immediately to convey to his quarters, and place under restraint, seizing, without distinction, every article of property which belonged to them. These vindictive commands were carried into immediate and rigorous execution. The head of Jauffer was dispatched the next day to be suspended to a gibbet, on the bridge of

Baghdâd, as a memorial perhaps to the licentious inhabitants; after which Harûn continued his journey to Rakkah. A. H. 188 A. D. 803. Tarikh Tebry.

Stripped of all their wealth and honors, Yaheya and his brother Mahommed were condemned to languish under all the severities of the most rigorous confinement, until the former perished in his prison; when the survivor, whose estimable qualities were not inferior to those of any of his family, and whose irreproachable and blameless life was proof against every accusation of guilt, received his enlargement. The other members of the race of Barmek remained in custody, under every circumstance of distress and deprivation, until the whole of their agents and dependants were properly secured; not one who had ever, in any shape, been concerned with them being suffered to escape. The three surviving sons of Yaheya, Fazzel, Mahommed, and Mûssa, were then conducted to the presence of Harûn, when he ordered them to be butchered before his eyes. The infant children of Fazzel and Jauffer, with all their kindred, were condemned to share their fate; nor was a single individual of the whole family, Mahommed the son of Khaled alone excepted, destined to escape this furious and exterminating sweep.

The execution of Jauffer Barmekky, which commenced this memorable manifestation of the effects of a tyrant's displeasure, and which has been described with some variation by different authors, is stated to have taken place, near Anbaur, on Saturday night, the first of Suffur, of the year one hundred and eighty seven.* Be this however as it may, the cold blooded and deliberate cruelty of Harûn on the occasion has deservedly exposed his memory to the odium and execration of posterity. And yet those who reproach him the most, appear to allow that, if the story of his sister had not been interwoven in the piece, there were some circumstances to be considered, by which he might perhaps have been justified in all he did. But, say they, when that melancholy fact intrudes itself into the relation, every circumstance connected with it, seems to recoil to his own dishonor. Had he conducted himself with a common degree of patience or moderation, the story would have been forgotten with the ordinary

* January 28th, A. D. 803.

A. H. 187. A. D. 803. Tarikh Tebry.

occurrences of the day: it would have been known, perhaps, only to a few of his contemporaries. Whereas by the self-degradation which attended the act, and the extreme rigor to which he carried his vengeance, it will be propagated from one to another to the end of time; it will be read and recognized as something the very reverse of what should distinguish the conduct of the man of prudence and sound discretion. And in truth, it is observed that, on the extermination of the Barmecides, the affairs of Harûn fell into immediate and irretrievable confusion. Treason, revolt, and rebellion assailed him in different parts of the empire. He felt himself from disease unequal to the cares of government; and he expiated, by a tardy and unavailing regret, his unfeeling cruelty to the lamented race of Barmek.

Kholaussut-al-akhbaur.

To conclude this sketch of the splendid career, and miserable catastrophe, of a family so celebrated, perhaps we may be permitted to introduce, without an apology, the following observation derived from another source. Among the extraordinary occurrences which it has fallen to my lot to transcribe, says the author of the work to which we refer, that which I am about to mention is perhaps, not the least singular, or deserving our consideration. On some occasion or other, a certain historian relates, that he had an opportunity of consulting a register or memorandum of Harûnrashid's expenditure. In this, under a single date, he found recorded an article of that monarch's munificence to Jauffer the son of Yaheya, that patron of excellence alone, which in gold and silver, in rich apparel and carpeting, spices, and perfumes, amounted to the value of thirty millions of dirhems.* This may enable us to form some conception of the extent of Harûn's liberality to this distinguished family, while they enjoyed the sun-shine of his favor. Alas! continues the same historian, in the very next page, I could not but remark, that the comparatively trifling sum of fourteen dinaurs, and half a daunkah,† sufficed to provide the bitumen and combustibles, necessary to consume the bones of the same Jauffer, so long and ignominiously suspended to a gibbet at Baghdâd.

*At the lowest calculation, 687,500*l.* †About 6*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.*

We are already apprized of the method adopted by Ally the Mahanite, to avert the punishment due to his tyranny and exactions in the government of Khorassaun. The variety and splendour of the presents with which, on that occasion, he contrived to disarm the justice of Harûn, seem not less to have excited his astonishment. Of his minister, Yaheya, some time before his disgrace, he had accordingly demanded with an air of reproach, where they had hitherto contrived to conceal the wealth of Khorassaun; of that province which had been committed for so many years to the management of his sons? That virtuous statesman told him, without disguise, that the riches which appeared to dazzle the attention of his sovereign, were the property of his subjects, wrested from them by the violence of their governor; and that if he could conceive his master so disposed, it would not be difficult to produce him twice as much from the opulent inhabitants alone, of any single city in his dominions. The hint however produced no impression upon Harûn; Ally was sent back to his government with undiminished powers; and removing the seat of his authority to Bâlkh, he proceeded to decorate that city with his numerous palaces; and on the lands in the neighbourhood, which he had forcibly taken from the proprietors, he laid the foundation of the extensive and contiguous village of Ally-abad. A continuance of the same oppressive and arbitrary proceedings, produced from the inhabitants of Khorassaun fresh complaints against the tyranny of their oppressor: their agent representing to Harûn on this occasion, that his lieutenant had accumulated such enormous wealth by his exactions, as to make it a serious question, whether he would not even treat an order of recal from his sovereign with contempt and defiance. In consequence of these representations the Khalif proceeded in person to Rey, or Râi, having previously dispatched an order to require the attendance of the governor of Khorassaun. The latter again put in practice the expedient from which he had before derived so much advantage. He hastened to meet his sovereign at Rey, and by sacrificing to the monarch, and the principal members of his court, a part of the fruit of his numerous exactions, once more succeeded in eluding the punishment due to his crimes: and he was again suffered to return to his government with impunity.

A. H. 187. A. D. 803. Tarikh Tebry.

A.H. 187-190. A.D. 803-806. Tarikh Tebry.

Subsequent to his journey to Rey on this occasion, according to the authority, which at present serves to guide us, we are to notice the hostilities in which Harûn was engaged with the Greek emperor, (Nicephorus I.) who probably took advantage of his absence, to make some threatening movements towards the territory of the Mosslems. With an army of one hundred thousand men, Harûn advanced to oppose and punish the aggression; and in a triumphant campaign, during which he is said to have reduced no small number of the principal towns of his antagonist, he succeeded in compelling him to a treaty of peace; by which the representative of the Cæsars engaged himself to pay to the Mussulman an annual tribute of three hundred thousand dinaurs,* and to abstain for the future from encroaching on his frontier. On the faith of this engagement, Harûn had withdrawn into western Irâk; but the cold season setting in with unusual severity, and the Greek emperor conceiving unfortunately that the troops of the Khelaufut would be unable to brave the winter snows of Mount Taurus, perfidiously broke the treaty, and again assailed the Mahommedan boundary. Nevertheless, on intelligence of this wanton violation of engagements, Harûn immediately retraced his steps; and in the territory of the Greek, signalized his vengeance by the capture and destruction of many of his noblest cities. The aggressor was compelled to renew the treaty not improbably on terms of aggravated humiliation, while the victorious Harûn was thus enabled to revisit his capital of Rakkah, with additional triumph. But wherefore he received the appellation of Lejûje, or litigious, which is conferred upon him on this occasion, we do not immediately comprehend; unless indeed, as would better accord with circumstances, the term might be equally understood to imply the confounder. The hostilities thus transiently noticed, have, at the same time, been referred, by other authorities,† to the year one hundred and ninety; when the revolt of Rauffia the son of Laith, the grandson of Nusser Seyaur, at Samarkand, threatening to extend itself into Khorassaun, seemed in that quarter to have created sufficient employment for the attention of Harûn. At all events, this is a subject to which the course of the narrative now conducts us.

* 137,500*l.* † Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Possessed of a conspicuous and respectable station among the troops of Samarkand, and at the same time of a handsome and graceful person, this man, the descendant of so celebrated a grandsire, is accused of having devoted himself for the most part to the seducing society of women, and the no less enervating indulgence of a habit of drinking. In his intercourse with the other sex, he happened to contract a violent attachment for the wife of Yaheya the son of Aishauth, whose father was the Moulâi, or freedman of Harûn. The lady, as an expedient to absolve herself from her present connubial engagement, was prevailed upon, by the advice of her paramour, to profess a temporary apostacy from her religion; and having thus qualified herself for a divorce, she again recanted, and was immediately espoused by the son of Laith. An account of the scandalous transaction being however conveyed to Harûn, that prince transmitted his orders to the governor of Khorassaun, to inflict some adequate punishment upon Rauffia the son of Laith; to commit him to prison; and to separate him from his adulterous wife, whom he was to expose through the streets of Samarkand, with her face blackened, and riding upon an ass. The execution of these orders devolved upon Sûliman the son of Hâmid, the subordinate governor of Samarkand, who accordingly imprisoned Rauffia, and took from him the woman; but forbore to inflict any further punishment or disgrace upon the offenders. Shortly afterwards Rauffia escaped from his prison, and came to Bâlkh; where he contrived to conceal himself, until Ally the son of Eissa was prevailed upon, by some means or other, to grant him his pardon. He then returned to Samarkand; but finding that he could not, otherwise, openly contract himself to the object of his passion, he entered into a conspiracy with some persons clandestinely disaffected to the government, and putting Sûliman the son Hâmid to death, became complete master of the city; the whole of the inhabitants immediately uniting in support of the usurpation. The revolter availed himself of the earliest moment of power to announce his reunion to the woman of his affection.

A. H. 190, A. D. 806. Tarikh Tebry.

The lieutenant of Khorassaun, whose intolerable tyranny, together with the multiplied extortion of his agents, had greatly contributed to hasten the insurrection, first dispatched his son Eissa, with a

A. H. 190. A. D. 806. Tarikh Tebry.

competent force to reduce the Samarkandians to their duty: but as these troops were defeated, and their commander killed by Rauffia at the head of the insurgents, he found it at last necessary to march in person into Transoxiana, where he experienced a similar discomfiture, though he contrived to escape with disgrace and loss to Merû. The insurrection had by this time extended to Bâlkh, where the inhabitants had risen, and massacred the deputy of the Mahanite, and plundered his palace, with that of his father. The insurgents declared at the same time, that although they disclaimed, and would oppose the authority of Ally the son of Eissa, their attachment to Harûn continued unimpaired. They accordingly dispatched an express to announce to that prince the situation of affairs, and to explain to him without disguise, that, though they conceived the recal of his lieutenant indispensably necessary, he was become so formidable in his resources of men and treasure, that the most dangerous resistance was to be expected; unless the measure was brought about with as much mildness, and as little appearance of violence as possible.

When these advices were communicated to Harûn, he was immediately convinced of the necessity of at once guarding against such an untoward contingency, and of affording redress to the injuries of his people; and he appears to have proceeded on the occasion with unusual and singular circumspection. He sent for the veteran Hârethmah, and announced to him that he was about to employ him on a service of great importance; the success of which depended so much on inviolable secrecy, that if he suspected even the shirt upon his body to be aware of it, he was immediately to cast it off. After awaking his attention by this curious preliminary, the Khalif proceeded to inform him that, though it was for cogent reasons to be kept a profound secret, he was going to send him at the head of an army to take possession of the government of Khorassaun: and as there existed some apprehension, if the design transpired, that Ally the son of Eissa might be induced to forsake his allegiance, and oppose his march, he was to circulate among the army a report that he was proceeding to the assistance of that chief, in the war in which he was engaged, with Rauffia the son of Laith, and the insurgents in Soghdiana; that he was to write to Ally the son of

Eissa a letter announcing, that such was the design: and that he was not to furnish the slightest intimation of the truth, until he arrived at Merû. He was then to secure the person of this obnoxious governor; to seize all of his property that he could lay hands on, and send it to court. After which he was to detain him with fetters on his legs, while proclamation was made that all those who had suffered by his exactions might have an opportunity, by the necessary proofs, to establish their claim to restitution; which, if he presumed to withhold, he was to be further put to the torture, until the fruits of his unjust and inquitous spoliations, should have been taken from him to the very last article. A. H. 190. A. D. 807. Tarikh Tebry.

Further to disguise the object which he had in view, the Khalif summoned an assembly of the people, to whom he explained in detail, the situation of Samarkand, and the rebellious proceedings of the son of Laith; and that in consequence of this rebellion, and of an application from Ally the Mahanite, for a reinforcement of troops, he was about to dispatch to his assistance a powerful division of his army, the command of which he destined for his servant Hârethmah. He next authorized that general to make a selection of twenty thousand men from the flower of his troops, which, by the letters to the Mâhanite, he gave him to understand, were immediately to proceed to his assistance. In the mean time, in order that the circumstance might continue to all but themselves an entire secret, the Khalif drew up for Harethmah in his own hand writing, his commission for the government of Khorassaun. With the commission he also wrote three letters. One addressed to the troops of the province, calling upon them to put themselves under the orders of Hârethmah; another to the inhabitants in general, to the same purpose; and the third to Ally the son of Eissa, charging him to resign his authority, to the person whom he had sent to supersede him. The latter was conceived in the following terms. "Thou son of a profligate mother! after all "that I have done for thee; after raising thee from an obscure soldier "of my guards, to authority and eminence; after conferring upon "thee the important government of Khorassaun, contrary to the "united declaration of my ministers, that it was an employment, "with which it was improper to trust thee; the compensation which

A. H. 190-191. A. D. 806-807. Tarikh Tebry.

"thou hast made me, has been to tyrannize over thy brother Mussul-
"mâns, and to bereave me of the hearts of my people. Know then
"that I have sent Harethmah, *not to assist thee*, but to bind thee in
"chains; to take from thee thy ill acquired wealth, and to bring thy
"agents to a strict account of their conduct. To demand from thee
"that property of which thou hast unjustly despoiled the Mosslems;
"and to compel thee to restore to the sufferers, all that to which
"they shall be sble to establish their claim. To him therefore thou
"wilt resign thy authority, and him at thy peril thou art to obey in
"all that he shall tell thee." These letters, together with his com-
mission, were put into the hands of Hârethmah, who proceeded in
due time on his march into Khorassaun. But to prevent the possi-
bility of connivance, or of collusion between these two powerful
generals, the expedition was accompanied by Amein, or as he
has been otherwise called, Redja, one of Harûn's confidential domes-
tics; who was employed as a bridle, or check, upon the proceedings
of Hârethmah.

Having advanced to the other side of Rey, or Râi, Hârethmah no
longer delayed to write, as he had been instructed to do, to apprize
the Mahanite that he was coming, by the orders of their sovereign,
with a powerful reinforcement to his aid. On his arrival at Neysha-
pûr, he stationed one of his officers, with a considerable garrison, in
command of that city, instructing him however to give it out in the
neighborhood that he was immediately to follow his general; never-
the less he was not to quit that station until he was assured that he
had entered Merû. Hârethmah proceeded next to Serkhes,
and ultimately to Merû, without experiencing the smallest
opposition; the Mâhanite very peaceably appearing at the gates of
that city to receive him. The two chiefs entered the town together
most amicably, vying with each other in mutual concessions of pre-
cedence and respect; and in this friendly kind of contest they
continued until they reached the palace of government, into which
they both retired; the troops of Hârethmah remaining however on
horseback, without quitting their saddles. When they had partaken
together of the repast which had been provided for them, the Mâhan-
ite accosted his guest with a proposal that, now they were in a con-

venient place, they might as well enter upon the business which had brought him to Merû. "The commander of the faithful," observed Harethmah, "hath charged me with a letter which I am to deliver "thee." Then calling him on one side, with his secretary,* he drew from his bosom the letter of Hârûn, which he now presented to him. The Mâhanite unclosed the important packet, apparently without perturbation; but when he cast his eyes on the appellation of Eben ul Zauniah, offspring of an impure mother, by which he was addressed at the head of the letter, a sudden tremor seized his hands. He summoned however sufficient resolution to peruse it through; only remarking, with some bitterness, that the opprobrious epithet applied to him was but too justly merited, since he had suffered himself to be thus tamely surprised, under his own roof, in a manner that was alone worthy of the most profligate and abandoned class of society; after which he resigned himself without the slightest resistance to his bonds.

A H. 190-191. A. D. 806-807. Tarikh Tebry.

The person of his predecessor thus quietly secured, Harethmah proceeded without delay to execute the further commands of his sovereign; which, with equal cheerfulness and gratitude, both the troops and inhabitants of the province hastened to obey. In the cathedral mosque of Merû, day after day, was the Mahanite compelled before the whole people, to attend with fetters on his legs, until entire restitution had been made to every individual who had suffered from his unjust and tyrannical exactions. After all, there remained, as we shall see by and by, a prodigious surplus, to be conveyed to the imperial exchequer. In the mean time, while Hârethmah was employed in enforcing justice against this degraded proconsular, the affairs of Rauffia acquired at Samarkand a most formidable ascendancy; the whole of Mauwerunneher, the country beyond the Oxus so called, having now united to acknowledge his authority. The new governor of Khorassaun therefore conceived it imprudent to adventure beyond the Jeyhûn, where his orders were set at nought; and he contented himself accordingly for the present, with writing to acquaint his master, with this adverse posture of things. It was on such a report, that Harûn now determined to proceed in person into Khorassaun.

* Messenger rather, Sâheb-e-bûrreid.

A. H. 191-193. A. D. 807-808. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

We are now brought to the concluding year of the reign of this celebrated monarch. But before we accompany him on his journey into Khorassaun, where the angel of death awaited his arrival, we cannot, however it may expose us to the charge of credulity, forbear to describe from the Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur, an incident, which, in in the course of one hundred and ninety-two, is stated to have occasioned an extraordinary degree of perturbation in the mind of Harûn; and which the author of that history professes to relate in the words of Jebreil the son of Yekshua, or Joshua, the chief physician of that prince. The physician was in attendance at Rakkah on the person of his sovereign; and repairing one morning as usual to the presence, to make the customary inquiry into his health, found the Khalif labouring under evident and extreme discomposure of mind. Yekhshua, with the necessary submission, proceeded to intreat that the cause of this apparent disquietude might be explained to him, in order that, if it arose from bodily ailment, all the skill of which he was master, might be exerted to remove it; but if it was occasioned by any circumstance of public misfortune or disappointment, he called upon him to divest himself of an over anxious solicitude; for that heaven would doubtless vindicate him against all the malicious designs of his enemies. The Khalif told him in reply, that the uneasiness which had attracted his observation was not occasioned by either of the circumstances to which he alluded, but by a fearful dream which had occurred to him the night before. The physician then, embracing the feet of his master, endeavoured to convince him of the inutility, or absurdity, of suffering himself to be so much depressed, by that which could be nothing more than an ordinary result of the fumes of indigestion." "Whatever was the cause" said Harûn, "I will describe to thee what presented itself to my imagination. "Methought I perceived an arm suddenly extend itself from beneath "my pillow, holding in the palm of the hand a quantity of red "earth, while a voice addressed me in the following words. Harûn! "behold this handful of earth; it is that in which they are about to "bury thee. I demanded to know where I was destined to find my "grave, and the voice replied with awful brevity, at Tûsse; when "the arm immediately disappearing, I awoke." The physician

observed that such a confused phantasm was but little capable of interpretation; he however concluded, that when his sovereign fell asleep, his thoughts were engaged on the state of Khorassaun, and the rebellious proceedings of Rauffia the son Laith; the Khalif acknowledged that so far, he was not mistaken in his conjecture. The physician then prescribed to him, to devote the day to mirth and pleasure, assuring him that these melancholy impressions would by such an expedient, be possibly dispelled. Harûn availed himself of his advice; gave directions for some splendid entertainment, and after a short time the dream was altogether forgotten. A. H. 191-193. A. D. 807-808. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

The dispatches of Harethmah, to which we have recently had occasion to allude, had announced to Harûn that, after possessing himself of the whole of Mauwerunneher, the insurgent Rauffia had since advanced from Samarkand, and established himself at Bokhâra; which seems to have ultimately decided the Khalif in his resolution to proceed in person into Khorassaun. For that purpose, about the middle of one hundred and ninety-two, he left Rakkah, and came to Baghdâd. Here he disclosed his design of leaving Mahommed Amein in the government; furnishing him with abundant admonition to administer strict justice to the people, and to the army, which he should consign to his care. His other son Kaussem, entitled Mûtemmen, he dispatched to Mossûl, to superintend the territory allotted to him in that quarter, in his former distribution of the empire. But with respect to Mâmûn, his first born, though not his favorite son, that young prince had created for himself a most able and prudent counsellor, in his Mowlâi, or freedman, Fazzel the son of Sohel; whom from original magianism, he had, by his own exertions converted to the doctrines of the Korân. By this person, who was become the secretary of his master, Mâmûn was urged to solicit his father's permission to accompany him; "if once yon suffer your father to "depart without you, I can venture to predict," said Fazzel, "that "he will exclude you from your inheritance." In concurrence with these suggestions, Mâmûn solicited and obtained his father's consent to accompany the expedition. Tarikh Tebry.

At this period Harûn had been attacked by some lingering disorder, which appears to have baffled the skill of his ablest physi-

A. H. 192-193. A. D. 807-808. Tarikh Tebry.

cian, the Yekhshua recently mentioned, who was probably a Jew. In these circumstances he is said to have dispatched from Neherwaun, and by the Arabian or sea of Omman, an envoy, accompanied with numerous presents, into Hindûstaun; to represent to the monarch of that country, with whom he was probably in correspondence, that with a distant journey to perform, he was afflicted by a cruel and painful malady; and to request as a particular favor, that his physician Manekbah, (or some such name) might be sent to attend him into Khorassaun; promising, on the faith of a prince, that he should be permitted to return to his country, immediately on his arrival at Bâlkh. In due time the Indian physician arrived in compliance with this request; and having prescribed to his imperial patient, with considerable success, the latter found himself sufficiently recovered to proceed, through the passes of Hulwaun, to the station of Kermanshâhan. From this place, after causing the army to acknowledge afresh their allegiance to Mâmûn, he sent that prince with a considerable part of his force, on towards Khorassaun; with instructions to proceed to Merû, in which he was to establish his head quarters; and from thence to detach Harethmah across the Jeyhûn, to give battle to Rauffia and the insurgents of Mauwerunneher. He, at the same time, gave his servant Fazzel, the son of Sohel, the appointment of Vezzeir to the young prince. Mâmûn accordingly hastened to Merû, and in conformity to his father's commands, sent Harethmah to combat the enemies of his authority on the other side the Oxus.

Not long afterwards Harûn proceeded to Rey; from thence to Koumiss, and ultimately to Gûrgan, or Jûrjan; where his complaint, though by no means entirely removed, is still represented to have assumed a favorable appearance. At the same place the iniquitous and degraded governor of Khorassaun was conducted to his presence, with the fruits of his accumulated extortions; amounting in specie only, and gold and silver plate, to the sum of of eight millions of dirhems,* exclusive of the contents of his wardrobe, and other repositories, which in linens, and rich brocade or cloth of gold, were calculated at fifteen

* About 1,833,333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

hundred camel-loads. He was conveyed by the Khalif's orders, under the same circumstances of disgrace and degradation, with fetters on his legs, to Baghdâd, where Mahommed Amein was further directe dto keep him in close confinement. And in that state he continued, until at a subsequent period, as will be seen hereafter, Ub Amein thought proper to set him at large. In the mean time the disorder of Harûn relapsing upon him with aggravated severity, it was recommended to him, as early as possible to remove to the city of Tûsse, or Toosse, as possessing a more salubrious air than that of Gûrgan; and he accordingly arrived in the former place, in the course of the month of Suffur.* A. H. 193. A. D. 808. Tarikh Tebry.

About the same period that Harûn left Gûrgan on this occasion, Harethmah crossed the Jeyhûn, and advanced to the gates of Bokhâra. In the neighborhood of that city he engaged and defeated the insurgents, under Besheir the son of Laith, the brother of their chief, who fell a prisoner into the hands of the conqueror. The unfortunate captive was immediately conveyed to Mâmûn at Merû, and by him forwarded to Tûsse, to receive his doom from Harûn, who was now hastening to the concluding scene of life. When the prisoner was brought into the presence of that monarch, he was addressed by him in the bitterest terms of reproach, for the pain and inconvenience to which he had been driven by the malignant conduct of himself and his brother. "Thou adversary of God," said the Khalif, "by thy malice and of that Khaumil of a brother of thine," whose name he thus inverted, Khaumil implying *base*, in opposition to Rauffia, which signifies exalted, "in subverting my authority in "Khorassaun, have I been compelled in the last state of sickness "and debility, to undertake this distant and painful journey. By "him, that created Harûn, thou shalt perish by a death so dreadful "and exemplary, that in its agonies it shall infinitely surpass all "former precedent." He then called for the executioner, and ordered him to take his knife and dissect the wretched prisoner, limb from limb. Which was accordingly done, every member and joint of his body being thus alternately separated, and piece by piece, to the number of fourteen, laid before Harûn.

* December, A. D. 808.

A. H. 193. A. D. 808. Kholau ssut-ul-akhbaur.

The physician Yekhshua, is here again introduced to relate, that when the execution of Besheir was over, Harûn fell into a swoon; but recovering shortly afterwards, he addressed himself to that physician in extreme apparent agitation, and asked him if he did not recollect the dream which had occurred to him at Rakkah; for his own part, it could not escape him, that he was now at Tûsse; the very soil in which it had been predicted to him that he should find his grave. With this he desired his favorite domestic Messrour to bring him a sample of the native earth of the country. The faithful attendant brought him accordingly what he demanded; but presenting it to his sovereign, with his naked arm extended, the monarch immediately exclaimed "behold the arm and the earth, precisely as they "appeared in my dream!" And the circumstance adding considerably to the agitation which had already taken possession of his mind, he survived this period only three days.

Tarikh Tebry.

At such a crisis his two physicians, Yekhshua and the Indian Mânekbah, unfortunately disputed as to the method of treating his complaint; and it is stated, that the consequence was some fatal mistake, which is not explained. At all events the monarch had condemned Yekhshua to immediate death, but was prevailed upon by his intreaties to spare him until the morrow. The Indian who happened to be present on the occasion, immediately left the apartment, and told some of the attendants, with a sarcastic smile, that the monarch had suffered himself to be outwitted by the man of medicine: since as he could not survive the night, there was little to apprehend from the execution of to morrow. This foreigner was at a subsequent period, according to promise, allowed to proceed to Bâlkh, and from thence returned in safety to his native country.

The death of Harûnrashîd is recorded to have taken place at midnight, on Saturday the third of the last Jummaudy of the year one hundred and ninety-three,* at the age of forty-five, and after possessing the throne of the Khalifs for a period of two and twenty years, six months, and seventeen days. He was buried on the spot on which he breathed his last, the same that was afterwards distinguished by the mausoleum of Imaum Ally Ruzza; his son Sâlah performing the last solemn duties over his grave.

* March 23rd, A. D. 809.

In his person Harûn is described to have been of a fair complexion, with an engaging countenance; his hair growing in natural ringlets, and at the period of his dissolution beginning to turn grey. Of his character, the preceding pages must furnish our best illustration; though his praises have been the theme of many a poet. He is said to have had by his different wives and women, thirteen sons and either four or fourteen daughters. Of his sons, three of whom successively swayed the sceptre of the Khelaufut, Zobaidah was the mother of Amein, Merjan of Mamûn, and Mauredah or Mûraudah, that of Mûtaussem. After the disgrace of the family of Barmek, he had conferred the dignity of the Vizzaurut upon Fazzel the son of Rabbeia, and Issmâil the son of Sebbeiah served him as private secretary.

A. H. 193. A. D. 807. Tarikh Tebry.

Of his consorts, it is almost superfluous to add, that the favorite and most esteemed was the celebrated Zobaidah, the grand daughter of the Khaliful Munsûr; whose transcendent graces of person and mind, appear to have established an unbounded influence over the affections of Harûn. She is said to have founded, or perhaps more properly, to have rebuilt the city of Tebreiz, otherwise Tauris. And, although we cannot immediately trace from whence we derive such a tribute to her memory,* she is represented to have elsewhere erected numerous charitable and useful works, which she left as monuments of the liberal and benevolent purposes, to which she had applied the unlimited bounties of her husband; but best of all, she left the imperishable fame of her virtues, as a permanent incentive to the women of the east, to emulate her glorious example.

* It is probably taken from the Tarikh gûzeidah.

CHAP. III.

A. H. 193. A. D. 809.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

THE death of Harûnrashîd being announced at Baghdâd, about the middle of the second Jummaudy,* the denizens of that metropolis hastened in all their gradations to submit to the authority of his son UL AMEIN B'ILLAH,† Abû Mûssa Mahommed, the sixth, in order of the Khalifs of the house of Abbas. The same submission is here stated to have been claimed for him, from the pulpit of the Imaumut at Merû, by his brother Mamûn, as soon as the information reached that prince that their father was no more; so that matters for a time proceeded between the two brothers with apparent harmony; but these smiling appearances were destined to be too speedily exchanged for the forbidding frowns of rival animosity.

UL AMEIN B'ILLAH, VIth Khalif of the house of Abbas.

Tarikh Tebry.

Some time previous to his dissolution it would appear that Harûn had expressly signified, both to his son Sâlah and to Fazzel the son of Rabbeia his minister, that the whole of the army which had accompanied him to Tûss, together with all the treasure and effects of every description on the spot, must be considered to have devolved to Ul Mamûn; since the full share of his paternal inheritance had been already assigned to Ul Amein. On the other hand, as soon as it was understood that on their arrival at Kermanshâhan, his father had detached Ul Mamûn in advance towards Khorassaun; and subsequently that he lay seriously indisposed at Tûss, Ul Amein proceeded to select from among his followers a person of the name of Bukker the son of Meyakker, to be the bearer of three letters, addressed respectively to his brothers Mamûn, and Sâlah, and to the minister Fazzel. In that which he destined for Ul Mamûn, he called upon him to require in his behalf the allegiance of the province, and

* April 6th or 8th, A. D. 809.

† Dei gratiâ fidelis. It will be sufficient to remark once for all, that at their accession the Khalifs of the house of Abbas assumed these and similar titles expressive of their faith, hope, or confidence in God.

further to conduct himself with a strict regard to the principles of justice in all his proceedings. And with respect to Sâlah and Fazzel, they were instructed on their part, as soon as Mamûn had secured for his brother the allegiance of the army at Tûss, to conduct them without delay to Baghdâd, together with the whole of the departed monarch's treasure and effects, without exception. Having ingeniously concealed these letters in the bottom of a chest, Ul Amein took the person, whom he proposed to employ on this occasion, into the retired part of his palace, and there communicated the nature of the trust which he was about to confide to his discretion. He instructed him that he was to repair to the presence of Harûn, to whom he was to represent, if interrogated on the subject, that he had been deputed by his son, to convey to him a daily report of the state of his father's health; but that he was in no circumstance of extremity or coercion, to acknowledge that he was in charge of any letters, while Harûn was alive.

A. H. 193. A. D. 809. Tarikh Tebry.

On his arrival at Tûss, where the late Khalif was then languishing under the disorder which terminated his existence, the agent of Ul Amein had, as was foreseen, been rigorously scrutinized as to the object of his journey; and had successfully resisted both stripes and the torture without a disclosure of the secrets of his trust. Being however set at large on the death of Harûn, he then produced his letters, that for Mamûn being immediately transmitted to Merû; while Fazzel the son of Rabbeia hastened, without loss of time, to secure for Ul Amein the allegiance of the army on the spot; after which he dispatched one of the domestics of the deceased monarch with his staff and ring, to announce to that prince at the same time the death of his father, and the measures which had been taken to establish his interest in that quarter. This intelligence was communicated to Ul Amein on a Wednesday, although it was not thought convenient to make it public until the Friday following; when he announced it to the assembled people, inviting them at the same time to do him immediate homage as the sole successor to the throne of the Khalifs. He was seconded in this application by his uncle Sûliman with all the desired effect; the whole of the troops and the inhabitants in general of Baghdâd, submitting to his authority, with-

A. H. 193. A. D. 809. Tarikh Tebry.

out hesitation. The next day the army was remunerated by a distribution of accession money to a liberal amount, and by an advance of two years subsistance at one payment. The minister, Fazzel, had received his previous instructions to make from his father's treasure a similar distribution to the army at Tûss, when they should have pledged their allegiance in his favor; after which they were to be conducted to Baghdâd.

Ul Mâmûn on his part, although sufficiently apprized of the recent events, and of the measures pursued by his brother in order to appropriate to himself the whole of what had been left by their common father, forbore for the present to oppose any obstacle to his designs; his attention being, to all appearance, more immediately directed to hasten the termination of the war, in which Hârethmah was still actively engaged with Rauffia and the insurgents in Soghdiana. But Hârethmah having carried his victories to the gates of Samarkand, the rebel chief was there, soon afterwards, closely invested; and being in a short time compelled to accept of such terms as his besieger thought proper to dictate, was by him securely conveyed to the presence of Ul Mamûn. Studious in the mean time to establish his power on the firmest basis, that prince availed himself of every occasion, to diffuse to every part of Khorassaun the benevolent influence of a just and impartial government; and to set in his own person an example to the delegates of his authority, it was his daily practice, seated on a coarse carpet, to give public audience to his people in the cathedral mosque of Merû; where, surrounded by the most skilful lawyers and divines, he directed a considerable portion of time and attention to redress the injuries and heal the differences of those whose destiny had been committed to his charge. In short, whether in the distribution of justice, in the regulation of his expenditure, or in the exercise of any other branch of administration, every thing was conducted under his own personal inspection and controul. He finally secured the permanent attachment of Khorassaun, by remitting to the inhabitants a whole year's revenue. Neither was it omitted on his part to cultivate a friendly understanding, in appearance at least, with Ul Amein; to whom he dispatched an embassy, with splendid presents in horses, arms and slaves, and all

that was rare and costly, to convey to him every outward expression of regard, if not of submission to his authority. A. H. 193. A. D. 809. Tarikh Tebiy.

But while his brother was exhibiting this laudable example of good government in Khorassaun, Ul Amein at Baghdâd, entirely devoted to his amusements, and an inordinate rage for building, had long since committed the concerns of his people to the management of his minister Fazzel, from whom he had recently received such substantial proofs of attachment. Of himself, Ul Amein was, however, little disposed to proceed to the extremity of depriving Ul Mâmûn of the province consigned to him by his father; this being a measure to which he was only impelled by the suggestions of his minister, whose views were perhaps directed with no slight solicitude to screen himself, by all the methods he could devise, against the resentment of that prince. For he had good reason to apprehend that if Ul Mâmûn should ever arrive at supreme power, strict account would be required of the treasure and effects, which, contrary to the dying instructions of Harûn, he had undertaken to convey to Ul Amein; and which had, it now appears, been estimated at the sum of one hundred millions of dirhems.* To avert therefore this dreaded contingency, Fazzel contrived in the first place, in the Khotbah, to confine the title of *Ameir ul Moumenein*, or sovereign of the faithful, separately to Ul Amein; while that of simple Ameir and presumptive heir to the Khelaufut, was thought sufficient for Ul Mamûn and his brother Mûtummen: a distinction which was studiously extended to the legends on the coinage, and to the mottos usually attached to the imperial equipage. Having secured these preliminary arrangements, his influence was next exerted to persuade his master that since providence had bestowed upon him a child of his own, in the infant Mûssa, at this period only two years old, the succession ought, in natural justice, to descend to him in preference to all the world; because where there is a son, however under age, a brother's claims become as nothing. He therefore urged the immediate and positive exclusion of Ul Mamûn. Ul Amein objecting however the repugnance which he

* About 2,291666*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

A. H. 193. A. D. 809. Tarikh Tebry.

felt to cancel the arrangements of his father in this respect, Fazzel contended, that although in a moment of injudicious liberality the departed monarch might have been led into such an arrangement, it was to be recollected, that long before Mamûn had been declared his associate in the empire, the allegiance of the people had been required for Ul Amein; and that this previous engagement was paramount to all others. By these and similar arguments Ul Amein was ultimately brought to coincide with the views of his minister, and to adopt the final resolution of degrading both his brothers from authority. It appears to have been carried into immediate execution against Mûtummen, who was removed from Mossûle to Baghdâd without difficulty, and his government assigned to another person, in the early part of the year one hundred and ninety four.*

Aware of such a proceeding, it required no extraordinary sagacity on the part of Ul Màmûn to form a pretty accurate conjecture of what was in agitation against himself; and he accordingly stood prepared for the event. He was however not suffered to remain long in suspense. A letter was transmitted to him in the name of Ul Amein, in which in terms which could not be misunderstood, it was intimated, that as the military force, for which he was expected to provide the means of subsistance, was comparatively small, any extraordinary accumulation of revenue must be to him entirely superfluous; while on his (Ul Amein's) side, on the contrary, with a numerous army, and the splendor of the imperial dignity to maintain, his expences were of a magnitude which needed no exaggeration. On such grounds, he therefore proposed that Ul Mamûn should immediately cede over to the agents of his brother, the territories of Râi, Koumiss, Tebristaun, and Gûrgan, for the purpose of remitting to him the revenues of those dependencies. Furthermore it was required that a person should be allowed to reside at Merû on the part of Ul Amein, in order to preserve his interests in the province unimpaired, and to keep him daily apprized of the state of affairs in Khorassaun. To these several propositions Ul Mamûn returned a decided negative; on which his brother proceeded with

* Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur. October and November, A. D. 809.

out further ceremony to exclude him formally from his right to the succession. A. H. 194. A. D. 809.

Tarikh Tebry.

On the subsequent Friday, accordingly, during the performance of divine worship, the name of Ul Mâmûn was publicly declared to be struck out of the Khotbah, by Ul Amein; after which, when that prince, with the infant Mûssa on his knee, had seated himself in the Meheraub, or sacred niche in the wall near the pulpit, the minister Fazzel arose; and with ample commendations on the character of his master, proceeded to state, that having openly disobeyed his brother's commands, and frustrated the objects of his father's will, in withholding the revenues of Khorassaun; in refusing to admit of the residence of an agent at Merû; and in usurping to himself the title of Imaum, the sovereign of the faithful had for these reasons found it expedient to degrade Ul Mamûn from all his honors, and to transfer the right of succession to his own son Mûssa; who, with the title of *Ul Nautek bilhukk*, (he who speaks through the power of eternal truth, though he had not yet acquired the faculty of speech) was now proclaimed heir apparent to the throne of the Khalifs; and in that quality, before they withdrew from the assembly, he demanded and received for the infant prince, the allegiance of the people. The name of Mûssa was at the same time substituted for that of Ul Mamûn, in the public orations, on the coinage and imperial equipage throughout the dominions of Isslâm. Lastly, the instrument of succession which Harûn had caused to be executed with so much solemnity at Mekkah, and suspended at the entrance of the Kaaubah, was now sent for and torn to pieces by the directions of Ul Amein. All which being punctually communicated to Ul Mamûn, he retaliated by adopting the same formalities against his brother; and totally rejecting for himself the remoter title of heir apparent, he openly assumed that of Imaum, or supreme pontiff, with all its sacred functions.

In the mean time, apprehensive that in these circumstances, Ul Mamûn would not long delay the execution of some hostile enterprize against the metropolis of the empire, Fazzel the son of Rabbeia omitted no importunities with his sovereign to urge him, by hastening the the march of an army towards the borders of Khorassaun, to antici-

A. H. 194. A. D. 810. Tarikh Tebry.

pate such an event: and for this service he intimated that no man was so eminently qualified as Ally the son of Eissa, the Mâhanite, formerly imprisoned for his iniquitous and arbitrary abuse of authority. Accordingly, with a body of fifty thousand horse selected from the flower of the army of Irâk, that chief was held in readiness to enter Khorassaun with all convenient expedition. The gates of the treasury, and of the imperial arsenals, were thrown open for his accommodation, and he was allowed to supply himself to the utmost measure of his wants. Of his three sons, however, Hûsseyne, the younger, was detained at Baghdâd, to superintend the education of the infant Mûssa; the other two, Yaheya and Abdullah, were permitted to accompany their father; who, after sufficiently providing for their subsistance and equipments, now conducted his troops to Neherwaun; about two leagues or farsangs from the metropolis, on the road to Hulwaun. To this place he appears to have been accompanied by Ul Amein; who, the day subsequent to their arrival, when the army for the last time defiled before him on their march, *standing upright on the back of his charger*, addressed to the general, who attended by his side, his final instructions. In these he is stated to have apprized him, that as soon as he should be master of the province, he designed to invest him with the government of all Khorassaun, from the passes of Hulwaun eastward, with the same powers as he had formerly enjoyed under the authority of his father; in return for which he should require that, in all the places through which he passed, he would on his part acquit himself with a scrupulous regard to the principles of strict and impartial justice. In other respects, before he entered the country, he was instructed by letters circulated to the inhabitants, to promise them the most liberal and equitable treatment; and particularly the remission of one fourth of the annual contributions to the state, in the same manner as had been done by Ul Mamûn. To all such as came over from the enemy, he was to give the most favorable reception, and to inspire them on the part of his sovereign with the most encouraging expectations. And he closed his instructions with a charge, in the event that Ul Mamûn should be disposed to surrender his person, that he was to convey him in fetters of silver to Baghdâd, under such

custody as he might securely rely upon; his exertions even in the case of the most determined hostility being required to take him alive, and to beware either through ignorance or accident of being instrumental to his death. The Mahanite then proceeded without further delay to the execution of his orders. It would appear at the same time, that the preparations for the invasion of Khorassaun must have occupied the greater part of the year one hundred and ninety four, since the departure of the troops destined for Persian Irâk on this occasion, is not stated to have taken place before the commencement of ninety five.*

A. H. 194. A. D. 810. Tarikh Tebry.

Aware on the other hand of approaching danger, Ul Mâmûn proceeded to expedite those measures of defence against aggression, which it would have been inconsistent with common prudence any longer to delay. He availed himself on this emergency of the courage and abilities of Tâher the son of Ul Hûsseyne, the founder of the Taherites, at a subsequent period eminently celebrated in Khorassaun; on whom with the command of twenty thousand men, he now conferred the government of Irâk Ajem, from Râi westwards, to the gates of Hulwaun. This general, who is noticed by the way as blind of his right eye, being directed to march with the utmost expedition in order to secure the city of Râi before it should be occupied by the enemy, fortunately succeeded in his object, and encamped his army in front of that place just in time to anticipate the arrival of the Mahanite; who finding his views thus defeated, immediately took up his ground in the presence of Tâher. In these circumstances the latter received a message from the Mahanite calling upon him, if he were disposed for hostility, to arrange his troops for battle in a manner to bring the contest to a speedy decision; if otherwise, to secure for himself an honorable peace, by submitting to the authority of Ul Amein. To which Tâher as briefly replied, that as the breach of treaties and allegiance lay with those whom he served, the guilt of hostility must also rest at their door; and this was the only answer which he must expect, either for himself or Ul Amein. Both armies shortly afterwards drew out for action, and Ally the son of Eissa having called aloud upon Taher to

* Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

A. H. 195. A. D. 810. Tarikh Tebry.

meet him hand to hand, the challenge was cheerfully accepted. Wielding his sword with both hands, Tâher rushed impetuously upon his adversary, clove him through the helmet and the skull, and dispatched him on the spot. This was followed by an immediate and simultaneous charge on the part of Tâher's troops against a particular point in the line of their opponents; and the latter, peradventure discouraged by the fall of their leader, giving way at the first shock, were driven from the field in the utmost consternation. The next day, having pursued the vanquished with considerable slaughter, Tâher made his triumphant entry into Râi; where the head and ring of Ally the Mahanite being brought before him, he dictated the following laconic epistle to Fazzel the son of Sohel at Merû. "This note is written to "thee, with the head of Ally the son of Eissa in my hand, and his ring "upon my finger—farewel.!"

The purport of this brief but interesting communication was speedily made known to Ul Màmûn by Fazzel; when that minister in the ardour of congratulation, saluting his master by the title of *Ameir ul Moumenein*, on the same day proclaimed him exclusive possessor of the throne of the Khalifs. A letter from Tâher addressed immediately to his sovereign, and accompanied with the head of the Mahanite, shortly afterwards announced the triumph of his arms. In reply to this, a mandate was dispatched by Ul Mâmûn to that general, requiring his allegiance as sole Khalif; and announcing his pleasure to be on all future occasions addressed by the title of Ameir ul Moumenein. In the dispatch which, under the immediate signature of Mamûn, conveyed these instructions to Tâher, he was enjoined to receive on his own hand the fealty of the people of Râi; the sovereign having, as he stated, adopted for his own the right hand of Taher, the left hand of that general was now therefore to be considered as his right. "Hail then" added Mamûn on this occasion, "Tâher son of Hûsseyne, henceforward Zûl-"yemnein." A term which may with perfect propriety be rendered *ambidexter*. He is however, on another authority, stated to have acquired the appellatiou of Zûlyemnein, because in giving his mortal wound to Ally the son of Eissa, he wielded his sword with both hands.

It is on this occasion further related, that when a report of the discomfiture of his troops was communicated to Ul Amein, by one

of the fugitives from the field of battle, he happened to be fishing on the bank of the Tigris, accompanied by a favorite attendant of the name of Kousser, or Kouther. In reply to the disastrous intelligence of which he was the bearer, the thoughtless prince, with characteristic apathy, desired the messenger to hold his peace; for whilst he had hitherto exhausted both his skill and his patience without success, his man Kousser had a brace of fish in his basket. However, when this august and sapient prince, continues the same author in a sarcastic strain, was at leisure from his very important occupation, and the fate of his general was confirmed to him, he found it expedient to set about the immediate equipment of a second army; which was sent with all practicable dispatch, to oppose the victorious progress of Zûl-yemnein. A. H. 193. A. D. 810. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

The defeat of the Mâhanite occasioned at the same time at Baghdâd among the soldiery the most violent agitation; Ul Amein being openly taxed with having justly incurred the wrath of heaven by his treachery and breach of faith in his conduct towards Mamûn: but having acquiesced without demur in a demand for four month's pay, and made a seasonable and liberal distribution among their captains, he contrived for the present to appease the clamour; and the army was at length prevailed upon to march under the orders of Abdurraihman the son of Heblah, the Anbaurite. At one of the stations between Râi and Hamadaun, it is not determined where, that chief was also defeated by Zûlyemnein, with great slaughter, and compelled to throw himself for protection behind the walls of the latter city. But being on all sides immediately invested by the troops of his conqueror, the failure of provisions, after the resistance of one month, made a capitulation unavoidable; and he was accordingly constrained to surrender to Zûlyemnein. In the mean time intelligence of his danger had been conveyed to Ul Amein, and a considerable force had been dispatched with all diligence by that prince for the relief of Hamadaun. Finding, however, on their arrival within two stages of their destination, that the place had already submitted to the enemy, a letter was written by these troops to demand of the captive chief, whether he had any instructions to communicate as to their further proceedings. In these circumstances Abdurraihman conceived he might Tarikh Tebr

A. H. 195. A. D. 811. Tarikh Tebry.

attempt to repair by fraud, the losses which he had sustained through the superior prowess or good fortune of his antagonist. He therefore communicated the letter, which he had just received, to Zûlyemnein, and offered, on obtaining the general's permission to visit their camp, to bring over the whole of the detachment to join the standard of Ul Mamûn. The vigilance of Zûlyemnein was completely laid asleep by the insidious proposal; and the Anbaurite was accordingly suffered to depart, with such terms as he pretended could not fail to produce the desired impression. He was, however, no sooner beyond the reach of his guards, than hastening to join the troops of Ul Amein, he immediately proposed to them to surprise the camp of the enemy. The proposal was acceded to without hesitation, and he accordingly marched under cover of a very dark night, to carry his design into execution. The troops of Zûlyemnein were entirely off their guard; and before their chief could recover them from their astonishment, a considerable slaughter had taken place. But Abdurraihman falling early in the conflict, the hopes of the enterprize perished with its author. Victory again declared in favor of Zûlyemnein, who advanced upon this without further opposition to Belashaun; a village of that name at the head of the passes of Hûlwaun, where he now encamped.

These repeated successes having rendered the name of Ul Mâmûn and of his victorious general, equally formidable to the troops at Baghdâd, Ul Amein despaired, for some time, of being able to prevail upon any of his captains to hazard another conflict with the enemy; as they in general either declined the service altogether, or demanded such enormous sums for its accomplishment, as the state of his treasury rendered it impossible to furnish. When, however, both he and his minister had laboured, for a considerable period, under the most painful suspense and embarrassment, two of his commanders, Mahommed the son of Ul Mûeyud, and Abdullah, the son of Hameid son of Kohtbah, each at the head of twenty thousand men, were at last induced to proceed as far as Khaunekein, about two thirds of the apparent distance from Baghdad to Hulwaun; where they took post in order to obstruct the further progress of Zûlyemnein. When they had continued thus stationed for some time, to expect the

approach of the enemy, an expedient was put in practice against them by Zûlyemnein, which, without striking a single stroke on his part, was attended with all the consequences of a complete discomfiture. Having selected from among the people who served with his army, twenty of the natives of Baghdâd, he sent them by a circuitous route to gain the road which led from that city to the encampment of his adversaries; which from that direction, they were instructed to enter separately, and at different periods; and to circulate a report that Ul Amein had once more thrown open the gates of his treasury, and was at this moment distributing a gratuity of two years' pay to the troops who remained about his person. This report, being accordingly repeated in the stations about Khaunekein, by different individuals, who appeared to have no manner of connection with each other, and who possibly gave themselves out as some of those who had actually shared in the Khalif's liberality, produced by degrees the impression for which it was designed. The soldiers proceeded to express, without disguise, their dissatisfaction, that while they were sent to encounter the hazards and fatigues of war, the treasures of the state were lavished upon those who lived at home, in the bosom of idleness and repose. Great numbers accordingly avowed the design of immediately returning to Baghdâd; others however, from a more honorable sentiment of duty, expressed a determination to remain at their posts; but while they were debating the point, the troops quitted the encampment in entire divisions; so that in a short time the whole army had withdrawn to the metropolis, without having performed a single act of hostility against the common enemy.

A. H. 195. A. D. 811. Tarikh Tebry.

Zûlyemnein now led his army from Belashaun, and penetrating through the passes without obstruction, soon afterwards took possession of Hulwaun. From thence he dispatched to announce to Ul Mamûn that he had triumphantly made his egress from the defiles, and that he was now arrived on the borders of western Irak: but to enable him to proceed at the same time from two opposite points in the attack which he meditated upon Baghdâd, he requested to be powerfully reinforced: so that while he advanced in person with one part of the army by the direct route of Neherwaun, another division might approach along the Tigris upwards, by the

A. H. 195. A. D. 811. Tarikh Tebry.

way of Ahûauz. These accounts were peculiarly gratifying to Ul Mamûn, and he proceeded to testify his satisfaction by transmitting to Zûlyemnein a robe of honor of extraordinary magnificence; while with other marks of favor, which he bestowed upon Fazzel the son of Sohel, the minister who had directed him in his choice of the successful general, he gave him the title of Zûlriaussetein—regulator of the sword and pen, or minister of state and war. In concurrence with the application of Zûlyemnein, a body of twenty thousand men was immediately detached to join him under the warlike and experienced Hârethmah. But aware that this general might object to serve under one whom he considered his inferior, Ul Mâmûn endeavored to provide against such an inconvenience by directing that as soon as the army should have been thus reinforced it should be separated into two divisions; the one to proceed under Hârethmah immediately towards Baghdâd by the road through Neherwaun, while the other, under the orders of Zûlyemnein, was to diverge to the left, and approach in the direction from Ahûauz.

Having abandoned all hope in the exertion of his troops, since their disgraceful return without a battle from the gates of Hulwaun, Ul Amein now directed his thoughts to another quarter. He made choice of Abdulmêlek the son of Sâlah, the Hâshemite, to assemble an army in Syria; and bestowing upon him the government of Damascus, he sent him accompanied by Hûsseyne the son of Ally, the Mahanite, and ten thousand of the troops of Baghdâd, to expedite the levies from that province. Hastening to the execution of his orders Abdulmêlek was, however, seized on reaching Rakkah, by a disorder which prevented him from prosecuting his march; and Hûsseyne, who acted as lieutenant general of the troops, urging that the perilous crisis of their master's affairs could ill brook the delay, of which this unfortunate indisposition might prove the occasion, he yielded to his advice; and dispatched into Syria to require that the intended reinforcements might immediately proceed to join him at Rakkah; and shortly afterwards, engaged by a profusion of promises, a body of twenty thousand Syrians accordingly appeared to his support, in the neighborhood of that place.

It happened unfortunately that strolling through the camp of the Syrians, one of the soldiers of Baghdâd recognized a horse which had

been stolen from him many years since; and immediately claiming his property, proceeded, with the assistance of some of his fellows, to convey it away. But the cries of the Syrian, in whose possession the horse had been discovered, bringing a number of his countrymen to his aid, both parties had immediate recourse to their arms, and engaged in a desperate and sanguinary affray. Hûsseyne the Mahanite, had been sent by the directions of Abdulmêlek to separate the combatants, and appease the tumult; but before he could reach the scene of uproar, the Syrians had cut to pieces many of their opponents, and compelled the remainder to fly in different directions. Misled by an indiscreet partiality for the men of Baghdâd, the Mahanite forgot the object of his instructions; and joining the fugitives, he brought them to recoil upon their pursuers, who were now, in their turn, repulsed with considerable slaughter. After such a proof, as they said, of what they were to expect for their services, the Syrians were led to discuss the inexpediency and absurdity of their engaging themselves any further in Irâk; and coming, among themselves, to an immediate resolution of returning home, that resolution was carried into effect without a moment's delay.

A. H. 195. A. D. 811. Tarikh Tebry.

Under these circumstances, Hûsseyne thought it expedient to hasten with his troops back towards Baghdâd, leaving Abdulmêlek still grievously indisposed at Rakkah: and Ul Amein had scarcely been well apprized of the untoward event, when the Mahanite and his followers re-entered the metropolis. The conduct of this chief had probably incurred the resentment of the Khalif; but as the whole of the troops in Baghdâd had collected round his person, immediately on his arrival, it appeared a matter of considerable hazard to proceed openly against him. His own apprehensions on the subject were at any rate sufficiently obvious, since he retired within his own doors, without presenting himself, as it was customary to do, to the notice of his sovereign. He received however the same evening, a message requiring his attendance; to which he returned a positive refusal, declaring that he should not appear at the palace, otherwise than at the head of the troops; but that the next day, when they should have been assembled under their respective leaders, he would, with them attend the Khalif's pleasure. In the mean time he apprized the mili-

A. H. 195. A. D. 811. Tarikh Tebry.

tary chiefs, of what had passed, and that he had been sent for by Ul Amein for the express purpose of being put to death. They cautioned him, in reply, for that night, at all hazards to remain at home, and that on the morrow they would not fail to be with him. In the course of the night he received a second message from Ul Amein, requesting his presence, as he had some matters of serious importance to communicate. To this, with audacious insolence, Hûsseyne now replied, that being neither a minstrel nor a buffoon, any nocturnal communication with him was entirely out of the question; and that as he could have nothing to transact with him but what related to the affairs of war, he should therefore not attend the Khalif until he had drawn the army together.

The next day he mounted his horse, and taking post at the head of the bridge of the Tigris, was there joined by the troops of Baghdâd and Irâk, to the number of fifty thousand men. Of these he proceeded to demand how long they were to endure that this miscreant, alluding to Ul Amein, who was neither man nor woman, should continue to indulge in his licentious and contemptible pleasures, to the entire neglect of his armies, and of every branch of his government? To this it was replied, by unanimous acclamation, that Ul Amein should be immediately deposed from his authority; and to secure this object against the possibility of defeat, Hûsseyne hastened without delay, at the head of the insurgents, to throw himself into the palace, where he succeeded in seizing the person of his insulted sovereign. The unfortunate monarch was immediately dragged from the asylum of his power; and being hurried, with his head and face muffled up, to the palace of his mother Zobaidah, he was there laid in fetters, and for the present committed to the custody of a guard of soldiers. This partial revolution is on other authority, stated to have taken effect, on Sunday the eleventh of Rudjub, of the year one hundred and ninety-six.*

The authority of Ul Mamûn was now publicly proclaimed throughout Baghdâd. But the mercenary soldiers proceeding to demand the customary gratuity on the change of government, Hûsseyne attempted

* Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur. March 28th, A. D. 812.

to expostulate with them on the unreasonableness of their expectations, knowing his utter incapacity to fulfil them. He reminded them, at the same time, that the monarch to whom they had transferred their allegiance was yet absent in Khorassaun ; and that in order to establish their full claim to his bounty, it was first necessary that both the army and the metropolis should be put in his actual possession. He therefore proposed that a letter should be addressed immediately to Ul Mâmûn, inviting him to the capital. This question produced among the troops an irreconcileable difference of opinion ; one half declaring with Hûsseyne for Ul Mâmûn, and the other for the immediate restoration of the degraded Ul Amein. The contending parties proceeded to determine their differences by the sword ; and a conflict ensued, which from the early part of the day to the hour of evening prayer, filled the streets of Baghdâd with blood and slaughter. Their leader falling, however, towards the close of the day, into the hands of his adversaries, the party of Hûsseyne was ultimately defeated with loss. This produced the immediate enlargement of Ul Amein, and the majority of the troops flocking the next day to his standard, publicly cancelled the allegiance which they had so recently sworn to Ul Mâmûn. Hûsseyne, a captive in his turn, was now conducted in bonds to the presence of Ul Amein ; but an apprehension, that it might occasion a fresh mutiny among the soldiers, if he were condemned to suffer the punishment due to his crimes, seems for the present to have ensured his pardon. Finding it however, on his part, not so easy to dismiss his fears of that resentment which he had so deeply incurred, Hûsseyne a day or two afterwards embraced an opportunity of quitting Baghdâd, accompanied by his particular friends ; and taking the road through Neherwaun, made the best of his way towards the camp of Hârethmah and Zûlyemnein, with the design of throwing himself on the protection of those generals, who had not yet left Hulwaun. But Ul Amein receiving early intimation of his flight, and immediately dispatching in pursuit of him, the fugitive was overtaken about two farsangs from Baghdâd, and after some resistance, put to death ; and his head being, as usual, laid before his injured sovereign, the army soon afterwards generally

A. H. 196. A. D. 812. Tarikh Tebry.

A. H. 196. returned to its duty; so that the revolt might be said, for the present
A. D. 812. to have entirely subsided.

Tarikh Tebry.

Apprized of these events, Zûlyemnein determined to hasten the concerted separation with his collegue; and accordingly, quitting Hûlwaun at the head of his own division of the army, he proceeded by the left towards Ahûauz; where Mahommed the son of Yezzid the Mohillebite commanded at this period on the part of Ul Amein. Being soon afterwards closely invested, and the governor falling in the honorable discharge of his duty, this town was compelled to submit to Zûlyemnein, together with the whole of the adjoining territory; through which the agents of that general were immediately dispersed to ensure possession in the name of their master. The march of Zûlyemnein was next directed for Bassorah; of which city Munsûr the son of Mehedy was prefect, or lieutenant, under the authority of Ul Amein. Instead of defending his trust, this chief conceived it prudent to dispatch letters to Zûlyemnein, to declare that having renounced his allegiance to Ul Amein, he thus voluntarily transferred it to Ul Mâmûn; on which, after presenting his army before the gates of Bassorah, Zûlyemnein left Munsûr in unmolested possession of that city, and returned towards Waussit. About the same period, similar letters reached him from Abbas the son of Hâdy, and Mûtleb, or Mûtulleb, the son of Abdullah; the former, lieutenant of Kûfah, the latter of Mossûle, each abjuring the authority of Ul Amein, and submitting to that of Ul Mâmûn. Moreover, when Zûlyemnein was known to have arrived in the neighborhood of Waussit, the governor of that place, Hesheim the son of Shoabah also prepared to abandon his trust by withdrawing towards Khorassaun; but being ashamed to exhibit such a proof of his pusillanimity to his people at large, he desired one of his grooms to bring him privately one of his horses. The man brought him two, pointing out, whether his design were for battle or for flight, that which in either case would best suit his purpose. Hesheim chose the latter, bearing honorable testimony to the character of his adversary, by alleging that it was no disgrace to fly before Zûlyemnein. Thus abandoned to its destiny, Zulyemnein took possession of Waussit without resistance; and with the same facility, succeeded in making himself master of the ancient capi-

tal of Medâein. From this latter city he dispatched to announce his progress to Hârethmah; on which, decamping from Hulwaun, that general led his troops immediately towards Baghdâd, and taking post at Neherwaun, materially straitened the garrison of the metropolis in that direction. A. H. 196. A. D. 812. Tarikh Tebry.

In the mean time the conduct of Ul Amein in cancelling the arrangements of Harûn, and in destroying the instrument of succession so solemnly ratified in the temple of Mekkah, had excited no little discontent among the inhabitants of that proud city; and particularly in Daoud the son of Eissa the Abbaside, who did not scruple to declare that he had been guilty of the grossest perfidy, and that his affairs could therefore never terminate in prosperity. In this state of mind, when the transient revolution in favor of Ul Mâmûn brought about at Baghdâd by Hûsseyne the Mahanite, was announced at Mekkah, the whole of the Koraish, and other inhabitants of that city, readily acquiesced in the measure; and to give to their opinions the last publicity, they proceeded to pronounce the Khotbah in the name of Ul Mamûn, during the visitation of the pilgrims at the close of the year. This brings our narrative accordingly to the termination of the year one hundred and ninety-six.

Under these accumulating embarrassments, Ul Amein adventured upon a general review of his troops; and finding that he might still calculate upon the services of not less than four hundred commanders of some eminence, he presented to each of them a standard; and dispatched them under Ally the son of Hûsseyne, of the race of Fautima, towards Neherwaun, to try the issue of a conflict with the troops of Hârethmah. Before the gates of that town, at a village called Hulwaun, they accordingly gave battle to Harethmah, and with their usual adverse fortune, were again totally defeated; and their general being made a prisoner, was conveyed to Merû, to attest to Ul Mâmûn this further triumph of his arms.

Notwithstanding the uniform success which had hitherto accompanied him in his enterprizes, the troops of Zûlyemnein engaged, about this period, in an audacious mutiny against the authority of their general; because he, either justly or unjustly, withstood their clamours for money. But as one half of the army continued stedfast

A. H. 197. A. D. 812. to their allegiance, Zûlyemnein succeeded in dispersing the mutineers, and in expelling them from his camp in various directions. Of these a body of five thousand took the road towards Baghdâd, where they submitted to claim the protection of Ul Amein, and from him experienced a favorable reception. But as the treasures of that prince were by this time pretty well exhausted, instead of those pecuniary rewards, rich dresses, and other proofs of his bounty, with which they had flattered their expectations, these unprincipled mercenaries were compelled to rest satisfied with a fumigation of their beards over pans of civet; which was served up before them in great profusion, by the Khalif's directions: a species of entertainment by which they were exposed to the ridicule of the inhabitants of Baghdâd, under the appellation of jund-ul-ghauleiah, *the civet corps.* Having, however, for the space of a month, looked in vain for some more solid proofs of the liberality of Ul Amein, they became tired of expectancy; and joining the troops of Baghdâd, in one of those bursts of refractory violence in which they so frequently indulged against their unfortunate sovereign, they withdrew themselves from that city; and took the first opportunity of returning to the camp of Zûlyemnein, by whom their recent outrages were, from some motive of expediency, suffered to pass into oblivion. The armies of Hâreth-mah and Zûlyemnein, soon after this, united in the siege of Baghdad; where the unfortunate Ul Amein was ultimately destined to experience every species of mortification, disgrace, and injury.

Tarikh Tebry.

The year one hundred and ninety-seven commenced thus inauspiciously for Ul Amein. His treasures had long since failed him; and he now proceeded to supply the defect, by committing to the crucible his gold and silver plate and furniture, the glittering appendages of royalty; and further to enable him to renew the exercise of his bounty, and to encourage his troops to exert themselves in the defence of the last bulwarks of declining greatness, the rare and precious contents of his warehouses and magazines were now openly exposed for sale. Having adopted every precaution to strengthen and secure the gates of the city, both within and without, against the attempts of the besiegers, he withdrew himself into the palace of his mother, within the citadel; of which, the gates are said to have been

of iron. He disposed of his garrison at the same time to guard with equal solicitude against the attacks of Hârethmah, which were directed towards the gate of Khorassaun on one side, and against those of Zûlyemnein, which bore upon the gate of Bassorah on the other. These attacks appear, however, to have been confined to the interval between sunrise and sunset; the besieging generals retiring every evening to their respective encampments, Hârethmah to Neherwaun, at the distance of two farsangs, and Zûlyemnein to the garden of the gate of Anbaur; a plantation, or pleasure ground so called, about the distance of one farsang on the road to Bassorah. When this species of attack had been carried on for some time, and the garrison had been entirely cut off from the means of subsistance, and not a day passed in which the ramparts were not brought down in alarming masses by the warlike machines of the besiegers; the inhabitants began to quit the city, and in considerable bodies to claim the protection of either general of the besiegers. Those who submitted in this way to the power of Zûlyemnein were treated with distinguished kindness; while the property of such as delayed to surrender was exposed to certain destruction by fire and sword. The spirit of dereliction spread at last to the highest order of citizens, to the heads of the neighboring villages, and to the chief commanders of the army, not excepting the minister Fazzel; all of whom gradually went over to the enemy, leaving the capital to its fate.

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By these multiplied desertions, and the numerous casualties which necessarily occurred in repelling the assaults of the besiegers, the garrison became at last so greatly reduced, that the populace proceeded to break open the gates of the prisons, and to release the criminals; whose assistance they demanded to defend the works of the town. All was now resigned to the discretion of a licentious rabble, who disposed of every thing at will; and to add to the calamities which already seemed to hasten their destruction, they neglected to secure a supply of water for the interior of the city. In such appalling circumstances, finding that his authority was become entirely extinct; that no one any longer, either regarded his instructions, or feared his resentment; that the good, the learned, and the moral, and even the market people of every description had disappeared; that the city

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was become the prey of an unbridled banditti of *robbers, gamblers, pickpockets*, and depredators, who filled it, without controul, with treason, pillage, and slaughter; in short, finding that he had nothing left wherewith to purchase the precarious obedience of an unprincipled and lawless mob, the unhappy Ul Amein finally shut himself up in the palace of his mother; and there fortifying himself as well against internal violence, as the attacks of the besiegers from without, seems to have awaited without further effort the crisis of his destiny.

Under such hopeless circumstances, the first to forsake his master, and who now submitted to Zûlyemnein, was Eissa the son of Mahommed, another of the race of Mâhan, the captain of Ul Amein's guards; to whom had been committed the particular defence of the gates, and to whose regulation had indeed been consigned every thing relating to the general safety of the city. The defection of this confidential chieftain, at such a crisis, threw Ul Amein at once into the last state of despondence and despair; and it was perhaps not until this period that the defence of his capital was finally abandoned, to the fortuitous exertions of a lawless and ferocious banditti. The information of Zûlyemnein must at the same time have enabled him to form a tolerable estimate of all that passed within the town, and he was perhaps justified in his expectation, that it would be reduced to a speedy surrender. Nevertheless, while he indulged, peradventure with too much security, in these expectations, he was attacked in the quarter called the castle,* or palace of Sâlah, under the gates of the city; and defeated with considerable loss, by Mahommed the son of Yakûb, the new captain of Ul Amein's guards, at the head of the undisciplined multitude, who combated that day with peculiar fierceness and resolution. The day following, to avenge the disgrace, Zûlyemnein led his troops towards the quarter called *daur-urreffeik*, adjacent to which he was again opposed in great force by the rabble. On this occasion we are told, that one of the latter, clad in a coarse woollen wrapper, with a beggar's wallet suspended to his neck, a cudgel in one hand, and a wicker basket overlaid with pitch, in the other, in an attitude of careless defiance, presented himself to the troops of Zûlyemnein.

* Kasser-e-Salah.

One of his followers, a native of Khorassaun, was directed by that chief to meet this savage looking out-law. The Khorassauny drew his bow and let fly an arrow, which the rustic received in his basket of wicker; but as it passed through and sunk into the earth, he nimbly picked it up and lodged it, feather outwards, in the basket which he used as his shield. This he repeated until the soldier had entirely exhausted his quiver. On which Zûlyemnein called to the Khoraussauny to attack him sword in hand; observing that there surely could be nothing to apprehend from a fair conflict with such a charlatan. The Khorassauny drew his sword accordingly, and approached his antagonist; when the barbarian putting his hand into his wallet, drew out a pebble, and fixing it in his cudgel as a sling, delivered it with such singular force and precision, as to snap the sword of the Khorassauny in the middle. He then uttered a loud cry of triumph, while his adversary totally crest fallen, was compelled to withdraw: Zûlyemnein expressing his surprise at the strange contingencies of civil discord, in which the distinguished commander, and the skilful warrior, with all the advantages of superior arms and discipline, were to be equally baffled by the wool clad rustic, with his sword of lath, his sling and wicker shield. He might have added, perhaps with equal justice, in which peers and ministers of state, the pillars of royalty, could so far forget the noblest principles of duty, as to abandon the person of their liege sovereign to the precarious defence of thieves and outlaws. Be this however as it may, they fought that day at Daur urreffeik, with equal fierceness and obstinacy until night put an end to the conflict; and it will be sufficient to notice, once for all, that Hârethmah, on his part, experienced, on a variety of occasions, from this multitudinous and stigmatized banditti, a resistance not less determined and persevering.

A. H. 197. A. D. 813. Tarikh Tebry.

At the commencement however, of the year one hundred and ninety eight, on the very first day of the month of Mohurrim,* the troops of Baghdâd of whatever description, both on the side of Hârethmah and Zûlyemnein, were finally driven within the walls of the town. The place was now more closely and completely invested; the warlike machines of the besiegers were planted more directly to beat down the defences of the gateways; and Zûlyemnein having effectually cut

A. H. 198. A. D. 813.

* August 31st.

A. H. 198. A. D. 813. Tarikh Tebry.

off the garrison from its communication with the Tigris, the city was thus reduced to the last extremity. In these melancholy and appalling circumstances, Ul Amein sought one evening to suspend the recollection of his sorrows, by the charms of music; and for this purpose one of his women was summoned to attend him. The lady who appeared to his aid, took up her burbut, or lute, but tuned it to a strain so pensive, that the Khalif, feeling his sorrows rather aggravated than relieved, proceeded to expostulate with her on a selection so ill suited to his state of mind; she mournfully besought his forgiveness, alleging, that her recollection furnished her with nothing else. He desired her once more to exert her skill, and again she struck her lute to the same affecting measures. On which, Ul Amein imprecating a bitter curse on her, and on her melody, the maid suddenly started from her seat; in doing which, accidentally striking her foot against a favorite and costly vase of the Khalif's, of the value of ten thousand dirhems,* it flew into as many pieces. A circumstance which does not appear to have alleviated her master's displeasure, though it might have served to awaken his recollection.

A protracted siege had by this time equally worn out the patience of Ul Amein, and exhausted the skill and resources of his multifarious and disorderly garrison. He therefore came to the resolution of intreating the protection of Hârethmah. For this purpose he immediately dispatched to apprize that general, that he was ready to go over to him, provided such a design might be accomplished without the knowledge of Zûlyemnein; and on the condition that Hârethmah would engage to protect him against the violence of his collegue, and to convey him in safety to the presence of Ul Mâmûn. The proposal was gladly acceded to by Hârethmah, who sent to inform the Khalif, in reply, that he was perfectly disposed to obey his orders. It was accordingly arranged that Hârethmah should approach the palace at midnight in his boat, accompanied by a few confidential followers; and that Ul Amein should come out privately and join him. The correspondence was however not conducted with such secrecy as to escape the vigilance of Zûlyemnein; by whom, as it did not exactly square with his views it was immediately determined to disconcert the design. As soon as night came, he took post with a considerable division of his army along the bank

* 229*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

of the Tigris, embarking two hundred soldiers well armed, on board some river craft prepared for the purpose, with the necessary instructions in what manner to proceed. At the hour appointed, Hârethmah with his followers repaired to the spot agreed upon; and Ul Amein in the disguise of a slave, his head muffled up in a cloak, and accompanied by a single attendant only, hastened to the river side, and stepped into the boat, in which Harethmah sat anxiously awaiting his approach. As soon, however, as the boat had gained the middle of the Tigris, it was surrounded, and assailed by a shower of arrows from those which had been armed by the directions of Zûlyemnein. Hârethmah and his followers resolutely defended themselves for some time; but their assailants having with their spears transpierced the sides of the fragile bark, it soon filled with water and sunk beneath the stream. Such as could swim immediately threw themselves into the river, and gained the shore: the steersman seized Hârethmah by the arm, and conveyed him safe to land; and Ul Amein, on his part committing himself to the stream, susceeded after considerable exertion, in gaining the eastern bank of the Tigris, opposite to the city. Unfortunately, on the very spot where he was ascending the bank of the river, a detachment of ten soldiers had been stationed by Zûlyemnein, under an inferior officer, a native of Khorassaun, whose name was Ibrauhim the son of Jauffer of Bâlkh. The person of the unhappy monarch was instantly recognized; and the man compassionately covering him with his cloak to protect him from the cold, and mounting him upon his own horse, immediately conveyed him to a place of safety.

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Soon afterwards, while Zûlyemnein and his followers were forming no other conclusion than that he had perished in the Tigris, Ibrauhim presented himself to announce to the general, that Ul Amein was safely lodged in his tent; describing the manner in which the unhappy prince had fallen into his hands. At this period Zûlyemnein had among his domestics a slave called Koraish, and nicknamed Dendauny, or *dentatus*, from the preposterous size of his teeth. This man, of whose qualifications he was probably not without experience, he now summoned to his presence, directing him to proceed without delay to the tent of Ibrauhim, and to bring him the head of Ul Amein. The slave hastened, with obsequious zeal, to the execution of this san-

A. H. 193. A. D. 813. Tarikh Tebry.

guinary mandate, and finding his wretched victim alone and unprotected, immediately drew his sword, and approached to attack him. Ul Amein perceived his design, and nothing else at hand with which to defend his person, seized his bolster; and with that contrived for some time to ward off the blows of his executioner. But as this could not avail him long, he faltered in his defence, and received a severe cut upon the head; and his remorseless assailant repeating the stroke, the unhappy monarch fell upon his face; on which the assassin immediately throwing himself upon him, severed his head from the shoulders, and conveyed it with savage triumph to the presence of his master.

In possession of this sanguinary proof of the approaching termination of his labours, Zûlyemnein invited his principal followers to a public audience; and exhibiting to their view his ghastly trophy, the head of the slaughtered Ul Amein, proceeded to expatiate in such terms as suited his own immediate purposes, on the circumstances which had precipitated the fall of the unhappy monarch. He alleged, in short, that this proud prince, as he thought fit to designate the victim of his cruelty, in deciding for the protection of Hârethmah in preference to his, had become the author of his own destruction. Had his decision been the reverse, he affirmed that he might have been still alive. But while the perils of the field of battle, and the fatigues and hardships, of a protracted and laborious siege, were to be the lot of Zûlyemnein, it was, it seems, the design of Ul Amein to rob him of his well earned fame, the honorable reward of his exertions; and by accompanying him to the presence of Ul Mâmûn, to transfer the whole to Hârethmah. Zûlyemnein now gave orders that the head should be suspended in view of the walls of Baghdâd; and the features of their immolated sovereign being early recognized by the garrison, they immediately threw open their gates; and surrendering the town to the besiegers, betook themselves without further resistance to their respective and ordinary occupations: and Zûlyemnein thus master of the metropolis of the race of Abbas, the calamities of civil discord seemed in an instant to be appeased.

As he suspected, however, that his conduct in the death of the murdered monarch, and in the subsequent exposure of his head, was liable to some misrepresentation on the part of Hârethmah, Zûlyem-

nein conceived it expedient to adopt some steps to vindicate himself on this point to Ul Mâmûn; who had expressly directed that his brother should be taken alive. Accordingly when the head of Ul Amein was as usual dispatched to the presence of that prince, together with the staff and mantle of the prophet, and the seal of the Khelaufut, it was accompanied by a letter from Zûlyemnein to the following effect. "Reposing in the good faith and honor of Hârethmah a confidence, which, from the unremitting hostilities, that in the execution of my orders, I was compelled to prosecute against him, he denied to myself, Mahommed-ul-Amein besought by his agents the protection of that chief, whom he accordingly prepared to join; thus casting upon my integrity an imputation which it never deserved. In consequence of the arrangement preconcerted between them, Hârethmah, in the dead of night attended in his boat by the river side; where the inconsiderate prince thought fit to put himself into his hands. With no other object than to render him those honors which were his due as the brother of my sovereign, when he should disembark from the boat into which he had conveyed himself, I also, at the head of my followers, proceeded to the bank of the Tigris. Unfortunately, when they reached the middle of the stream, their frail conveyance filled with water, and sunk to the bottom. Ul Amein swam for his life, and succeeded in gaining the the opposite bank of the river; but having conceived the idea, that he had been betrayed, he probably repented, when too late, of having besought the protection of Hârethmah. Be this as it may, when he found himself safe on shore, he gave the word aloud, *Mahommedna munsûrin*—help for Mahommed; demanding the assistance of his troops for the renewal of hostilities. On this my followers were ordered, without drawing their swords, to secure the person of the prince. He persevered however in resisting the attempt, and perished in the conflict which ensued. The day following the people of Baghdâd agreed to give up the town; but as they continued to entertain some doubts as to the fate of their sovereign, I took his head, and instructed by the example of many a former prince, displayed it for their inspection. They were by this expedient relieved from their incertitude; and together

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"with the out-lawed banditti employed in the defence of the "town, having returned every one to his avocations, all appearance "of commotion immediately subsided. As for the head—behold, it "accompanies this dispatch!"

The report which Hârethmah on his part conceived it expedient to convey to his master on the same subject, was however comprized in much fewer words. He briefly stated, that having proceeded according to appointment to receive Ul Amein, he had, as he thought beyond the reach of danger, seated him in his boat, and was conducting him to his camp; when, to his utter astonishment, in the very middle of the stream, the boat sunk. That, being sufficiently engaged in providing for his own safety, he saw nothing more of the unhappy prince until the following day, when he recognized his head in the presence of Tâher. But of the circumstances which produced such a spectacle, he professed his entire ignorance.

In the letters transmitted on this occasion, to announce to Ul Mamûn the triumphant termination of the contest with his brother, Zûlyemnein is said to have further explained, that when, on emerging from the Tigris, the unfortunate Ul Amein evinced a determination to resist, he had instructed his slave, adverting to Koraish dendauny by name, to seize and withhold him from the consequences of his rash and unavailing obstinacy; but that disdaining to deliver himself up, he had fought the slave, who was thus compelled, by the necessity of self-defence, to put him to death. Upon which it is observed, that to Ul Mamûn it was long since known, that at the birth of his brother it had been predicted by the astrologers, *that Amein was destined to perish by the hand of a Koraish;* understood, however, to imply some individual of the celebrated tribe of that name: and snch being the notion entertained by Ul Mamûn, his minister Fazzel, himself a skilful astrologer, in the correspondence which, in the name of his master, he carried on with Zûlyemnein, omitted not to charge him, on every occasion, to be particular in distinguishing among his troops the warriors of the Koraish; whose zeal he was uniformly instructed to stimulate by every species of encouragement: although Zûlyemnein was but little aware of the motive. When he perused, however, the circumstantial relation communicated in the report of that general, Ul Mamûn found no difficulty in applying the prediction exhibited in his brother's horoscope.

Two of the children of Ul Mâmûn, who had been formerly removed from Rakkah to Baghdâd, by Ul Amein, and there continued at this period confined to the imperial palace, were now conducted by the directions of Zûlyemnein, with their mother, into Khorassaun; together with Mûtummen, and the two sons of Ul Amein, Mûssa and Abdullah, with their mother, who proceeded at the same time to the presence of Ul Mamûn. The dowager Zobaidah was confined under restraint to her own palace.

A. H. 198, A. D. 813. Tarikh Tebiy.

Mahommed ul Amein, from the eldest of his two sons, occasionally denominated Abû Mûssa, is stated to have enjoyed a distinction to which no other of his race could pretend; that of being, both by father and mother, descended from the illustrious stock of Abbas; and he is described to have been in person of a fair complexion, tall in stature, and broad shouldered, with small eyes and a prominent nose. On the day of his death, which, in the Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur, is recorded to have taken place in the latter part of Mohurrim,* one hundred and ninety-eight, he could not have attained to his eight and twentieth year; and he perished in the manner we have attempted to relate, after exercising a precarious sovereignty of four years and about six months. During the hostilities in which he was engaged with Ul Mâmûn, it is further remarked, that he espoused the daughter of Eissa the son of Jauffer; represented to have been a woman of genius, and a poetess, who employed her muse, with some ability, in recording the virtues of her lamented and unfortunate husband. In short, this prince appears to have inherited from nature a disposition of mind, benevolent, and liberal to a pre-eminent degree; but, while embarked in a contest for life and empire, his supineness in neglecting the duties of his exalted station, for the miserable pursuits of private pleasure and amusement, bespoke an imbecility of character but little calculated to secure the respect of a warlike people; and it is not to be wondered at, that his star should have ultimately set before the superior energies, and the more fortunate destiny of his brother.

* End of September, A. D. 813.

A. H. 198.
A. D. 813.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur,

That brother we are now to recognize under the title of UL MAMUN B'ILLAH,* Abul Abbas Abdullah, the son of Harûn; to whom, when the fate of his predecessor had become sufficiently notorious, the allegiance of Hejauz, of both provinces of Irâk, and of Parss, was transferred without further difficulty; the inhabitants of Khorassaun, though his authority, had been long since effectually established in that part of the empire, embracing the occasion to renew their pledge of fidelity to him, in his quality of sole monarch of Isslâm.

UL MAMUN, VIIth Khalif of the house of Abbas.

It appears at the same time, that as soon as it was ascertained that the contest had thus favorably terminated, Fazzel the son of Sohel early suggested to his master the expediency of his presence at Baghdâd, and of transferring the seat of government to that metropolis. Ul Mâmûn had, however, by this time, conceived so decided a predilection for Khorassaun, that he was not to be induced by any considerations of expediency to concur in such a measure. To the arguments which his minister urged against the manifest impolicy of continuing to reside at so remote an extremity of his dominions, (over which it appeared impracticable to exercise an effectual controul, otherwise than by fixing the source of authority at the centre in Irâk) he endeavoured to reply, by observing that although the princes of the house of Abbas might have chosen to establish their abode in Irâk, it was to be remembered that the monarchs of the race of Ommeyah had fixed their court at the opposite extremity of the empire; even at Damascus, at the very outlet of the passes and defiles of the Rûmian territory; from whence they had found it, nevertheless, perfectly practicable to keep the whole world from east to west, in sufficient awe of their authority. In opposition, therefore, to what he conceived the most obvious maxims of policy, Fazzel was compelled to conform to the opinion of his sovereign; it being determined that the imperial residence should continue at Merû; while the talents of Zûlyemnein were considered amply competent to secure the submission of Baghdâd, and the provinces of the west.

Tarikh Tebry.

Early in the ensuing year, however, a schismatic of the name of Nasser the son of Shebeib Rebbâi, having set up the standard of revolt at Rakkah, during the first month of Rabbeia, Zûlyemnein

* Dei gratiâ conservatus—constans.

found it requisite to make the circumstance the subject of an immediate dispatch to Ul Mâmûn. On which, being invited by his master to suggest the arrangements that he conceived advisable to adopt in order to defeat the designs of the insurgent, Fazzel continued to intimate that his opinion was, already, sufficiently known; and he could only repeat that it behoved them to hasten into Irâk without a moment's delay. The Khalif still contended that the authority of Zûlyemnein was in all respects adequate to the emergency; and when the minister objected that while Zûlyemnein was employed in the extremity of Jezzeirah, there was reason to apprehend that the affairs of Irâk might fall into confusion, Ul Mamûn then required that he should discover some suitable person to assume the government of that province. It was under these circumstances that Fazzel undertook to recommend his brother Hûsseyne, or as he will hereafter be more frequently denominated, Hussun; although it was still too fresh in the rememberance of every one at Baghdâd, that both he and his brother were only known in that city in the quality of humble scribes; an occupation which they had notoriously exercised during the reigns of both Mehedy and Harûn, without the smallest pretensions to any degree of experience, or skill in the profession of arms. Of the imprudence of such a choice, Ul Mâmûn is said to have been sufficiently aware; but Fazzel obstinately persevering in his point, the Khalif was in this instance compelled to forego his opinion. Hussun Sohel was accordingly invested with the government of Irâk; instructions being at the same time conveyed to Zûlyemnein, on the arrival of his successor, to deliver over to him, the whole of the cities, and dependencies of that province at present under his authority; and for his own part to proceed without delay towards Rakkah, with the division of the army under his orders, to chastise the usurpation of the insurgent Nasser; the government of that quarter, including Mossûl and the whole of Jezzeirah, being conferred upon him, in the room of what it had been fonnd expedient to consign to another person. On the same occasion Hârethmah was required to transfer to Hussun Sohel the troops who had hitherto followed his standard; and to return with such as were immediately attached to his own person into Khorassaun.

A. H. 199. A. D. 814.

Tarikh Tebry.

A. H. 199. A. D. 814. Tarikh Tebry.

On his arrival at Baghdâd, the army and the government were both accordingly resigned to the disposal of Hussun Sohel, by Zûlyemnein, and Hârethmah; the former proceeding towards Rakkah equally dissatisfied with Mâmûn, and with his minister. In a similar temper of mind, Hârethmah took his departure for Khorassaun; both of these chiefs having entertained a notion, that the Khalif would scarcely be induced to deprive them of the authority which they had established at Baghdâd. Of the troops which, in conformity with his instructions, Hârethmah delivered over to the discretion of the new governor of Irâk, the immediate command had been usually exercised by a slave, or client of his own, of the name of Abû Serraya; and to this person they were now left in charge, under the authority of Hussun Sohel. The insurgent Nasser ben Shebeib having shut himself up within the fortifications of Rakkah, on the approach of Zûlyemnein, the latter immediately formed the siege of that city; exhibiting, however, no other indication of hostility, or of a design to effect the subjugation of the place, than by the position which, in total inaction, he thus continued for a long time to occupy before its gates.

As had been in some measure foreseen, the character of Hussun Sohel's government displayed to the inhabitants of Baghdad, both soldiers and others, something very foreign to what they been accustomed to admire; neither did they attempt to conceal their surprise and dissatisfaction at this appointment of Ul Mâmûn's, which, like some other recent proceedings of that prince, they ascribed to the improper influence exercised by the brother; to whom, they said, they well understood the management of affairs had been now too generally resigned by his master.

At a crisis thus verging towards confusion and disturbance, an individual of the race of Ally, descended from Imaum Hûsseyne, of the name of Mahommed son of Ibrâhim, and on whom they thought fit to confer the title of Tebauteba, was clandestinely employed at Kûfah in soliciting the allegiance of the people for "Ul Ruzza of the race of the prophet;" and had succeeded to a great extent in prevailing upon the inhabitants to engage privately in his views: when in the month of Jummaudy the second,* Abû Serraya, at the head of his troops, entered Kûfah; and inviting Tebauteba from the privacy in

* January, A. D. 815.

which he had hitherto been operating, openly declared in favor of his designs, and, under his presumed authority, became entire master of the city. A. H. 199. A. D. 815. Tarikh Tebry.

The person who now demands our attention under the appellation of Abû Serraya, *father of legions*, is said originally to have borne the name of Serrayâi the son of Munsûr; and to have been a descendant from Hauny, or rather more correctly, from Ayauz the son of Kabeizah, or Kabeissah, the Sheybaunian; the same that in the battle of Zikaur, at the head of the Arabs of Heirah, so signally defeated the troops of Khossrou Parveiz, some time subsequent to the conflict of Beider. But whatever might have been the renown of his ancestor, Abû Serraya was himself the slave of Hârethmah; although in that humble situation, such was the esteem which he had acquired by his talents and fidelity, that wherever his master was principal in authority, he invariably exercised the functions of lieutenant. On the present occasion, when he was directed to transfer the troops of his division to Hussun Sohel, Hârethmah left those who served on his own immediate pay, in the charge of Abû Serraya, as his lieutenant general; while he proceeded himself on his journey into Khorassaun.

Hitherto habituated to the less arduous avocations of secretary, and totally unpracticed in the command of armies, Hussun Sohel, according to the notions of our author at least, possessed but few of the qualifications requisite for the controul of the numerous, and populous cities now so unadvisedly committed to his management. Betaking himself therefore, however prematurely, to indulge in his natural bias, the exercise of his pen, he proceeded, on the plea that their services were no longer required, to strike out from the list of stipendiaries, together with various of the troops of Baghdâd, a great proportion of those who had been consigned to his authority by Hârethmah; and at the head of the latter, thus improvidently deprived of their subsistance, Abû Serraya resenting the injury, shortly afterwards quitted Baghdâd, and hastened to Kûfah; where in the manner just related, he drew from obscurity the usurper Tebauteba and his race, and to him, together with his discarded followers, publicly pledged his allegiance.

A. H. 199. A. D. 815. Tarikh Tebry.

To oppose the designs of these insurgents, as soon as he was apprized of their proceedings, Hussun Sohel first made choice of Zeheir the son of Mosseib, one of the military chiefs of his government; who accordingly advanced to Kûfah at the head of ten thousand of the troops of Baghdâd. But Abû Serraya issuing from the town to give him battle, Zeheir was defeated with considerable slaughter, a valuable booty becoming the reward of the conqueror. Re-entering Kûfah, however, with the captured property in his train, Abû Serraya was surprised by an unexpected demand, on the part of Tebauteba, for the spoils of his victory, which he was compelled to relinquish on the spot; but as this was a species of usurpation to which the succesful adventurer was little disposed to submit, the wretched Tebauteba was the very same night taken off by a dose of poison, administered through his contrivance; Mahommed the grandson of Zeid, another descendant from Imaum Hûsseyne, being chosen the following day to supply his place, while the supreme direction of his councils was henceforward appropriated with little ceremony to himself by Abû Serraya.

Subsequent to the departure of Zeheir, a fresh body of troops had been dispatched by Hussun Sohel, either to sustain, or to retrieve the miscarriage of, that commander. But this detachment experiencing a similar repulse and disgrace at the gates of Kûfah, a spirit of general revolt appeared at once to spread itself through the whole race of Ally; of whom a number of individuals immediately starting up, and entering from different quarters into a correspondence with Abû Serraya, were by him, without difficulty, confirmed in the government of those places, from which they had succeeded in banishing the authority of Ul Mâmûn. In the mean time Abû Serraya with Mahommed the Hûsseynite the instrument of his ambition, on whom he had conferred the title of *Ameir-ul-moumenein*, took up his permanent abode at Kûfah; whence he proceeded to direct that the name of Ul Mâmûn should be expunged from the public orations in all the territory which had submitted to his usurpation. His views now extended to the entire subjugation of Irâk; and a chief of the insurgent family was accordingly dispatched, with a competent force, to take possession of Waussit; while Zeid the son of Mûssa, another of the race of Fati-

na, proceeded towards Bassorah; both of which cities appear to have submitted without resistance. A. H. 199. A. D. 815.

Tarikh Tebry.

In the perplexity occasioned by the alarming progress of the insurrection, Hussun Sohel conceived it expedient to dispatch, without further delay, to recal Hârethmah; who, when the disturbances broke out, had not yet prosecuted his journey beyond Hulwaun. To the repeated messages of Hussun, he did not however appear disposed to pay the smallest attention; until on reaching Hamadaun, he was overtaken by a dispatch from that chief, which threatened, unless he instantly retraced his steps to Baghdâd, to make such a representation of his conduct, both to Ul Mâmûn and his minister, as should enforce his return, though he were at the gates of Merû: intimating at the same time, in terms which could hardly be misconceived, that the relation in which he stood with the ringleader of the insurgents, was sufficiently notorious to the world; and that it was by no means difficult to infer, that the proceedings of the slave had originated in the instructions of his master. With such an accusation impending, Hârethmah conceived it might be extremely hazardous to appear in the presence of Ul Mâmûn; convinced at the same time as he well must have been, that under such circumstanees, no means would be left unemployed by Fazzel to accomplish his destruction. He submitted therefore with a good grace to yield to the importunities of Hussun; and returning shortly afterwards to Baghdâd, experienced from that officer, notwithstanding what had passed, a very honorable and outwardly cordial reception.

Being now placed at the head of the force destined to serve against Abû Serraya, Harethmah marched out of Bagdâd, detaching Ally the son of Saaid, with the advanced guard, to expel from Waussit the person by whom it had been seized for the insurgent. In the mean time, having in vain employed messengers to recal him to a sense of duty, Hârethmah advanced at length in person to give battle to Abû Serraya; whom he attacked, and defeated with great slaughter, compelling him to retire for shelter to the castle of Eben Hobairah;* and from thence, by a close and ardent pursuit, to continue his flight to

* Near the Euphrates, about one third of the distance from Hillah to Kûfah.

A. H. 199. A. D. 815. Tarikh Tebry.

Kûfah. On this the successful general encamped his army for some time near the same castle of Eben Hobairah.

To this period, many of the kindred of the house of Abbas, and particularly of the family of Ul Mûnsur and Mehedy, were still suffered to reside in very opulent circumstances at Kûfah; but on the recent discomfiture and return to that place, of Abû Serraya, their destiny was suddenly changed; they were banished from their habitations, which, together with the whole of their property, being either destroyed, or confiscated to the use of the insurgent, they hastened towards the castle of Eben Hobairah, where, in the camp of Hârethmah, they found an asylum for their persons.

The month of Zûlkaudah was now arrived; and as the Hadjies from Persian Irâk and Khorassaun, and the other provinces of the east were, it seems, on the approach of the season of the pilgrimage, necessarily to pass through the territory now occupied by the troops of Hârethmah, they were in great numbers prevented from the prosecution of their sacred design by the orders of that general. On the other hand, Abû Serraya on his part did not fail to dispatch to Mekkah, another of the race of Ally, descended from Imaum Hûsseyne, whose name was Hussun, subsequently known by the appellation of Eben-ul-Eftess, (son of the flat-nosed) and who took his departure from Kûfah during the month of Zûlkaudah, in order to preside in the ceremonies of the visitation; while about the same period Mahommed the son of Sûliman, by the expulsion of the lieutenant of the house of Abbas, obtained possession of Medeinah. On the evening of the ninth of Zilhudje, while the pilgrims without either prince or pontiff, were collected on Mount Arafaut, Eben ul Eftess, accompanied by his governor, or preceptor, Daoud the son of Mûssa, arrived in the neighborhood of Mekkah; and having performed the duties of evening service in the sanctuary of the Kaaubah, proceeded to join the Hadjies, on Arafaut, where he remained until midnight. The following day,* he retnrned and was allowed to take final possession of the sacred city.

In the former part of Mohurrim, of the year two hundred, Hârethman led his army to the gates of Kûfah; from which, with recruited

* The 20th of June, A. D. 815.

powers, Abû Serraya issued once more to give him battle. He was again defeated; and being pursued into the town by his conqueror, he was compelled to fly from thence towards Bassorah, taking with him the pageant Mahommed, the adherents of the family, and the whole of the troops who continued attached to his interests. On the banks of the Deyjelah, or Tigris, he was attacked on his march, and discomfited with fresh slaughter by a division of the garrison of Waussit, detached to intercept his retreat by Ally the son of Sâeid, the governor on the part of Hârethmah. Being in the last conflict severely wounded, and disabled from further active hostilities, Abû Serraya now bent his steps in the direction of Jezzeirah; where, in the city of Rauss-ul-Eyne, he had, as he flattered himself, provided an abode against the contingencies of adverse fortune. He had however no sooner entered the boundaries of Jezzeirah, than he found himself further opposed by a detachment of the troops of Hussun Sohel, under a commander of the name of Hameid; by whom he was immediately secured, and together with the whole of his followers, conducted in safe custody to the presence of the governor of Irâk. At a subsequent period he was put to death by that chief; and our author concludes his story with the remark, that, it has been recorded, that no criminal was ever known to utter such violent lamentations, or to betray such total want of fortitude at the moment of execution, as this same wretched Abû Serraya.

A. H. 200. A. D. 815. Tarikh Tebry.

When it was sufficiently ascertained that nothing further was to be apprehended from the attempts of Abû Serraya, Ally the son of Sâeid received the orders of Hârethmah to advance from Waussit, and take possession of Bassorah. At the period under consideration, Zeid the son of Mûssa, and brother of Imaum Ally Ruzza, from the frequent conflagrations with which he had laid waste the territory under his authority, surnamed Zeid-ul-Naur, *Zeid the incendiary*, continued to rule over that city; but was become, by his vices and intolerable cruelties, so completely odious to the inhabitants, that the lieutenant of Hârethmah no sooner appeared before their gates, than they seized the person of their oppressor, and delivered him into the hands of that officer, by whom he was condemned to languish in the solitude of a prison. A brother of this man's, of the name of Ibrauhim, had

A. H. 200. A. D. 815. Tarikh Tebry.

contrived about the same time to establish himself in Yemen, and by similar atrocities, to render himself equally detested; having, by his sanguinary character acquired the appellation of Ibrauhim-ul-Jezzaur, Ibrauhim the butcher.

Such also is represented to have been the conduct of Hussun-ul-Eftess at Mekkah, that, driven to extremity by various instances of oppression and insolence, either on his part or that of his officers, the people at last conspired to effect his destruction; but becoming by some channel or other apprized of his danger, he contrived for the present to escape their vengeance. Distinguished for his exemplary piety, and unblemished manners, Mahommed, the son of Imaum Jauffer-us-Saudek, had long since taken sanctuary, as he conceived against the projects of ambition, at Mekkah; and to him, when they understood that the inhabitants would no longer submit to the arbitrary proceedings of their principal, that Abû Serraya was no longer in a condition to be of use to their designs, and that the house of Abbas had recovered its authority in Irâk, the adherents of the race of Ally, who served in the train of Hussun-ul-Eftess, now applied themselves; and engaging to secure for him the allegiance of the people, whose resentments they had awakened by their misconduct, they invited him from his retirement, and importuned him to accept of their submission. All this he at first declined, alleging that no earthly consideration should ever prevail with him to withdraw from the service of his God: but instructed by the admonitions of their leader, the followers of Hussun-ul-Eftess, by repeated protestations of their sincere repentance for their crimes and atrocities, and by a promise of embracing the doctrines of his sect, at the same time that he accepted their allegiance, ultimately persuaded this abstinent recluse, once more to revisit the haunts of men; receiving the homage not only of the troops of Hussun-ul-Eftess, but of the inhabitants of Mekkah at large; who congratulated themselves on being thus unexpectedly relieved from the oppressions of the usurper; who was constrained on his part to reside in privacy, although his son Ally was permitted to assume the management of affairs under the pretended controul of Mahommed Jauffery.

It was while these transactions took place at Mekkah that Ibrauhim-ul-Jezzaur succeeded in expelling Ishauk the son of Mûssa of the race of Abbas, from Yemen: but the extruded lieutenant still continuing

to hover on the skirts of his province, was no sooner apprized that the inhabitants were become disaffected towards Eben-ul-Eftess and his agents, than he approached that way, with the design of getting possession of the city. Mahommed the son of Jauffer hastened to give him battle, accompanied by the son of Hussun-ul-Eftess; but the men of Mekkah withholding their support from the race of the prophet, the troops of the house of Abbas prevailed; their general immediately entered and made himself master of the sacred city, putting to the sword in great numbers, the adherents of the vanquished party who had the misfortune to fall into his hands. Mahommed the son of Jauffer, who had so unwisely exchanged his tranquil retreat for the precarious pursuits of ambition, contrived however to escape to Jûddah. His son, or that of Eben-ul-Eftess, it is not clear which, was killed in the action which took place on this occasion near Mekkah; while others of the party took flight in various directions. Having placed the city of Mekkah in a state of sufficient security, the son of Mûssa proceeded without further delay to Jûddah; where he contrived without much difficulty to get into his hands the person of the fugitive Mahommed who implored his protection, and was received to mercy; the successful general being satisfied to reconduct him back to Mekkah, where from the vestibule of the sanctuary (miaun-e-rokken-wo-mûkaum) he compelled him to renounce his short-lived authority, and in the face of the public, to submit to that of Ul Mâmûn.

A. H. 200. A. D. 815. Tarikh Tebry.

In the mean time Mahommed the son of Harûn, the brother of Ul Mâmûn, and the same that succeeded to the throne of the Khalifs under the title of Mûtassem, had been dispatched by the government of Irâk to recover Yemen; of which we have already seen that Ibrauhim-ul-Jezzaur had recently made himself master. To oppose the entrance of this prince as soon as his destination was ascertained, a descendant of Aukkail the son of Abûtauleb, and the brother of Ally, was employed by Ul Jezzaur: and as Abû Ishauk, which was the familar appellative of Mûtassem, had in the first instance proceeded to Mekkah, in order to be present during the concluding ceremonies of the pilgrimage, at the close of the year two hundred, and with the design of continuing his march into Yemen at a future opportunity, the Aukkailite appeared with a considerable force at the gates of that city. But

A. H. 200. A. D. 816. Tarikh Tebry.

being furnished with the necessary military aid, Abû Ishauk was immediately sent out, by the governor of Mekkah, to give battle to the intruder, who was compelled to retire with shame and loss.

Soon after he had brought the war with Abû Serraya to so fortunate a termination, Hussun Sohel had allotted to Hârethmah, the government of Damascus; which that warlike and haughty chief disdained however to accept at his hands, demanding at the same time his dismission for Khorassaun, in conformity to his original instructions; but as the governor of Irâk persisted in opposing this design, Hârethmah quitted Kûfah without his concurrence, causing it to be intimated to him that he should seek an interview with his sovereign at the gates of his palace; there to narrate the circumstances of his own story without the interference of subordinate authority. That if it were found expedient to remand him to Irâk, it rested with the better judgment of their common superior, and that he should obey without scruple. But that at all events he conceived it far more honorable to receive his authority from the hands of his sovereign, than from any such contemptible delegate as he considered him to be. He further discovered his intention of appearing at Merû in the pride and pomp of recent victory; and at a private conference with Ul Mâmûn to undeceive him with respect to Irâk, and to the character of Hussun Sohel. On all these subjects the latter did not fail to advertise his brother; who hastened on his part to avail himself of his influence with Ul Mâmûn, to prepossess the mind of that prince to the disadvantage of Hârethmah; whom he did not scruple to accuse of having brought contempt on the authority of his sovereign at Baghdâd, and of having employed the traitor Abû Serraya to bring from obscurity, and to promote with such formidable though transient success, the claims of the race of Fatima; since it was not probable that the slave should have conceived such a design, if it had not been consonant to the views of his master. And lastly, that after rejecting with disdain his brother's appointment to the province of Syria, he was now repairing to court in defiance of the express commands of his sovereign.

By these and similar representations the mind of Ul Mâmûn was at last sufficiently predisposed against Hârethmah; and it was therefore resolved to keep him at a distance, by confirming his nomi-

nation to the government of Damascus, to which that of Hejauz was now annexed; and the necessary letters patent were accordingly dispatched to meet him. Persisting however in his original design, Hârethmah paid but little attention to these letters, and continued his journey to the gates of Merû; which, to the sound of his kettle drums, and with ensigns displayed, he immediately entered without further ceremony, proceeding in this manner, at the head of his followers, through the city to the palace of Ul Mâmûn. Affecting to be surprised at the noise and tumult occasioned by his approach, that prince desired to be informed, whence these unauthorized sounds of military music? and being acquainted by his minister, in language but little calculated to soothe his resentment, that they proceeded from the train of Hârethmah, who was coming in contempt of his orders to pay him a visit; the monarch became thoroughly incensed, and forthwith directed that the insolent intruder should be brought before him. The attendants proceeded accordingly, and conducted him with his hands bound to the presence of Ul Mâmûn; who accosting him with an air of stern displeasure, demanded if he really possessed the audacity thus to approach his person in immediate defiance of his express commands, or was he to disbelieve the evidence of his own senses? and to render his insolence the more notorious, that he should mark his unbidden entry to the capital of his sovereign, with all the triumph of martial pomp? The degraded chief attempted to explain himself, but in this he was prevented by the attendants; the foot soldiers of the Khalif's guard being directed to beat him with their fists about the head and neck; and in that state, with his nose demolished, and his face otherwise severely battered, he was immediately dragged to his prison; where, after languishing for a few days, he was finally put to death, through the agency of Fazzel the son of Sohel.

A. H. 200. A. D. 816. Tarikh Tebry.

While the career of Hârethmah was thus terminated at Merû, the turbulent soldiery at Baghdâd proceeded to the extreme of expelling their governor, Hussun Sohel, from that city, who was thence driven to reside at Neherwaun; where, and not before, it would appear, that the captive Abû Serraya was now condemned to suffer death. Having vindicated his authority by this act of justice, he then

A. H. 201. A. D. 816. Tarikh Tebry.

returned towards Baghdâd; but failing in his attempt to procure admission, he withdrew to Medâein, with the design of proceeding further towards Waussit, as he might be constrained by circumstances, or the attempts of the refractory troops of his government. He dispatched in the mean time one of his officers, Ally the son of Hashaum, to conduct, in his behalf, the affairs of Baghdâd; and this person having obtained from his principal a promise to satisfy a demand for six months pay on the part of the army, they were content for a short time to submit to his authority; but a month being suffered to elapse without any thing to indicate a performance of this promise, the soldiers mutinied afresh against this substitute of their obnoxious commander. They were however once more appeased by an engagement on his part to defray their expences, until such time as he should be furnished with a sufficient supply of treasure to discharge the whole of their demand.

It was formerly stated that the insurgent Zeid-ul-Naur, of the race of Ally, after having exercised a temporary usurpation at Bassorah, to the entire disgust of the inhabitants, was by them delivered up to Ally the son of Sâeid, who committed his person to the confinement of a prison. About the period of which we are now speaking, the the captive Zeid, however, contrived to effect his escape; and having joined a brother of Abû Serraya, who wandered about the neighborhood in some sort of disguise, was encouraged, by the number of disaffected men who assembled round his standard, to the design of once more getting possession of Bassorah. But a force being seasonably detached against him by Ally the son of Hashaum, the lieutenant governor of Baghdâd, the design was frustrated; the brother of Abû Serraya was killed in an action which took place on this occasion; and Zeid, becoming again a captive, was now conveyed to Baghdad, where he was condemned, for a short time longer, to expiate the errors of an hopeless ambition in the solitude of a prison. Nevertheless, the mutinous soldiery of that metropolis again conspiring to subvert the authority of their governor, broke open his prison gates, and set him once more at large. But instructed by recent misfortunes, he determined this time forever to abandon such perilous enterprises; and contrived to conceal himself so effectually, from these who sought

him for the purpose of placing him on the throne of the Khalifs in opposition to Ul Mâmûn, as to elude their most diligent inquiry. A. H. 201. A. D. 816. Tarikh Tebry.

Thus frustrated in their intentions with respect to Zeid-ul-Naur, the insurgents turned their views upon Munsûr the son of Mehedy, still residing at Baghdâd as a private individual; to whom they accordingly repaired with an offer of the throne of the Khelaufut, and of their immediate allegiance. But finding that he steadily resisted every importunity to accept of the sovereign power, they then made him the proposal of assuming the government, as the lieutenant of Ul Mâmûn; since it was their fixed determination never to submit to the authority of Hussun Sohel in any shape. To this Munsûr yielded his assent, and proceeding to the exercise of his power, gave the first proof of it by repeating the Khotbah in the name of Ul Mamûn; after which he invited Fazzel the son of Rabbeia from his secret abode at Baghdâd, and conferred upon him the appointment of Vezzeir.

These events produced in the mind of Hussun Sohel increasing apprehension. And as he conceived himself not perfectly safe against the attempt of his adversaries at Medâein, he removed without delay for greater security, from that place to Waussit, half way to Bassorah along the Tigris. In the mean time the insurgents at Baghdâd were no less eager to gratify, than he was to elude their revenge, and ceased not their importunities to be led against him. Tauher Zûlyemnein, in his camp before Rakkah, appears all the while to have contemplated these convulsions with perfect indifference, until he became apprized of the proceedings of the troops in favor of Munsûr. He then conceived it expedient to dispatch, from among the troops of Khorassaun, a distinguished captain of the name of Mahommed ben Khâled, to concert with that prince some determined plan of operations; and otherwise to to afford him every assistance in the attack which was meditating against Hussun Sohel. On the appearance of this new chief at Baghdâd, the whole of the soldiery immediately collected round his person; demanding that Munsûr should appoint him their lieutenant general, for the purpose of conducting them without delay against the odious, and detested Hussun. Their clamours had been too frequently successful to be in this instance exerted in vain. Mahommed ben Khâled was accordingly invested with the military command; and a

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considerable force soon afterwards marched under his orders towards Waussit. In the neighborhood of that city they were opposed in battle by the troops of Hussun Sohel; and their commander being severely wounded in the action, they were compelled with disgrace and loss to return to Baghdâd, where he expired of his wounds. Having however chosen Eissa, the son of their deceased general, to command in the room of his father, they proceeded a second time towards Waussit; and were again defeated with accumulated slaughter, by Hameid the son of Abdul Hameid of Tûss, employed against them at the head of the troops of Hussun Sohel.

Irritated by repeated disgrace, discomfiture, and loss, the soldiers on their return this time to Baghdad, became still more violent in their clamours, urging with equal rage and impatience to be led again without delay to meet their obnoxious governor: whom, under the odious appellation of the *magian son of a magian* they announced their unalterable resolution, never more to admit into authority; whose brother Fazzel they proclaimed to be equally obnoxious to their choice; and protesting moreover, that if he was not without further delay degraded from the *Vizzaurut*, Ul Mâmûn himself was to consider that from that day they had abjured his authority as Khalif. Having adopted these violent resolutions, they proceeded to demand that Harthem the son of Hauzem might be appointed Sepah-salaur, or lieutenant general, by whom they were conducted once more to the gates of Waussit; Hameid the Tûssite being again employed to oppose him on the part of Hussun Sohel, while Yaheya the son of Ally the Mahanite was dispatched by Munsûr to take possession of Medâein.

But the sufferings of the inhabitants of Baghdâd had now again reached that point, beyond which there was no further endurance. A licentious banditti had re-established its uncontrolable sway in that unhappy city; the women, the slaves, the property of the inhabitants of every rank and description, had once more become the prey of robbers and outlaws, who regarded neither the authority of Munsûr, nor of any other person: and the efforts of the few honest and well disposed individuals, who united to check the excesses of these unprincipled depredators, having failed in the application, this wretched metro-

polis was abandoned, for another season, to the dominion of civil discord, and of every species of outrage and atrocity. A. H. 201. A. D. 816. Tarikh Tebry.

The troubles which afflicted the province of Irâk were, however, destined at last to reach the ears of Ul Mâmûn; but the source from which they sprung was concealed from him, as sedulously as ever, by his artful and ambitious minister. Instead of ascribing the evil where it was due, to the general, and determined aversion of the people to the government of his brother, the Vezzeir continued to impress his sovereign with a belief, that it entirely originated in the projects perpetually renewed by the persecuted race of Ally; of whom, he asserted there was not a city in the empire, in which some individual had not started up, to vindicate the claims of his family. On the basis of such a representation, the Khalif, after long deliberating on the subject, ultimately decided on adopting the following expedient. It was resolved betwixt him and his minister, that some one should be immediately sought of the lineage of Ally, whose piety and wisdom should be already acknowledged throughout the limits of Isslâm; whose life should have been unpolluted by the vanities of human ambition; and whose superior claims should be universally admitted by the whole race. This distinguished individual when discovered, it was then determined to conduct into Khorassaun, to be immediately proclaimed successor to the throne of the Khalifs, on the demise of Ul Mâmûn; in such a manner as to convince the whole race that on the death of that prince, the sovereign power should descend, without failure, from the house of Abbas to that of Ally. An expedient by which it was hoped to unite the whole family in the interests of Ul Mâmûn, and of this their lineal representative; and finally to appease those commotions with which they had so often disturbed the tranquillity of the Mahommedan government.

In prosecution of this plan, the inquiry was set on foot without further delay; and the selection resting upon *Ally Ruzza*, the eighth Imaum, now residing at Baghdâd, (and the brother as it would appear of Zeid-ul-Naur, though of a character perfectly the reverse) it was finally determined, between the Khalif and his minister, that he should be immediately brought from Irâk, and declared successor to the empire on the death of Ul Mâmûn; and that the latter should proceed, without delay,

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to introduce among his subjects the doctrines of the Sheiahs, calling upon them to acknowledge the Imaumut, or pontificate, in the descendants of Ally and Fatima; in the hope that the plots and conspiracies, which had been hitherto directed against the reigning power, might be banished the land, and that the disaffected might be at length permanently reconciled to the authority of Ul Mâmûn. It may perhaps appear extraordinary that, when the matter became thus finally arranged, Fazzel conceived it no longer necessary to disguise from his master, that the seditious and turbulent spirit, on so many recent occasions exhibited by the troops of Baghdâd, had in truth its origin in their rooted aversion to the government of his brother Hussun; neither does it appear less unaccountable, that such a discovery should have produced no sort of change in the resolutions of Ul Mâmûn; unless indeed the plan is to be considered altogether as a matter of political expediency, to answer the purposes of the moment, and to be adhered to, or abandoned, just as the occasion might eventually require.

Be this however as it may, Rudjâi the son of Zohauk, a maternal uncle of Ul Mâmûn's, accompanied by a confidential domestic of the name of Tûmauss, was dispatched to conduct Ally Ruzza from Baghdâd to Merû; whilst Ul Mâmûn hastened on his part to publish through that city, the rights of the Sheiahs, or adherents of Ally; proclaiming at the same time, that after himself the Khelaufut was to devolve in full sovereignty to Ally the son of Mûssa; that he was to be considered in the immediate exercise of the sacred functions of the Imaumut; and that it was no longer lawful to molest with injurious persecutions the man who, in himself, and in his illustrious predecessors, had already suffered too grievously, from the oppressive policy of the houses of Ommeyah and Abbas. That, with acknowledged justice on the side of his new found collegue, circumstances which he could not controul had alone precluded him from an immediate abdication in his favor; but as heir apparent, and successor to the Khelaufut, next after himself, and to the entire exclusion of his own offspring, he now solemnly nominated the same Ally the son of Mûssa, by the title of Urruzza, of the race of Mahommed; further demanding for him, and for his son Mahommed Tekky after him, the allegiance of the people. To give the utmost apparent solidity to these arrangements, Ul Mamûn on the subsequent

arrival of the two princes at Merû, bestowed upon Ally Ruzza the hand of his eldest daughter Omm-e-Habeib, and that of his youngest, Omm-ul-Fazzel, upon the youthful Mahommed: and lastly, the black banner, and uniform of the house of Abbas, which he stigmatized as the livery of the infernal regions, was laid aside for the more lively green of the race of Fâtima; which he recommended, as the decoration of the inmates of interminable bliss. In these several changes, the minister Fazzel was directed to circulate, to every city of the empire, letters demanding the concurrence of the inhabitants at large; and publicly announcing, that on the demise of Ul Mamûn, the throne of the Khalifs was to descend without reserve to Ally Ruzza, and after him, in succession, to his son Mahommed, or such of the posterity of Ally as might be found most worthy of the exalted charge: the reigning sovereign being, in these letters, represented to have merely restored to the legitimate claimant the unquestionable rights of the prophet's family, from a decided conviction of their superiority to those of his own, in whatever point examined.

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In obedience to the instructions conveyed to him on this occasion, Hussun Sohel, who still resided at Waussit, proceeded to exact from the troops of that dependency, an engagement to abide by the plan of succession thus recently established by their sovereign: and similar instructions being at the same time expedited, to Zûlyemnein before Rakkah, to Mossûle, and Jezzeirah, and to all the cities of Syria and Hejauz, the agitations which had been so long kept on foot, by the adherents of the race of Ally and Fatima, appear to have been at once laid at rest, to the very remotest limits of the empire.

Previous to the arrival of his dispatches, it is however observed, that Hussun Sohel had contrived to accommodate his differences with the refractory garrison of Baghdâd, by according to a demand of six months gratuity; it being agreed on their part, that Munsûr should relinquish his authority, and return to a private station, and that Eissa the son of Mahommed, should preside over the city as the delegate of Hussun. But the treaty, by which these differences had been reconciled, was scarcely closed, when a most violent fermentation among the soldiery was afresh excited by the letters from his principal, which were communicated by the lieutenant of Baghdâd; calling upon the inhabitants to pledge themselves in support of the new order of suc-

A. H. 201. A. D. 817. Tarikh Tebry.

cession; and immediately to adopt, in their standards and apparel, the green livery of the Seyeds, or race of Fatima. With the ordinary clamour, the troops protested that while the rights of the house of Abbas possessed, with them, such an indubitable preference, the arrangements which violated those rights should never have their concurrence; and the whole of the family residing at Baghdâd being then assembled, a resolution was adopted without delay, to abjure the authority of Ul Mâmûn; and to raise to the Khelaufut in his stead, some other individual of the race of Abbas, less prodigal of the interests of his blood. With these views the malcontents hastened with an offer of the imperial dignity to Munsûr the son of Mehedy; but that chief steadily declining their offer, they appeared with the same proposal at the gate of his brother Ibrauhim, who was, without much difficulty led to coincide with their views; alleging, as the motive of his compliance, his entire disapprobation of any measure of Ul Mâmûn's, which went to transfer from his own kindred the rights of the Khelaufut. On the next ensuing Friday, the troops of Baghdâd in conjunction with the Benni Abbas, assembled together in the principal mosque of the city; where, from the pulpit of the Imaumut, Ibrauhim publicly pronounced that Ul Mâmûn was deposed from his authority; and reciting the Khotbah in his own name, proceeded to demand for himself the allegiance of the people: an event, which is here recorded to have taken place, when three days were yet unexpired of the month of Zilhudje, of the year two hundred and one.*

We are now, with one slight exception which will occur hereafter, and with considerable regret, compelled to take leave of our instructive guide, the Persian translator and continuator of the *Tarikh Tebry*, of which, the author of these pages has not the good fortune to possess more than the first volume, terminating with the death of Ul Mâmûn; a period to which the reader is abruptly conveyed by a transit of at least seventeen years: and of which, bating the single article of the nomination of Mûtassem to succeed to the Khelaufut, notwithstanding the deceitful formality of prior arrangements, the events are passed over in total silence. This chasm it becomes our object, as far as possible, to supply from the abridged testimony of more modern authorities.

* July 15th, A. D. 817.

Having assumed the functions of the Khelaufut at Baghdâd, in the manner just related, Ibrauhim employed considerable exertion to make himself master of Irâk; and, being triumphant in a variety of actions in which he was engaged with the troops of Hussun Sohel, he succeeded at last in rendering his power respectable, if not formidable. These untoward events could not however be entirely concealed from Ul Mamûn; and he ventured at last to interrogate his minister rather closely, as to the nature of that authority which had been assumed by Ibrauhim. The reply which he received from Zûl-reiaussetein was that, to give it the most unfavorable construction that such a circumstance could bear, the people had merely raised him to the subordinate government, without the smallest design upon the Khelaufut, or sovereign dignity. A. H. 201. A. D. 817. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

The power of Ibrauhim had nevertheless been too firmly established at Baghdâd; and the extent of the evil being thus treacherously concealed from his master by Zûl-reiaussetein, Imaum Ally Ruzza obtained with Ul Mâmûn a private conference; at which he disclosed to him in detail the nature of those occurrences, which from first to last had taken place both in Irâk and Hejauz, under the odious administration of Hussun Sohel; and having described without reserve the magnitude of Ibrauhim's usurpation, which embraced, as he said, the design of contending for the sceptre of the Khalifs, he further announced to Ul Mâmûn, that these dangerous facts had been withheld from his knowledge, by Fazzel, through the treasonable suggestions, and to screen the incapacity, and misconduct of his brother Hussun. It was therefore upon this disclosure that Ul Mâmûn, in the early part of the year two hundred and two, suddenly proceeded for Baghdâd. On his arrival at Sirkhess, the next town of importance between Merû and Neyshapûr, he contrived to liberate himself from the inauspicious influence of Zûlreiaussetein. This chief, although he had, by his skill in astrology, long since discovered that he was to lose his life between fire and water, is here accused of presuming nevertheless to conceive that the arrangements of eternal destiny were to be eluded by the precautions of human foresight. He was however, as was far from being unusual, probably left in the dark as to the precise circumstances which such an ambiguous prognostic was

A. H. 202. A. D. 817. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

designed to indicate; until one day, after he had been indulging himself in the luxurious lassitude of a warm bath, he was attacked by four assassins, who watched his exit, and instantly put him to death; when it occurred without any very forced construction, that, the steam of the bath being produced by the combined operation of fire and water, he had been pretty accurately forewarned of his destiny. Ul Mâmûn did not fail to express the utmost concern and astonishment at the perpetration of the deed, although shrewdly suspected of having authorized it by his own instructions; and the strictest orders were immediately issued for the apprehension of the murderers. They were accordingly secured shortly afterwards, and brought before the offended monarch; who demanded, with apparent indignation, the motives which had actuated them in the commission of this atrocious act of guilt? and they presumed to admonish him in reply, as he feared the wrath of an avenging God, to recollect that the deed had originated in his own express commands! they were, notwithstanding, consigned to the sword of the executioner, and their heads transmitted, in proof of the Khalif's abhorrence of the act, to Hussun Sohel.

Tarikh gûzeidah.

It is observed in a work of considerable respectability, that the ruling ambition of Fazzel was to emulate the fame of Abû Mosslem; whose services to the reigning family, he arrogantly averred to have been far surpassed by his own. A person to whom he uttered this boast, having ventured to remark, that he seemed to have forgotten, that instead of a simple change from one brother to another, the Merouzite claimed the superior merit of wresting the Khelaufut, from a dinasty in the vigor of its power, and of transferring it entire to the house of Abbas; Fazzel replied that if he was permitted to live, he would, in that respect also, endeavour to surpass the renown of Abû Mosslem. To the operation of this sentiment have accordingly been ascribed the measures which led Ul Mâmûn, as we have recently seen, to establish Ally Ruzza in the line of succession, to the immediate exclusion of his own blood.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Ul Mâmûn proceeded, however, on his march to Tûsse; where, during a repose of some days afforded to the army, and either through the atrocious contrivance of that monarch, as was formerly noticed, or through the infirmities of nature, Ally Ruzza, perhaps very oppor-

tunely, quitted the stage of life, in the course of the year two hundred and three. Having acquitted himself of the last solemnities to the departed Imaum, Ul Mamûn again resumed his march for Baghdâd. A. H. 203. A. D. 818. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

In the mean time a derangement of intellect, or melancholy, having seized upon Hussun Sohel, his family conceived it expedient to lay him in fetters, and to take charge of his government. About the same crisis the people of Baghdâd, apprized of the assassination of Zûlreiaussetein, of the death of Ally Ruzza, and of the approach of Ul Mâmûn, and evincing a disposition to return to their allegiance, Ibrauhim the son of Mehedy penetrated into their designs, and seasonably disappeared on the second day after the festival of Zilhudje;* when Ul Mamûn was already arrived within a short distance of the metropolis, which that monarch entered shortly afterwards without opposition, in the commencement of the year two hundred and four. Tâher Zûlyemneiñ, whose services were still engaged before Rakkah, embraced the opportunity of repairing to the presence of Ul Mâmûn, from whom he experienced a favorable and distinguished reception; and he appears to have exerted his influence on this occasion to prevail upon the Khalif to resume the sable robes, and badges, of the house of Abbas.

In the course of two hundred and five, Zûlyemnein was dispatched by Ul Mâmûn to take charge of the government of Khorassaun; by which was laid the foundation of the power subsequently exercised in that great province by the race of Tâher. The year following, Fazzel the son of Rabbeia, here said to have lived in concealment ever since the death of Ul Amein, ventured to quit his retreat; and became an object of clemency and compassion with Ul Mâmûn. He did not, however, long survive his pardon, as his death is the only circumstance recorded under the year two hundred and seven. A. H. 205-6. A. D. 820-21.

Nasser the son of Shebeib continued to give employment to the troops under Abdullah Tâher, who had been left by his father to prosecute the siege of Rakkah, until the year two hundred and nine; when the insurgent, on terms of pardon and indemnity, ventured to surrender his person to the besieger: by whom he was conveyed to

* Twelfth of Zilhudje, corresponding to the ninth of June, A. D. 819.

A. H. 209-10. A. D. 824-5. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

the presence of Ul Mamûn, and he became also a distinguished proof of the mild and clement disposition of that prince. At this period Ul Màmûn took for his consort Bûran, or Tûran, the daughter of Hussun Sohel, then residing at Femm-ul-Sellah; the nuptials being solemnized with indescribable magnificence by the father. In the course of two hundred and ten, the dethroned Ibrauhim the son of Mehedy, wandering about the streets of the metropolis in the disguise of a woman, was apprehended by the patrole, and conveyed to the presence of Ul Mâmûn; who, after exposing him in his disgraceful attire to the ridicule of the court, had however the magnanimity to bestow upon him otherwise the full remission of his offences.*

A. H. 211-14. A. D. 827-29.

The year following is recorded as that in which Ul Mâmûn evinced a disposition favorable to that heretical doctrine, which denies to the Korân the authority of divine revelation; and in the course of two hundred and twelve he proceeded, by a severe persecution of his people, to enforce the acknowledgement, that this mass of occasional effusions, was no more than the offspring of creation, or human invention. But, as if a mark of conspicuous reprobation was the immediate result, of an opinion alleged so impious on the part of the Khalif, he found it expedient during the same year to dispatch a considerable force into Azerbâijaun, under Mahommed the son of Hameid, the Tûssite; to suppress the insurrection of *Baubek Khorremdein*, an infidel, or atheistical miscreant, as he is here denominated, who had revived in that province the licentious doctrines of the impostor *Muzdek;* of which, if the same that prevailed in the time of Kobâd the father of Noushirvaun, the prominent principle was that of universal equality, or at any rate, of an equal and common participation in all property. After sustaining a variety of conflicts with him, the Mahomedan general was ultimately defeated and killed during the year two hundred and fourteen; whence this new impostor was suffered to continue his unbridled atrocities against the profession of Isslâm, until a period long subsequent to the death of Ul Mâmûn.

* The seizure of the island of Crete by the Spanish piratical Arabs, mentioned by Mr. Gibbon, must have occurred about the 208th of the Hidjeralf, although unnoticed by the Persian historian.

The two succeeding years seem to have furnished nothing of importance to the record of history, since we are conveyed at once to the year two hundred and seventeen; in which Ul Mâmûn proceeded to nominate his brother Mûtassem, his successor to the throne of the Khalifs; though his own son Abbas was now living, and survived him for many years. This act of succession was made known by letters, circulated throughout the empire, demanding the allegiance of the people for Mûtassem. A. H. 217. A. D. 832. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

It is sufficiently authenticated,* that towards the conclusion of his life and reign, Ul Mâmûn was engaged in a religious war upon the territories of the Greek emperor, Theophilus, the son of Michael the stammerer; during which he his here said to have wrested from that monarch not less than fourteen places of considerable strength and importance. On his return from a last successful expedition, he had encamped by the side of a delightful stream, in the conquered territory, to which the oriental writers have given indifferently the name of Bezbezûn and Bedbedûn; but which, from its vicinity to the city of Tarsus in Cilicia, and the alleged coldness of its waters, it will perhaps not be an overstrained conjecture to identify with the river Cydnus. It was in the season of the vintage, when most species of fruit, and particularly dates, were arrived at maturity; and the monarch was debating with his attendants what would afford the greatest relish to the delicious stream which ran at their feet, when he expressed his preference for a marmalade of dates. Before the conversation was at an end, the approach of some camels was announced, and Ul Mâmûn directed one of his domestics to inquire what they had brought; because relays of camels had been established all the way to Baghdâd for the daily conveyance of intelligence, and of fruit, and other articles for the Khalif's use. The domestic immediately returned with two baskets of ripe dates, which he laid before his sovereign; who agreeably surprised by the apparently felicitous coincidence, indulged himself to an imprudent excess, in alternately regaling upon the fruit, and the chilling waters of the stream. In consequence of this imprudent indulgence, the Khalif was seized on the first day of the month of Rudjub, of the year two hundred and eighteen, with a

* Tarikh Tebry. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

A. H. 218. violent fever; of which, on the seventeenth of the same month,* he
A. D. 833. expired, at the age of forty-eight, having reigned sole monarch of
Kholaussnt-ul-akhbaur. Isslâm, calculating from the death of Ul Amein, for a period of nineteen solar years, ten months, and six days. His body was conveyed to the city of Tarsus, and there committed to the earth, by Mûtassem; who performed the last solemn duties over the grave of his brother.

Of Ul Mâmûn, we are told that he was of a swarthy complexion, and middling stature; that of the Khalifs of the house of Abbas, he was esteemed the most clement, modest, learned and liberal; that he far surpassed them all in the attainments of science; in the departments of which, and in logic and arithmetic, geometry and astronomy in particular, he bears the reputation of having expended three hundred thousand dinaurs,† in translating the works of the ancient philosophers from Syriac, or most probably from Greek, into Arabic; but it is observed by the author of the Tarikh gûzeidah, in abatement of this unqualified eulogy, that his disavowal, or disbelief of the divine origin of the Korân, having drawn upon him the displeasure of his creator, he was cut short by the hand of death, in the midst of his unhallowed designs to unhinge the sacred principles of Isslâm; such having uniformly been the fate of all those princes who, at whatever periods, may have manifested similar purposes of innovation.

Ul Mutassem, or Miatessem b'Illah Mahommed Abû Ishauk, the son of Harun, eighth Khalif of the house of Abbas.

Although the destination of this prince to succeed him in the Khelaufut, had been announced with sufficient publicity by Ul Mâmûn, the latter was no sooner known to have quitted the stage of life, than a disposition was evinced, by certain turbulent and factious individuals, as our author is pleased to designate them, in favor of the natural claims of his son Abbas; whom they accordingly prepared to elevate to the throne of his father. This design was however defeated by the vigilance of Mutassem, who contriving to bring the young prince to a conference, drew from him his pledge of allegiance; a declaration that he had absolutely resigned the Khelaufut to his uncle; and an admonition to his adherents to recede from the absurd and presumptu-

Mutassem B'illah, VIIIth Khalif of the house of Abbas.

* Corresponding with the 6th of August, 833.

† At the lowest computation about 137,500l.

ous plans which they seemed to have in agitation. At all events, Mûtassem proceeded shortly afterwards to Baghdâd, and there, without obstacle, on the first of Ramzaun* of the year two hundred and eighteen, seated himself in undisturbed possession of the sovereign authority. A. H. 218. A. D. 833. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

The earliest object which, on his accession to power, appears to have employed the attention of the new Khalif, was the reduction to their duty of the inhabitants of Hamadaun and Isfahaun, great numbers of whom had avowed the doctrines of Baubek Khorremdein; and his general Ishauk the son of Ibrauhim the Mûssaubite proceeding accordingly to that quarter, put to the sword near sixty thousand of the schismatics.

In the beginning of the second Jummaudy of the year two hundred and twenty,† the archfanatic was himself attacked in Azerbayjaun, by Heyder the son of Kawass, one of the nobles of Transoxiana, and another chief of the name of Aukshein, dispatched against him by Mûtassem; and, after having sustained several previous conflicts, was ultimately defeated with great slaughter to his misguided followers. The same year, Mûtassem was engaged in constructing the city of Sermenrâi, better known by the name of Saumerah, at a spot then called Katûl, about eighty‡ or a hundred miles, above Baghdâd on the Tigris, to which he finally transferred the seat of his government. For this the following reason has been assigned by our author. The Khalif had been unfortunately led into a favorite plan of purchasing, and entertaining a body of Turkish or Tartar slaves; whose increasing numbers, and licentious behaviour became so obnoxious and irksome to the inhabitants of Baghdâd, that they at last complained to their sovereign of the insolence of these mercenaries: and at once to indulge without interruption in the prosecution of a favorite plan, and to relieve himself from the troublesome remonstrances of his people, Mûtassem resolved on the foundation of a new metropolis, fixing on the spot on which he immediately proceeded to build the city of Saumerah; by the side of a rivulet called the Katûly, which probably at that place flows into the Tigris. It is further said§ that the mount on which he erected his palace in the new city, was formed of the saddle bags of his household cavalry.

* Corresponding with the 18th of September. † June, A. D. 835.
‡ According to Mr. Gibbon, six and thirty. § Tarikh gûzeidah.

A. H. 220. A. D. 835. filled up with earth: and that this city extended in time to the distance of seven Farsangs along the Tigris, from the greater to the lesser bridge.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur. In the course of the year two hundred and twenty two,* having sustained a total and shameful defeat from Aukshein the Khalif's general in Azerbayjaun, the impostor Baubek with the remnant of his followers, fled towards Armenia. The flight of the impostor happened to lead him through the neighborhood of a certain castle, of which Sohul the son of Sembaut, an officer of the Greek empire, was governor. Apprized that the fugitive was encamped in the neighborhood, this chief hastened to visit him; and overloading him with professions of zeal and hospitality, ultimately prevailed upon him to take up his abode in the castle. Here he was at first royally entertained; but his host proceeding without ceremony to partake of the repast which was served upon his arrival, the impostor, not yet sufficiently humbled by misfortune, haughtily demanded if he conceived himself in any way qualified to eat with a person of his exalted station? Suddenly starting upon his feet, Sohul affected to apologize for the error, into which he pretended to have been betrayed by a forgetfulness of the princely rank of his illustrious guest. Then calling for a smith, he requested that his majesty would be pleased to stretch out his feet; and as resistance was in vain, a massy pair of fetters was immediately fastened to his legs; and the wretched fugitive was thus sent to meditate in a dungeon, on the horrors of his situation. A message was now dispatched to announce this fortunate seizure to Aukshein; and an officer of trust with an escort of four thousand horse, being immediately ordered by that general into Armenia, to convey to his encampment the wretched impostor and his betrayer, he had the satisfaction soon afterwards to see them both conducted in safety to his presence. Having bestowed upon Sohul every possible mark of kindness, and acknowledgement for the important service rendered to his sovereign, Aukshein proceeded in charge of his captive towards Saumerah, the present metropolis of the empire.

On his arrival in the vicinity of Saumerah, Mûtassem determined to give to the disgrace and discomfiture of this archfanatic, the utmost possible notoriety; and he was accordingly conducted into the metropo-

* A. D. 836-7.

lis, riding upon an elephant, conspicuous to the view of the inhabitants, every description of whom having been directed by the Khalif to meet him on his approach. He was put to death on the day of his entrance into Saumerah, some time in the course of the year two hundred and twenty three. The historian concludes his circumscribed account of the impostor Baubek Khorremdein, by relating that a person, who had served him as executioner, being asked how many individuals he had cut off in the exercise of his profession, coldly replied that he was only one of ten employed by the schismatic in that capacity; of the number of unfortunates, who had suffered under the hands of his collegues, he could therefore not pretend to determine; but for his own part, he could acknowledge the execution of twenty thousand persons. A. H. 223. A. D. 838. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

During the same year, the two hundred and twenty third of the Hidjerah, Kayssar (the Greek emperor Theophilus, son of Michael the stammerer) led his troops to the siege of Betrah, the obscure town of Sozopetra in Syria so called by the orientals, and the birth place of Mûtassem, according to Mr. Gibbon. The Greek prince succeeded in the reduction of the place, and conveyed multitudes of the inhabitants into captivity. Apprized of the irruption, of the insolence, according to our author, of the Christian monarch, Mûtassem marched into Anatolia at the head of a numerous and powerful army; his general Aukshein being detached in advance with a considerable body of troops. This advanced guard appears to have been attacked by the Constantinopolitan, but succeeded in repulsing its assailants with great slaughter. The Khalif now united his troops to the division of Aukshein, and soon afterwards appeared before Amûriah; or Amorium in Phrygia, the birth place of the father of Theophilus, as we also learn from Mr. Gibbon. The city was besieged and captured, and thirty thousand of the followers, or subjects of Cæsar, were put to the sword. Of the siege of this place, on the authority of the Christian *Abûlfarage*, we derive some further particulars, from the pen of the same eloquent and interesting historian of the decline and fall of Roman grandeur.

At this crisis, Mûtassem was exposed to extreme danger from a formidable conspiracy among his principal officers, from which he however

A. H. 223. A. D. 838. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

escaped by the seasonable disclosures of one of the accomplices. Conceiving a disgust at the behaviour of Aukshein and Ashbaus, who were probably the captains of the Turkish mercenaries, and who had been promoted to the highest dignities of the empire, the commanders of the national force, resolved on placing Abbas the son of Mâmûn, on the throne of the Khalifs; and for that purpose laid wait for an opportunity to assassinate Mûtassem, and the two obnoxious foreigners. Fortunately, before the design could be carried into execution, Abbas, the unhappy instrument of their intrigues, was at the same time seized and imprisoned, and soon afterwards perished, by a method somewhat singular. His guards having suffered him to gorge himself with an immoderate quantity of food, unexpectedly refused to supply him with a drop of water to allay his thirst; of which, accordingly, and in the utmost misery, he shortly afterwards expired. Not long subsequent to these events, Mûtassem returned to Saumerah.

In the course of the succeeding year, Mauziaur the tributary chief, or prince of Tebristaun, was betrayed into hostilities against the authority of Mûtassem by the evil counsels of Aukshein. This latter had it seems cast his aspiring views on the government of Khorassaun; and a brother of Zûlyemnein's, of the name of Hussun, was detached on the part of Abdullah Tâher, to reduce the refractory chief, whose person, after considerable difficulty and exertion, he succeeded in securing; and he was, without much delay, conducted to the presence of Mûtassem. To that prince he endeavoured to palliate his conduct, by ascribing his recent rebellion to the artful practices of Aukshein. The discovery did not however rescue him from the sword of the executioner. Neither did the treacherous Aukshein escape the punishment of his malignant designs. He was immediately thrown into prison, and there taken off by poison, some time in the year two hundred and twenty six: his body, after an ignominious exposure of several days on a gibbet, being burnt to ashes by the direction of Mûtassem.

We are now brought to the death of Mûtassem; which after an illness of several weeks, took place in the former Rebbeia, of the year two hundred and twenty-seven.* This prince has been particularly designated the octonary Khaleifah; not only because he was the eighth monarch of this dinasty, but from the following remarkable coinci-

* Latter end of December A. D. 841.

dencies. He was the *eighth* in descent from Abbas; his reign was distinguished by *eight* important victories; *eight* sons of sovereign princes were enrolled in his service; he was master of *eight* thousand male and the same number of female slaves; he was the proprietor of *eighty* thousand horses; he had *eight* sons and *eight* daughters; he left in his coffers a treasure of eight millions of dinaurs* in gold, and *eighteen* millions of dirhems† in silver; and lastly, he lived to the age of forty-eight, and according to some authors, enjoyed the Khelaufut for a period of *eight lunar* years, *eight* months, and *eight* days. In solar reckoning we find however, that from the death of Ul Mâmûn, he possessed the sovereign power for eight years, four months, and four, or five and twenty days. A. H. 227. A. D. 841. Kholaussut ul-akhbaur.

As an instance of the singular strength of arm of this monarch, it is stated, that he would hold a sheep in each hand, while his attendants flayed them alive; and as a proof of his zeal for the glory of Isslâm, although in other respects not scrupulously orthodox, our annalist, on the authority of the Tarikh gûzeidah, has ascribed the war in which he was engaged with the Greek emperor of Constantinople, to the following circumstance. A Mahommedan female, one of his subjects, having fallen into the hands of one of the Greek soldiers, (peradventure at the capture of Sozopetra, as mentioned by Mr. Gibbon) invoked, in the anguish of misfortune, the name of Mûtassem, *(Wâi Mûtassemah!)* the soldier, scoffing at the idea, advised her while she was about it, to add to her prayer that Mûtassem would come to her relief, mounted on his pye-bald charger. This sarcasm being conveyed to Mûtassem by one of his emissaries, he solemnly swore that no other object on earth should divert his attention, until he had redressed the injuries of this insulted female. Accordingly, although in the heart of winter, he led a powerful army immediately into the territories of the emperor of the east; and having signally triumphed over the troops of that prince, finally succeeded in discharging the obligation of his vow, by restoring to freedom the unfortunate captive, who was the object of it. It is further stated, that on this triumphant occasion, the army of Mûtassem, to the number one hundred and

* At the lowest computation about 3,666,666l. 13s. 4d.

† About 412,500l.

A. H. 227. A. D. 841. thirty thousand men, were mounted entirely on party-coloured, or pye-bald horses; thus multiplying the terrors of his presence a hundred and thirty thousand fold, in the apprehensions of the insulters of his name and nation.

Kholaussnt-ul-akhbaur.

We shall lastly observe, that although a rank schismatic in his religious opinions, being a violent disclaimer of the divine origin of the Korân, Mûtassem has, by some writers, been, notwithstanding extolled as a wise and politic prince, eminent for his providence, regularity, and valour; and yet it is acknowledged, that the dangerous practice, which he introduced of embodying the Tartar slaves, became ultimately, through the insolence and licentious behaviour of those detested mercenaries, one leading cause of detaching the Mahommedan people from their respect and allegiance to the authority of their lawful sovereigns, and at a period long subsequent, of subverting the throne of the Khelaufut. The office of Vezzeir to this prince was executed by Mahommed the son of Abdulmêlek ul Zeyaut—the oil merchant,

CHAP. IV.

UL WATHEK, or WAUTHEK B'ILLAH,* Abû Jauffer Hârûn, the son of Mûtassem, on the day of his father's death, and in conformity with the arrangements of his will, invested his brows with the diadem of the Khelaufut; and proceeded to surpass the zeal of both father and uncle, in promoting the advancement of schism, and in persecuting the advocates of orthodoxy. In consequence of this hostility to the faith of his ancestors, the only event of his reign which our author has thought worthy of particular, or circumstantial record, is the conspiracy set on foot at Baghdâd, which had now ceased to be considered as the metropolis of the Khalifs, in favor of Ahmed the son of Nasser, son of Melek the Khozzâite; whose merit as a traditionist had obtained for him the most exalted respect among sincere believers of every description. A powerful party among the inhabitants had pledged themselves to support his pretensions; and Ahmed with the chiefs of the conspiracy had fixed upon a particular night on which their drums should strike up, as a signal to rise against the government. The whole plan was however totally disconcerted by the folly and precipitation of some of its abettors; who in a fit of inebriety gave the alarm signal some nights previous to that which had been determined on; and the conspiracy having thus prematurely exploded, the design was more fully discovered to the lieutenant of Baghdâd by one of the guards of the police; who had either enrolled himself among the conspirators, or by some means or other become acquainted with their views. Ahmed and his principal adherents were immediately secured, and the next day conducted in irons to Saumerah. It is further said, that being there conveyed to the presence of Wauthek, that monarch first required of Ahmed to embrace the doctrines of the schismatics; and on his refusal, struck off his head with his own hand.

A. H. 227.
A. D. 841.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

UL WAUTHEK, IXth Khalif of the house of Abbas.

* Dei gratiâ confidens.

A. H. 232. A. D. 847. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Labouring under the effects of a dropsical complaint, brought on by intemperance, it was prescribed to Ul Wauthek by his physicians, towards the concluding period of life, that he should seat himself in a hot stove, or oven, as soon after the embers should have been withdrawn, as it should be endurable. The experiment is said to have been attended with singular success; but finding such unlooked-for, and unexpected relief, the monarch was not to be satisfied without a further application of the remedy, with a more violent degree of heat. In this he was obeyed; and perceiving, when too late, that it was beyond his endurance, he beckoned to be taken out of the stove, and expired on the same day; in the latter part of Zilhudje, of the year two hundred and thirty-two,* at the premature age of six and thirty; and after exercising, according to the expression of the original, a power repugnant to the orthodox principles of Isslâm, for the period of five years, seven months, and some days. Mahommed the son of Abdulmêlek-ul-Zeyaut, continued in the exercise of the Vizzaurut during the reign of this prince; whom, notwithstanding his recent ambiguous expressions, our author acknowledges to have borne the character of a just and equitable sovereign, universally applauded for his liberal, and bountiful disposition.

Tarîkh gûzeidah.

We must add moreover, on the testimony of another writer, that Ul Wauthek distinguished himself in a particular manner by his patronage of the unfortunate race of Ally; of whom it is said, that, during the period of his government, not a single person was suffered to remain in a state of indigence; that he surpassed in all the learning of his age, and in the powers of elocution; and that he was so skilful a performer in music, as to excite the admiration and envy of the acknowledged and most eminent masters of the profession. Lastly, as a proof of his humane and liberal spirit, it is recorded that the suburb of Baghdâd called Kirkh, having been destroyed by fire during the reign of Ul Wauthek, he distributed a million of dirhems,† among the sufferers, to aid them in the reconstruction of their habitations: from which, and other instances of his bounty, he probably derived the appellative of the lesser Mâmûn.

* August, A. D. 847. † About 22,916l. 13s. 4d.

Ul Mutewukkel-ala-Ullah, Abûl Fazzel Jauffer the son of Mûtassem. A. H. 232. A. D. 847.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Mahommed the son of Abdulmêlek the Vezzeir, with Ahmed the son of Abi Dâoud, and others of the principal nobility, had proposed on the death of Wauthek, to establish his son Mahommed on the throne of the Khalifs; but from this design they were dissuaded by the expostulations of Seyf, one of the Tartar commanders; who remonstrated against the dishonor of raising to the supreme dignity, a person after whom, either from his minority or some other defect, it was not yet warranted by the law, to perform the stated course of devotions; and, as the objection met their entire concurrence, they transferred their choice on mature deliberation to Jauffer the son of Mûtassem, the brother of the deceased monarch; to whom they accordingly pledged their allegiance, under the title of Mûtewukkel-ala-Ulla; confident in God.*

Ul Mutewukkel, Xth Khalif of the house of Abbas.

Soon after his accession, Mûtewukkel, in resentment of some former injury, put to death Mahommed the son of Abdulmêlek, who had occupied the post of Vezzeir during the whole of the late, and the preceding reigns.

A. H. 235. A. D. 849.

In the two hundredth and thirty-fifth of the Hidjerah, this Khalif evinced his dislike of Jews and Christians by issuing a decree, that the men, of either persuasion, should distinguish themselves by wearing the zennaur, or idolatrous cord; and that the women should wear some particular mark of notoriety on their drawers. Both religions were at the same time interdicted from every species of employment under government; and among other proofs of wanton degradation, they were for the future forbidden the use of iron stirrups to their saddles, being enjoined to substitute in their stead, such as were of wood. In the course of the same year, he caused his three sons, Mûntusser, Mûattez, and Mûeyud, to be acknowledged in rotation as heirs to the Khelaufut, entirely disregarding the claims of his two other sons Mouffek, and Mûatemmed. But to prove the vanity of human speculations, it was so directed by the will of heaven, that the authority of Mûntusser and Mûattez should occupy but a very limited period, and that the supreme power should never devolve to Mûeyud; while it was on the contrary ordained, that the Khelaufut should remain for a series of many years

* Perhaps more correctly, Deo delegatus—delegated from God.

A. H. 236. A. D. 850. with Mûatemmed, and should ultimately descend to the posterity of Mouffek; as will hereafter appear.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur. Such an unlimited predominance had been established, in the favor of Mûtewukkel, by one of his servants of the name of Futtah the son of Khâkan, that towards the year two hundred and thirty-six, the entire administration of affairs appears to have been committed, without reserve or control to the management of that officer; with powers so comprehensive indeed, that it became afterwards proverbial that in influence over his master, no minister was ever parallel to this said Futtah the son of Khâkan; excepting alone Jauffer of the race of Barmek, the unfortunate and celebrated favorite of Harûnrashid.*

The malignant spirit of Mûtewukkel began now to display itself, in an ordinance, published about this period, to prohibit his subjects from performing the long accustomed visitations at the tombs of Ally and his children; and the more effectually to secure the object of this decree, he caused the sacred repository of the ashes of Imaum Hûsseyne, and the martyrs at Kerbêla, to be levelled with the earth.†

A. H. 239. A. D. 853. The year two hundred and thirty-nine was distinguished by a further proof of the contempt of this Khalif for the Jews and Christians, unfortunately condemned to exist within the limits of his power: they were now forbidden to ride on horseback, and enjoined to content themselves with the more humble means of conveyance afforded by their mules and asses.

An alarming earthquake which laid in ruins one half of the city of Damaghaun, and extended on one side to Jûrjaun and Neyshapûr, and on the other to Bostaum and Râi and Isfahaun, is recorded as the only remarkable event which distinguished the year two hundred and forty-two ‡ On this occasion the inhabitants of a certain village in the district of Koumiss, south of Damaghaun, having fled from their crumbling habitations to the neighboring plains, are said to have heard a voice from above, proclaiming in good Arabic, that God alone is glorious, and that we are to fly for mercy to the worship of his power. It is further mentioned, as a prodigy which distin-

* Tarikh gûzeidah.

† It is stated by some writers that he diverted the course of the Euphrates, in order to lay the intervening districts under water. Vide Stevens's history of Persia.

‡ A. D. 856-7.

guished some period of the Khelaufut of Mûtewukkel, that it should have rained blood in one of the quarters of the city of Bâlkh. This same reign is however here announced to have been remarkable for many other occurrences beyond the common course of nature, for a particular relation of some of which, we are referred to the Mausser-ul-Mûlûk, or memorials of kings; a work with which the author of these pages is entirely unacquainted. A. H. 242. A. D. 856-7. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

For the remaining four or five years of the reign of Mûtewukkel, we are constrained to reconcile ourselves to the recital of some of those instances of folly and depravity, which will serve to place the character of this prince in a more conspicuous point of view. One of the amusements in which he chose to indulge himself, was to give a magnificent entertainment, and in the moment of their brightest conviviality, to turn a lion loose among his astonished guests. Another was to introduce a snake into the sleeve of some unfortunate courtier upon whom, when bitten, it was his practice to amuse himself by making experiments with antidotes. Another notable jest, in which he very frequently delighted to sport with the apprehensions of his court, was to cast broken jars full of scorpions, into the midst of a crouded assembly, to their infinite horror and annoyance. His destruction was however more immediately accelerated by the dispossessing of Seyf the Turkish, or Tartar chief, of the lands which he held in Jubbaul, or Persian Irâk, and the territory of Isfahaun, in order to bestow them upon his favorite minister; and perhaps not less, by his vexatious treatment of the son whom he had expressly nominated as immediate snccessor to his throne and dignity; whose name he would occasionally condescend to make a *pun* of, observing, that instead of Mûntusser, his title should have been *Mûntuzzer;* as anxiously looking forward to the period of his father's death. On other occasions, after drenching away his intellects with intoxicating liquors, he would cause the same son to be plied, without intermission, with repeated draughts of the disgusting and impure overflowings of debauch. By these accumulated insults Mûntusser was, at last, impelled to the unnatural, and nefarious resolution of forming a conspiracy, among the Turkish slaves, against the life of his father.

A. H. 247. A. D. 861. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

It had been accidentally mentioned in the presence of Mûtewukkel that a person at Bassorah was owner of a sword of incomparable beauty and temper; which the governor of that place was immediately written to, to purchase and transmit for the Khalif's use. It appeared on inquiry, that the sword had been already disposed of, and carried into Yemen; where it was however ultimately secured by one of the Khalif's agents for the sum of one thousand dirrems. When produced for the inspection of Mûtewukkel, he expressed his highest approbation of the sword; and observed to his favorite minister, that he should rely on his fidelity to select from among the Turkish Maumlûks, a man of true valour, to wear it for the peculiar protection of the person of his sovereign, on all occasions when it should be his pleasure to seat himself in the midst of his court. While they were yet engaged in conversation, one of that body, of the name of Bâgher, entered the presence chamber; and was immediately pointed out by the favorite, as a person eminently qualified for this distinguished charge. To him accordingly the sword was consigned, together with a suitable augmentation of salary; and it is added that Bâgher never drew it from the scabbard, until he employed it in the assassination of his master.

Be this however as it may, on what is generally represented as the night of Wednesday the fourth of Shavaul,* of the year two hundred and forty-seven, when the measure of his follies was compleat, and the destruction of Mûtewukkel was finally determined on; and while the infatuated monarch was indulging in the juice of the grape, the elder Bûka, accompanied by Mûssa the son of the younger Bûka, with *Bâgher*, and Belghûr, and several more of the Tartar slaves suddenly made their appearance, with their swords drawn, making directly for the Khalif's person. One of the attendants, conceiving the circumstance to be nothing more than one of the ordinary pleasantries, remarked without the smallest apprehension of mischief, that "as the joke of the lion and the snake had already "been disposed of, he reckoned this to be the game of the sword;" and Mûtewukkel was about to reply in terms of some displeasure, when *Bâgher*, and another of the conspirators rushed upon, and immediately dispatched him; Futtah the son of Khâkan, who had thrown

* Tenth of December, A. D. 861.

himself upon the body of his master, being in that situation cut to pieces by the assassins. A. H. 247. A. D. 861.

Such appears to have been the fate of Mûtewukkel, at the age of forty; after an imbecile reign of fourteen years, three months, and about five and twenty days; and it is observed, says our author, in the chronicle of the Mûssâoudian, that the unhappy monarch was thus sacrificed, with at least the concurrence of his unnatural son, at a place called Mahûriah; the very same spot rendered infamous on a former occasion, by a similar atrocious parricide committed upon the person of Khossrou Parveiz, by his son Sheirûyah. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur,

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To this period, it is obvious to remark, that for something more than a century, the Khelaufut had flourished with considerable vigor in the hands of the house of Abbas: but, from the death of Mûtewukkel it lay at the disposal of the Tartar slaves, or guards, and their mercenary and ferocious chiefs; and thus it continued for about four score and four years, including twelve successions. At the expiration of that period, in the three hundred and thirty-fourth of the Hidjerah, we shall find it submerging under the abeyance of the Ameirs ul Umra, of the race of Bûyah; having, however, previously languished, for about eight years, under the usurpation established by Yehkum Mûkauny, one of the slaves of Murdawunje, despot of Tebristaun. This chief on the assassination of his master, the early protector of the sons of Bûyah, had contrived to subdue a considerable part of Persian Irâk; and on the invitation of a traitor minister, ultimately forced himself into, and became the first invested with the dignity of Ameir ul ûmra at Baghdâd. Subject to the arbitrium of the Deyaulemah, or Deylemites, the descendants of Bûyah so denominated, from the province of their nativity, it was still suffered to exist for a further period of one hundred and ten years; when, in the four hundred and forty-seventh of the Hidjerah, to relieve himself and his people from the multiplied oppressions to which they had been so long exposed, the aid of Toghrul Beg, by the western nations so fantastically transformed into Tangrolipix, was called in by the Khalif ul Kâym; though the measure produced but little better than a change of oppressors. Under the control of the house of Seljûk it however faintly vegetated, with some transient intervals of reviving energy, until the six hun-

A. H. 247, A. D. 861. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

dred and fifty-sixth of the Hidjerah, the twelve hundred and fifty-eighth of CHRIST; when it was finally destroyed, in the person of Mûstaussem the last of the Abbassides, by the exterminating fury of Hollaukû, as will be shewn in the sequel of the present volume.

UL MUNTUSSER B'ILLAH, Abû Jauffer Mahommed, the son of Mûtewukkel, appears to have succeeded without opposition to the imperial dignity laid vacant by the murder of his father. Immediately on his accession he had conferred the Vizzaurut on Ahmed the son of Ul Hesseib; and this minister had taken the earliest opportunity to communicate to the younger Bûka, and some others of the Turks, an impression, that if Mûntusser should die, and the succession devolve to Mûattez, not a man of those engaged in the assassination of his father would be suffered to live: and that if they were desirous of relieving themselves from such a state of perpetual suspense and apprehension, it behoved them to unite their efforts to procure the disherison, or exclusion from the succession of the two striplings; alluding to Mûattez and his brother Mûeyud. Many arguments were not requisite to convince these blood stained mercenaries of the fate which awaited them in the event of such a contingency; and they accordingly employed their importunities with Mûntusser, to secure them without delay against that vengeance to which, by their zeal to serve him, they had too openly exposed themselves. Constrained by circumstances the unhappy monarch summoned the two princes to his presence, and apprized them of the sacrifice which he was compelled to require at their hands, of an immediate abdication of their claim to the Khelaufut. Mûeyud very readily consented to relinquish his claim; and Mûattez, although he at first expressed considerable reluctance, was ultimately prevailed upon to follow the example.

UL MUNTUSSER B'ILLAH, XIth Khalif of the house of Abbas.

Nevertheless, the guilt of a parent's blood lay with intolerable pressure on the mind of Mûntusser, although in other respects described to have been a prince of considerable merit. His father's murdered form is said to have appeared to him in a dream, and to have addressed him in these words—"Alas Mahommed! unjustly and cruelly hast "thou embrued thy hands in a father's blood: but that God who is "witness to thy guilt, will not permit thee the enjoyment of thy ill-

"gotten honors beyond the fleeting period of a few days." Haunted by the terrors of his dream, he became a prey to melancholy; and this shortly producing a disordered frame, he ultimately sunk, under the double visitation of distemper and depression of spirits, and expired on the fifth day of the former Rebbéia,* of the year two hundred and forty-eight, before he had concluded the fifth month of his miserable reign: leaving, however, with the historians of a particular class, the character of a judicious, modest, liberal, and beneficent monarch; because, peradventure, during the reign of his father, he had distinguished himself by the kindness and humanity of his behaviour to the Seyuds, or descendants of Ally and Fâtima.

A. H. 248. A. D. 862. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Ul Mustaayne B'illah,† Abûl Abbas Ahmed, the son of Mûtassem, twelfth Khalif of the house of Abbas.

On the death of Mûntusser, the allegiance of the body of the people was secured, by the exertions of the Turkish guards, and by the concurrence of the nobility and principal members of the community, for Ahmed the son of Mutassem, the uncle of the late monarch, under the title of Ul Mûstaâyne B'Illah; although not without some opposition on the part of the soldiery and tradesmen, who declared on the same day in favor of the sons of Mûtewukkel. But this movement was quelled on the spot by the timely application of the unsparing steel of the elder Bûka; who on the death of his son Mûssa became, during the first year of Mûstaâyne, more immediately attached to the person of his sovereign.

Ul Mustaayne B'illah, XIIth Khalif of the house of Abbas.

Driven by the impulse of despair and want, an insurrection was excited at Kûfah during the year two hundred and fifty, by one of the Allûvies, or Seyuds of the race of Ally, of the name of Yaheya son of Omar. This produced a variety of severe conflicts; but it was ultimately suppressed on the death of its author, who was killed by Mahommed the son of Abdullah Tâher, the grandson of Zûl-yemnein. About the same period, the standard of independence was exalted, with greater success, in the strong province of Tebristaun, by Hussun the son of Zeid ul Baukery, of a distinguished branch of the same stock; who bore the appellation of the claimant, or suitor, with jus-

* About the eighth of May, A. D. 862. † Dei gratiâ auxiliatus.

A. H. 250. A. D. 864. Khoiaussut-ul-akhbaur.

tice on his side; and who, after supporting his authority in independence and splendor for nineteen years, against all attempts to subdue him, transferred it at his death to his brother Mahommed; by whom it was maintained for a further period of eighteen years; at the expiration of which he was cut off by Mahommed the son of Harûn, one of the feodatories of the house of Abbas.

In the course of two hundred and fifty-one,* a dispute, with regard to the property of certain lands, having arisen between Wasseif and Bâgher, two of the Turkish chiefs, the Khalif took part with the former. On this Bâgher proceeded to represent to his friends and followers, that all substantial authority having been usurped to themselves by Wasseif, and Bûka the other favorite, their claims and services were either forgotten, or entirely set at nought. He therefore proposed to them, as their only alternative, to unite with him to accomplish the destruction of Mûstaâyne, and of both his obnoxious ministers, and to place some other person on the throne of the Khalifs; a proposal to which these mercenaries were, without much difficulty, prevailed upon to accede. But information of the conspiracy being seasonably conveyed to the two favorites, the promoter of the seditious design was immediately seized, and confined in the palace of the Khelaufut. The adherents of the disaffected chief now openly threw off their allegiance, and proceeding to the imperial stables, pillaged them of all their contents. On this, conceiving that when Bâgher should be no longer alive as a pretext for their violent proceedings, the tumult would of itself subside, Wasseif determined on the bold alternative of putting him to immediate death. This, as it happened, produced however a very opposite result; for the Turkish insurgents became in consequence, exasperated to such a degree, that the two favorites were compelled to withdraw the person of their sovereign from Saumerah, and to retire with some precipitation to Baghdâd.

Conceiving some remorse for the violence of their conduct, the Turkish mercenaries soon afterwards dispatched a deputation to solicit the forgiveness of Mûstaâyne; but experiencing an austere reception from Mahommed the son of Abdullah Tâher, the governor of Baghdâd, the deputation returned with spirits further exasperated to join their associates; who now resolved to depose Mûstaayne, and to con-

* A. D. 865.

fer the sovereign dignity on his nephew Mûattez, to whom, without further deliberation, they accordingly pledged their allegiance. A. H. 252. A. D. 866.

A considerable army was then dispatched by Mûattez, under the orders of his brother Mouffek, to lay siege to Baghdâd, within the ramparts of which, Mûstaâyne prepared to defend his authority. But the complexion of his destiny soon assuming an appearance of debility and decline, his ministers, together with Mahommed the Tâherite the governor of the city, became disposed to accommodate with the times; and a correspondence was accordingly opened with Mûattez by the Tâherite; in which the latter engaged to prevail upon Mûstaâyne to acknowledge the authority of his nephew, provided the government of Baghdâd should be secured to its present possessor; and that no attempt should be directed against the life of the abdicated monarch. To these terms Mûattez readily subscribed; and a treaty, in which they were formally ratified, being transmitted according to desire to the Tâherite, that chief proceeded, in conjunction with Wasseif and the younger Bûka, to employ the influence of menace, or importunity, to prevail upon his distressed and injured sovereign to abdicate his crown, and submit to the authority of his rival. Having accomplished their object in these points, the degraded monarch was next abridged of his personal freedom, and confined to the palace formerly the residence of Hussun Sohel. Here he had, however, been suffered to exist no longer than a few days, when he received from Mûattez, an order to proceed to Saumerah; which it was at the same time provided that he should never reach, the chamberlain of the reigning sovereign being employed to intercept and dispatch him, while on his journey to that place. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

This event is stated to have occurred in the year two hundred and fifty-two, when Mûstaâyne was of the age of five and thirty, and had possessed the Khelaufut for a period of three years and nine months; which, if correct, must confine the date of his death to the very commencement of the year. The office of Vezzeir to this prince was held by Ahmed the son of Sheirzaud.

Ul Muattez B'illah* Abû Abdullah Zobair, the son of Mûtewukkel, thirteenth Khalif of the house of Abbas.

* Dei gratiâ potens factus.

A. H. 252. A. D. 866. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Firmly established on the throne of the Khalifs, Mûattez conferred the dignity of the Vizzaurut upon Ahmed the son of Issrauil; and in punctual discharge of his engagement with Mahommed the Tâherite, in one respect at least, he transmitted to that chief the necessary letters patent authorizing him to retain the government of Baghdâd; being further prevailed upon through his particular mediation, to spare the lives of Wasseif and Bûka, both of whom, on his accession to the Khelafût, he appeared otherwise disposed to destroy. Not long afterwards, at the solicitation of the Turkish guards, the two chiefs were invited to Saumerah, and placed among the dignitaries of the court.

Ul Muattez B'illah, XIIIth Khalif of the house of Abbas.

In the mean time the jealousy of Mûattez was maliciously excited towards his brother Mûeyud, by the representations of Eissa the son of Ferghânshah one of the ministers; who stated to his sovereign that there existed among the people a very powerful spirit of attachment for that prince, and that a strong proof of it was to be observed in the presents, of whatever was rare and precious, with which they were perpetually loading him. All this producing an unfavorable change in the mind of Mûattez, he ventured at length to intercept, and seize for himself, a present of five thousand dirhems* coming from the prince of Armenia to his brother. Of this illiberal violence, which he ascribed to the malice of the son of Ferghanshah, Mûeyud complained to his brother Mouffek; and at the same time an attempt was made to induce the Turkish mercenaries to cut off the hostile minister. Becoming however apprized of his danger, Eissa did not fail to make it known to his sovereign; and the result was the immediate seizure and imprisonment of both the brothers. A few days afterwards Mûeyud, bound hand and foot, was cast by the Khalif's orders into the snows of the neighboring region; and in that state jars of freezing water being incessantly poured on him, he miserably perished. His body was then brought back and laid in state, shrouded in sables; the Khalif protesting to the nobles of his court, that his unfortunate brother had expired by the ordinary course of nature.

In the course of two hundred and fifty three,† the Tartars, and the men of Ferghaunah mutinying for their pay, Wasseif ventured to reprove them for their disorderly and licentious behaviour; on which they immediately attacked and hewed him to pieces, with their battle

*About 114l. 11s. 8d. †A. D. 867.

axes. The year following, Bûka, the other Turkish chief, perceiving some obvious change in the Khalifs disposition towards him, suddenly withdrew towards Mosssûle; but, receiving intelligence on his way that the household slaves of Mûattez were plundering his habitation, and his followers dispersing on the report, he took to a small skiff on the Tigris, for the purpose of returning to Saumerah; and in this situation he was unexpectedly fallen in with by Waleid, one of the Mughrebies, or Lybian stipendiaries, by whom he was immediately secured; and who soon afterwards, by orders from their sovereign, took off his head and conveyed it to the presence.

A. H. 254. A. D. 868. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

The Tartars, perceiving that the Khalif was bent on their destruction, hastened to unite themselves under the authority of Salah, the son of Wasseif one of their late commanders; and seizing the persons of Ahmed the Vezzeir, and others employed in the civil departments of the state, immediately put them to the torture, in order to obtain possession of their treasure: but failing in their object, they proceeded directly to the palace, and from the Khalif himself peremptorily demanded their pay. After some demur in complying with their demands, Salah, with Mahommed the son of Bûka, and others of the chiefs, without further ceremony, conducted Mûattez out of his palace, and compelled him to stand in the sun, until he consented to abdicate his authority. They then lodged him in a prison, and dispatched some of their associates to Baghdâd, to bring from thence Mahommed the son of Wauthek, whom they proposed to raise to the Khelaufut, under the title of Mûhteddy. On his arrival at Saumerah that prince was permitted to hold an interview with the abdicated monarch; and, ascertaining from his own declaration that he had divested himself of the sovereign power, proceeded, in compliance with the solicitations of the military commanders, and principal inhabitants, to seat himself on the throne of the Khalifs. The unfortunate Mûattez, as in the instance of one of his predecessors, was gorged to death a few days afterwards, by suffering him to over-eat himself, and then withholding from him the means of quenching his thirst. This event is said to have taken place in the two hundred and fifty-fifth of the Hidjerah,* when Mûattez was at the age of four and twenty, and had possessed the Khelaufut, from the abdication of Mûstaâyne, for a period of

* A. D. 8 9.

A. H. 255. A. D. 869. about three years and seven months, We may therefore be warranted in fixing his death to the middle of the year.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur. Ul Muhteddy B'illah,* Abû Isshaųk Mahommed the son of Ul Wauthek, fourteenth Khalif of the house of Abbas.

Ul Muhteddy B'illah, XIVth Khalif of the house of Abbas. The supreme dignity thus forcibly abdicated by his cousin german, being, without further difficulty, vested in the person of Mûhteddy, that prince, by a regular attendance in his court of justice to relieve the necessities, and redress the injuries of his people, evinced an early disposition to promote by his own example, the impartial administration of the laws.

In the mean time, Mûssa the son of the elder Bûka, who had been employed by Mûattez, in Tebristaun, to conduct the war against Hussun the son of Zeid the Baukerite, becoming apprized of the murder of his sovereign, hastened to return to the scene of these violent proceedings. On which Salah the son of Wasseif, to whom the mischief was principally ascribed, suspecting his intentions, suddenly withdrew from Saumerah; but on the arrival of Mûssa, at that metropolis, and his submission to the authority of Mûhteddy, he was pursued and put to death by the agents of that chief.

The latter part of the year two hundred and fifty-five was rendered remarkable, by the revolt at Bassorah of the Zengui, or Zengbar slaves; who rose upon their masters, and declared for Ally the son of Mahommed son of Ahmed, another of the Seyuds, or descendants of Fatima. Supported by the aid of these insurgents, this Ally, afterwards distinguished by the appellation of Sâheb-ul-Zenje, or prince of the Zenguies, contrived to extend his usurpation from Bassorah to Amlah, (perhaps Amara) and a considerable part of Irâk-Arab; of which he maintained himself in possession for fourteen years from this period.

The benevolent character of Mûhteddy accorded but little with the disposition of the licentious profligates who surrounded his throne; and it was not extraordinary that he should have meditated the design of relieving himself from the seditious insolence of the Turks. Before his measures were, however, ripe for execution, they became known to those mercenaries; who conspiring with his enemies, the

* Dei gratia inductus,

sons of Mûtewukkel, proceeded, in the month of Rudjeb* of the year two hundred and fifty-six, to attack him in the midst of his capital. After an intrepid resistance, in which the virtuous monarch killed several of his assailants with his own hand, they succeeded in securing his person; and having forced him to abdicate his throne in favor of the sons of Mûtewukkel, for whom they pretended to have risen, they then put him to death. A. H. 256. A. D. 870. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

This was the fate of Mûhteddy, who perished at the age of thirty nine, with the acknowledged character of a devout and pious prince; and after a short reign of eleven months, and a few days; during which he had, however, at least as far as precept and example could prevail, contrived to abolish most of the corrupt and illegal practices too frequently authorized by the Khalifs his predecessors: of whom he is said to have adopted for his imitation the example alone of the benevolent Omar Abdulazziz, and like him, to have confined his expences to a very moderate and sparing supply from the public treasury.

Ul Muatemmed, or Meyatemmed Ala-Ullah† Abûl Abbas Ahmed, the son of Mûtewukkel, fifteenth Khalif of the house of Abbas.

Having, in the manner just described, made themselves masters of the person and destiny of Mûhteddy, the perfidious Tartars hastened to place Ahmed the son of Mûtewukkel (the third of the children of that weak and capricious prince who arrived at the imperial dignity) on the throne of the Khelaufut, with the title of Ul Mûatemmed ala Ullah, which may perhaps be rendered, *him in whom God has reposed his confidence:* that of his father being indeed of a similar import. The influence of these detested mercenaries was, however, through repeated treason, and insufferable insolence, now gradually declining; and in proportion as their power diminished, the affairs of the Khelaufut seemed to exhibit, in the hands of Mûatemmed, an appearance of system and regularity, of which it had been long deprived. Ul Muatemmed B'illah, XVth Khalif of the house of Abbas.

The attention of Mûatemmed appears to have been occupied, during the year two hundred and fifty-eight, in an unsuccessful attempt to reduce Ally Sâheb Ul Zenje and the revolted slaves at Bassorah; in which he availed himself of the service of his brother Ul Mouffek, who was however compelled by the insurgents to return to Saumerah, with discomfiture and loss.

* June, A. D. 870. † Dei gratiâ sustentatus.

A. H. 261. A. D. 874-5. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

In the two hundred and sixty-first of the Hidjerah, he made a shew of establishing the immediate succession to the throne in his son Jauffer, with the title of Ul Mûfowez ala Ullah, delegated from God; with reversion to his second son Abû Ahmed the presumptive heir, and the title of Ul Nausser-ud-dein-Ullah—Defender of God's faith. Neither of these princes was however destined to wield the septre of royalty.

So far back as the year two hundred and forty-nine,* Yakûb the son of Laiss, the founder of the Sûfauriah dinasty, so denominated from his father Laiss the Sûfaur, *the copper-smith or brazier*, had commenced his career of successful revolt in the province of Seiestaun; and in six years he had made himself master of Khorassaun, the Kohestaun, with Kermaun, and the entire province of Farss, his title being publicly ratified in two hundred and fifty-five, by the Khalif Mûattez. At the period of which we are now speaking, having extended his conquests to Persian Irâk, he was menacing from thence an attack on the remaining dominions of the Khelaufut, and preparing to march against Baghdâd. He was however successfully opposed, and signally defeated, at an obscure place called Dieh Aukkûl, somewhere on his advance towards Baghdâd, by the Khalif's troops, under the immediate directions of his brother Ul Mouffek.

By the author of the Târikh gûzeidah we are told, that after his discomfiture on this occasion, Yakûb Laiss retiring into Khorassaun, there in a short time assembled another army; with which he again advanced to try his fortune against the troops of the Khelaufut. On his march towards Irâk, he is stated to have received from Mûatemmed an admonition, after the signal proof which he had recently experienced of the displeasure of heaven, to beware of further tempting the power of God; to repent of his ambitious follies, and return to his allegiance; and that on withdrawing his army back again into Khorassaun, all the past should be forgotten. To this, in the hardihood of successful usurpation, Yakûb is said to have replied, that for the grandeur to which he had raised himself, he was alone indebted to his hitherto invincible arm and fortune; and that until he had humbled the pride and power of the Khalifs, he was determined to be a stranger to repose. If his efforts were crowned with success, it would be very well; but

*A. D. 863.

if it was otherwise decided by his destiny, he should nevertheless be still master of his morsel and barley loaf, alluding to his original humble condition. He enjoyed not, however, an opportunity of bringing his alternative to the proof. He died on his march of a fit of the colic; or according to Mr. Stevens, from Texeira, of a pleurisy because he declined an application repugnant to an over refined, and obstinate sense of delicacy.

A. H. 264. A. D. 877-8. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Subsequent to this, in the year two hundred and sixty-four, a further attempt was made towards the suppression of Ally Sâheb-ul-Zenje and the revolters of Bassorah, under Abûl Abbas the son of Mowffek; who at the head of ten thousand horse, having thrice engaged the rebels, succeeded at last in giving them a total defeat in the neighborhood of Waussit. Soon after he had achieved his victory, Abûl Abbas was joined by his father, and with him proceeded in pursuit of the fugitives, to the gates of Ahûauz; where Ally Sâheb-ul-Zenje had retired for shelter. That chief furnished them, nevertheless, with ample employment for the most active exertions, for several years subsequent to this period; until in the month of Suffer, of the two hundred and seventieth of the Hidjerah,* he bravely perished in the field of battle; and with him the usurpation of the Zenguies, after it had occasioned, as it is further asserted, the slaughter of more than one hundred thousand men.

After a silent lapse of seven years, the annalist conveys us at once to the year two hundred and seventy-eight, to record the death of Ul Mouffek, the loyal and active supporter of his brother's authority, which then took place at Baghdâd. The voice of the public now declared his son Abûl Abbas recently mentioned, presumptive successor to the sovereign dignity with the title of Ul Mûatezzed B'illah, on the eventual demise of Mûfowez the present heir apparent.

In confirmation of the voice of his people, the Khalif Mûatemmed in the course of the year following, at a magnificent entertainment to which the whole of the principal nobility, Ulema, and ministers of law and justice were invited, proceeded to require from his son Mûfowez, his public avowal of having abjured his claim to the Khelaufut; which was then solemnly transferred to his couzin Abûl Abbas,

* August, A. D. 883.

A. H. 279. A. D. 892. Kholaussut-ûl-akhbaur.

already saluted by the title of Mûatezzed B'illah. This ceremony the Khalif was not destined long to survive, being seized with a quinzy, or inflamation of the throat; of which in the month of Rudjub,* of the same year, he expired at the age of fifty-one.

Calculating from the abdication of his predecessor, Mûatémmed appears to have possessed the dignity of the Khelaufut, for about two and twenty years, and five months; but, according to our author, it was a distinction which he enjoyed only in name, the imperial power being in substance notoriously exercised, while he lived, by his brother the Mouffek. Absorbed in his pleasures, and entirely devoted to the society of singers and musicians, as he is said to have been, it was indeed fortunate for this monarch, that he could command the aid of such a brother, to take from him the burden and anxiety of government. All we further learn of Mûatemmed is, that he withdrew the seat of the Khelaufut from Saumerah, and re-established it once more at the former capital of Baghdàd; although this is a change by others ascribed to his successor.

Ul Muatezzed B'illah,† Abûl Abbas Ahmed, the son of Ul Mouffek, sixteenth Khalif of the house of Abbas.

Of this prince it is related, that in a dream, during the reign of his predecessor, he saw a person robed in white stretch his arm to the Tigris, and take up the whole of its waters into the palm of his hand, which he then closed: and that opening his hand again, the stream resumed its channel as before. That this mysterious personage should then have addressed him in these words; "Abûl Abbas knowest thou me?" To which Mûatezzed replying in the negative, he proceeded to add, "I am Ally the son of Abû Tauleb; when the Khelaufut devolves "to thee, wilt thou be kind to my posterity?" And to this particular circumstance has been ascribed, by historians, the extraordinary indulgence extended during the whole of the reign of Mûatezzed to the family of the Seyuds; for whom it would appear that he received, on the occasion, an impression of benevolence which was never afterwards obliterated.

Ul Muatezzed B'illah, XVIth Khalif of the house of Abbas.

Another extraordinary circumstance recorded of this monarch is, that in the course of the year two hundred and eighty-three, as soon

* October, A. D. 892. † Dei gratia sustentatus.

as the gates of his palace were closed, an apparition presented itself to him under various disguises; sometimes under the form of a venerable old man, with a white beard, in the habit of a monk; at others in the shape of a beautiful youth, and occasionally in the character of a merchant or tradesman: but under every form to apprize him of the robberies, and other disorders committed by his troops; and it would frequently prove very troublesome to the attendants. This extraordinary phenomenon long excited the curiosity of the public, and became the subject of general conversation; but the nature of it was never discovered. It was probably a phantom dressed up by the Khalif, for obvious purposes of police and good government. A. H. 283. A. D. 896. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

In the year two hundred and eighty-four, Mûatezzed evincing a design to renew the denunciations from the pulpit, long since discontinued, on the memory of Mauweiah, was however dissuaded from such a measure, by the sounder discretion of his minister, Obaidullah the son of Sûliman.

In this place, our author accommodates his reader with a brief and cursory account of the heretical sect of the Keraumitah, or Kermathians, of whose principles and profession of faith he furnishes us with the following abstract. They alleged the Imaumut of Issmauil the son of Jauffer-ul-Saudek, from whom they are not unfrequently denominated Issmauilians; and because they equally admitted of several things proscribed by the ordinances of the law, they have been traduced as approximating in their principles to the atheistical doctrines of the Mûllauhedah, although they professed their belief in the existence of good and evil spirits; the former under the name of angels leading them to happiness, and the latter under that of genii, or jinn, at eternal hostility with them. Prayers, they maintained to consist in a sincere devotion to the memory of their long since beatified Imaum; and alms, in allotting to his representative the fifth of their property. On the preservation of a secret, they conferred a species of sanctity, by giving to it the name of Sûm or Soum—religious abstinence or silence; and to the violation of secrecy they affixed, on the contrary, a sort of stigma, by branding it with the epithet of rena, *sound;* or perhaps Zemma, loquacity. And lastly from the circumstance of one of their chiefs having in the infancy of the sect applied to his letters the

A. H. 286. A. D. 899. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

appellation of Mûkermet, which signifies *a veil painted with figures*, they obtained the denomination of Keraumetah—the people of the veil. Their origin might be traced as far back as the reign of Harûn rashid, or at least to that of Mâmûn, a point on which there is some diversity of opinion ; since they forbore to disclose their principles, or openly to make proselytes to the sect, until the year two hundred and eighty-six ; when, by insensible degrees, multitudes had been prevailed upon to adopt the tenets of these innovating schismatics.

In the course of the year just alluded to, they openly revolted in great force, under Abû Sauid or Sâeid, ul Hubauby ; who put to death without mercy, such of the orthodox believers as had the misfortune to fall into his hands. In the beginning of the first month of Rebbeia, of the year two hundred and eighty-seven* he entered Hidjer, the chief town of Bahareyne ; where he committed every species of outrage and atrocity. Intelligence of his proceedings being, however, at last conveyed to Mûatezzed, one of his generals of the name of Abbas the son of Amrû, was dispatched by that prince with a considerable division of the army, to give battle to the insurgent. But the troops of Baghdad were on this occasion defeated, and their general with seven hundred of his followers became prisoners to the enemy. The life of the former was spared, but the latter were immediately put to the sword. Of this Abbas it is related, that discarding all hope of mercy on falling into the hands of the schismatics, he had quietly resigned himself to his fate ; when, after a confinement of some days, he was surprised by a visit from his conqueror ; who intimated to him that on his engagement to communicate, word for word, to Muatezzed the message which he was about to confide to him, he should be immediately set at large : otherwise that he must prepare for death. The alternative required no great effort of deliberation ; and Abbas, promised with an oath, that whatever he chose to communicate, should be by him rehearsed to his sovereign, without the suppression of the slightest circumstance. "Then," said Abû Sauid, "tell Mûatezzed that I am a man whose abode "is in the solitudes of the desert, whose wants are confined to a very "few things merely necessary for the support of existence ; that by "me his dominions have not been abridged of a single town, neither

* March, A. D. 900.

"have I in any instance occasioned the slightest injury to his govern- A. H. 287.
"ment. Let him take this assurance from me, and I call the judge of A. D. 900.
"all things to witness the truth of the statement, that although the Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.
"whole force of his empire were employed to crush me, I shall
"always be victorious, and for this good reason—my soldiers have been
"long inured to fatigue and danger in every shape, while his on the
"contrary, nursed in the bosom of enjoyment, must sink under the
"trial. At this moment, that they are compelled by his orders to
"traverse the trackless wastes of these deserts, the hour of despair and
"defeat presses upon them; and though they should endeavour to
"escape by flight, the greater part must perish by my sword. Nay
"admitting that in the confidence of superior numbers, they should for
"the present forbear to retire, it will still be at my discretion by a
"counterfeit flight to engage them further in the desert; and on some
"favorable opportunity to come upon them in the night, and cut them
"off when they least expect it. I would therefore advise him to
"reflect, that in the hostilities with which he has thought fit to pur-
"sue me, his armies are not likely to acquire either fame or profit; and
"that for the future it behoves him to recede from a design which
"must terminate so prejudicially to his own interests; to desist from
"a contest that must prove equally unprofitable and unavailing."

Having upon this received his dismission, Abbas proceeded accordingly to Baghdâd; where, without either enlargement or extenuation, he communicated to his master the message which he had in charge from the Kermathian. And it is alleged, that not even the name of these schismatics was suffered to pass the lips of Mûatezzed, from that time to the beginning of the year two hundred and eighty-nine, when the depredations which they dared to commit in the territory of Kûfah compelled him to make another exertion to check their enormities. On this occasion the commander, whom he employed on the service, succeeded in expelling the depredators; and one of their chieftains who became a prisoner, was conveyed to the presence of Mûattezzed. To the interrogatories which were put to him, with regard to the doctrines of his sect, before he proceeded to reply, this man demanded of the Khalif if he was aware, that he sought information on a subject which affected his own personal interests, more nearly than he seemed

A. H. 289. A. D. 902. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

to imagine; and the Khalif professing his ignorance, he then explained himself as follows. "When the prophet of Isslâm, on whom be perpetual benediction, withdrew to that state of existence which never perishes, we heard of no claim to the succession on the part of thine ancestor Abbas. The people on the contrary unanimously pledged their allegiance to Abû Bukker; and after him the Khelaufut was further adjudged to Omar: and when, to calm the rising dissensions, that monarch made the sovereign dignity elective, he appears to have allotted to the same Abbas not the slightest share in the transaction. It is therefore our belief that, in justice, thou shouldst have no portion in the throne of the Khalifs." A reply by which Muatezzed was so much exasperated, that he directed the wretched Kermathian to be immediately put to death under every species of torture.

A severe indisposition by which he was soon afterwards attacked, convincing Mûatezzed that his dissolution was approaching, he convened the members of his court, and required them to pledge their allegiance to his son Ally; on whom he then conferred the title of Ul Mûkteffy, or perhaps Mûtkeffy B'illah. And in the latter part of the first Rebbeia,* of the year two hundred and eighty-nine, he expired at the age of forty nine; when his authority had endured for a period of nine years, and about four or five months.

Notwithstanding his acknowledged bias in favor of the Seyuds, Mûatezzed has been stigmatized as a parsimonious and avaricious prince; so great a stranger to the milder weaknesses of compassion and humanity, and so eagerly disposed to the effusion of blood, that between sentence and execution, no malefactor found with him the smallest respite.

To him, however, on other authority† we find ascribed an alteration in the Mahommedan kalendar, in transferring the commencement of the year from the first day of Ferwardein, corresponding with the month of March, to the period when the sun attains its greatest northern altitude, at the summer solstice; in order, as it is alleged, to relieve his people from the burdensome inconvenience, under which they had hitherto laboured, of being required to pay their taxes before their harvests had been secured.

* A. D. 902, beginning of March. † Tarikh gûzeidah.

Another circumstance omitted by our author, but which may with advantage be further supplied from the same source as we have just had occasion to refer to, is, that the power of the Sûfauriah, or children of Leiss, having become extremely formidable in Persia, during the reign of Mûatezzed, Issmauil of the race of Sâman, or Somoon, as a modern Persian would express it, was employed, under the nominal authority of that prince, to suppress the usurpation. An object which was ultimately accomplished by the Sâmaunian; and he received in compensation the entire sovereignty of the vast possessions recently occupied by the usurpers. A. H. 289, A. D. 902. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Ul Mukteffy B'illah,* Abû Mahommed Ally, the son of Mûatezzed, seventeenth Khalif of the house of Abbas.

At the period of his father's dissolution, Mûkteffy was absent at Rakkah, but on information of that event, he repaired immediately to Baghdâd; where, on his arrival, the people renewed to him their pledge of fidelity, and experienced from him in return, the most liberal proofs of his bounty, in the rich and magnificent presents which he caused to be distributed on the occasion. Ul Mukteffy B'illah, XVIIth Khalif of the house of Abbas.

In the second year of this reign, the two hundred and ninetieth of the Hidjerah, the province of Syria was exposed to a dreadful irruption of the Keraumitah, under their chief Yaheya the son of Regzûiah,† son of Mahrûyah: and although this person was killed in battle in the early part of the expedition, the schismatics electing his brother Hûsseyne to command in his room, shortly afterwards made themselves masters of the greater part of the province. With respect to this Hûsseyne we further learn, that he affected to trace his descent to Issmauil, the adopted patron of the sect, and son of Jauffer-ul-Saudek, the sixth Imaum; that he has by historians been distinguished by the title of Sâheb-ul-Shaumah; and that the chief to whom he consigned the direction of his army bore the title of Sâheb-ul-haul. Be this as it may, the latter was dispatched by his superior at the head of a division of the invaders towards Baulbek, and the territory in that quarter; where they completed the measure of their atrocities by a general massacre of the inhabitants. Intelligence of these enormities being however conveyed to Mûkteffy, he at last assembled his troops to the A. H. 290, A. D. 903.

* Dei gratia contentus.

† Or Zegrûiah, for the name is pointed both ways in the manuscript.

A. H. 290. A. D. 903. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

number of one hundred thousand men; and proceeded at their head towards the Syrian frontier by the ordinary route of Mossûle. On his his arrival at Rakkah, a powerful division was detached in advance under Mahommed the son of Sûliman, who fell in with these depredators, under their principal chief the Sâheb-ul-Shaumah above alluded to, and totally defeated them, about twelve farsangs or leagues from Hamess: and pursuing them without respite, succeeded in securing the persons of both the leaders of the schismatics, and of three hundred and sixty of their principal followers, in one of the districts adjoining to the Euphrates.

In the course of the year following, the same Zegrûiah, or Saheb-ul Shaumah, having effected his escape in a manner which is not explained, again appeared in Syria at the head of the Keraumitâh; and signalized himself afresh by every species of disorder and outrage. But, on the approach of a considerable force destined to act against him on the part of Mûkteffy, he turned aside into Babylonia, or Arabian Irâk; where, at a place called Sûaun, near Kâdsiah, or Kadessiah, the troops of the Khelaufut brought him to an action, and were defeated with great slaughter. Subsequent to this he appears to have prosecuted his designs with impunity, until the year two hundred and ninety four; when throwing himself into the route of the pilgrims to Mekkah in the Arabian desert, he plundered the Karvaun, and put twenty thousand of the Hadjies to the sword. To avenge this sacrilegious insult, one of the generals of Mûkteffy, of the name of Wasseif, was dispatched at the head of a competent force in pursuit of Zegrûiah; and in the latter part of the second Rebbeia* of the same year, brought him to another battle, in which after a desperate conflict, the arch Schismatic was at last killed; many of his followers fell into the hands of the Khalif's troops, and the remainder, for the present, dispersed to different quarters.

In the month of Zikaudah of the year two hundred and ninety five,† at the age of thirty-three, terminated the earthly career of Mûkteffy; when he had possessed the throne of the Khalifs for a period of six years, and between five and six months. He bore the character of a prudent and benevolent prince.

* A. D. 907, February. † August A. D. 908.

From another source of information it would appear, that Mahommed the son of Harûn, being employed in Tebristaun during the reign of Mûkteffy, to suppress the usurpation of Mahommed the Baukerite, the successor of Hussun the son of Zeid, had no sooner accomplished that object, through the assistance of Issmauil the Samaunian, than he declared himself independent. He was, however, ultimately compelled to abandon his ambitious views by the troops which were seasonably sent against him by Mukteffy: contemporary with whom, it may be expedient to remark, were Issmauil, and Ahmed, the Samanides, monarchs of Bokhâra. A. H. 295. A. D. 908. Tarikh gûzeidah.

Ul Muktedder, or Mûktader B'Illah* Abûl Fazzel Jauffer, the son of Mûatezzed, eighteenth Khalif of the house of Abbas.

Upon the death of Mûkteffy, the allegiance of the people had been secured, through the zeal and influence of Abbas the son of Hûsseyne, one of the first dignitaries of the empire, for Jauffer the brother of the deceased monarch, with the title of Mûktedder B'Illah; but, as this prince did not yet exceed his thirteenth year, it became with many of every class of society a subject of serious debate, how far it was prudent to entrust the sovereign power to the hands of such a minor; and the same reflection prodncing a change, either real or pretended, in the counsels of Abbas himself, he sought to amend his error, by substituting Mahommed the son of Mûatemmed in his room. However, the object of his selection not happening to be then immediately in existence, he proposed to transfer his nomination to one of the descendants of Mûtewukkel, who went by the name of Abûl Hussun; but as this person was destined by God's providence, about the same critical period, to share the fate of his relative, the imperial dignity became by these casualties, at last established in the hands of Mûktedder. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur. Ul Muktedder B'illah, XVIIIth Khalif of the house of Abbas.

The year following notwithstanding, the minister Abbas being, without ostensible cause, cut off by Hûsseyne the son of Hamdan, surnamed Abû Heija, the latter entered into a conspiracy with others of the nobility in favor of Abdullah the son of Mûattez; whom they accordingly raised to the Khelaufut, with the title of Mûrtezza B'illah. The conspirators were, however, gallantly opposed by the youthful

* Dei gratiâ potens.

A. H. 296. A.D. 908. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Mûktedder, and Mouniss Khaudem, (or Mouniss ûstaûd, as he is elsewhere denominated) the chief of the eunuchs, with such of his guards as continued firm to their allegiance; and falling into the hands of the Khalif's party, they were the whole of them put to death, together with the unfortunate Abdullah, who, on the seizure of his person, was condemned to share the fate of his accomplices.

Subsequent to this period for a series of years, little is offered to the attention of the reader, but the removals and re-appointments which perpetually recurred among the ministers of Mûktedder; whose attention was otherwise entirely devoted to his pleasures. In the course of three hundred and nine,* Hûsseyne the son of Munsûr-ul-Hellauje (the cotton dresser) whom, according to our author, the learned have united to register in the catalogue of saints, was condemned to death, through the influence of Hamed the son of Abbas the Vezzeir, and by a fetva, or decision obtained from the Eymah, or sacerdotal order.

In three hundred and eleven,† Abû Tâher the son of Abû Sauid, who had become supreme of the Keraumitah on the death of his father, contrived by a forced march from Bahareyne, on the gulph of Persia, at the head of seven hundred horse, to surprise the city of Bassorah; from which, after a pillage and massacre of seventeen days, he was suffered to retire without the slightest molestation. The year following, he also plundered and cut to pieces several of the convoys proceeding to Mekkah, and extended his ravages to Kûfah; and having given to that city a competent sample of his enormities, he again retired with his accustomed celerity into Bahareyne. In three hundred and fifteen,‡ having made another irruption into the territory of Kûfah, and being there attacked by Yûssuf the son of Abi-us-sauje, one of the most distinguished of Mûktedder's captains, he defeated and killed that commander. The reputation acquired by this victory encouraged him to take possession of Anbaur, the ancient granary of the Persian monarchs, on the Euphrates. A considerable sensation was produced by these alarming encroachments in the now voluptuous metropolis of Baghdâd; and Mouniss Khaudem with forty thousand horse, was dispatched by Mûktedder to give battle to the Kermathian chief, who was again triumphant.

*A. D. 921. †A. D. 923. ‡A. D. 927.

In the course of the year three hundred and sixteen, another change of ministers consigned the office of the vizzaurut to Abû Ally ben Mûklah; but the government of Mûktedder, through the wretched and imprudent system of delegating his power to the discretion of of a fluctuating ministry, to the companions of his pleasures, and even to his women, had by this time declined into the utmost contempt. It is even recorded that, in some instances, a bondmaid of his mother's was known to preside in the courts of justice. It is therefore not to be wondered at, that he should have been assailed in his palace, by Abûl Heijan the son of Hamdan, and Bazûg, and other factious chiefs, who openly revolted against his authority, during the three hundred and seventeenth of the Hidjerah.* On this occasion his old and faithful domestic Mouniss ul Khaudem, who had been compelled to join the insurgents, contrived by some means or other to enter the palace before them; and made use of the opportunity to convey the Khalif, his mother and sister, and most of the individuals of his family, in safety to a house of his own. The insurgent chiefs proceeded, however, to raise Mahommed the son of Mûatezzed to the Khelaufut, with the title of Ul Kâher B'illah. But some of the chamberlains or porters, and other inmates of the Khalif's household being, on some pretext or other, refused admission by Bazûg, they took offence at his behaviour; and two days afterwards assembling in arms, in the area before the palace of Ul Kâher, with loud and tumultuous clamors, demanded their pay. They succeeded in getting into their power the persons of Bazûg and Eben Hamdan, both of whom they immediately put to death: after which, hastening to the dwelling house of Mouniss, where Mûktedder had been secured against the designs of the rebels, they conveyed that prince, on their shoulders, back again in triumph to the palace of the Khelaufut; and there renewed their oaths of allegiance to him. The person of Ul Kâher was consigned to a prison; and he survived, as we shall presently see, to resume the imperial dignity indeed, but to terminate his days in ultimate disgrace and wretchedness.

A. H. 316. A. D. 928. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

At the conclusion of this year, on the eighth day of Zilhudje,† by the pilgrims denominated rouze-e-tezweiah—the day of decoration, Abû

*A. D. 929. †Tenth of January, A. D. 930.

A. H. 317. A. D. 930. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Tâher the chief of the Keraumitah fell suddenly upon the city of Mekkah: and having plundered the place, and massacred near thirty thousand persons, and otherwise committed incredible enormities in the sacred sanctuary of Isslâm, retired again into Bahareyne, taking with him the Hidjer-ul-asswad, or black rock of the Kaaubah. Not long afterwards he is however said to have restored the Hidjer-ul-asswad, in consequence of an application from Abû Mahommed Abdullah, entitled Mehedy, the Issmauilite, king of Africa; although it is otherwise stated that this sacred relic continued in the hands of the Keraumitah, for a period of twenty years.

A. H. 319. A. D. 931.

In the year three hundred and nineteen, it having been intimated to him that the Khalif entertained some violent design against his person, Mouniss ul Khâdem suddenly quitted the metropolis without permission; and hastening to Mossûle, he succeeded in taking possession of that city and the adjoining territory, and in assembling a competent force; at the head of which he shortly afterwards returned towards Baghdâd. The wretched Mûktedder drew out of the town with a design to give him battle; but being basely abandoned by his troops, he fell into the hands of a body of Meghrebins, or Lybian mercenaries; who immediately struck off his head, and conveyed it to the successful rebel.

This, at the age of thirty eight, and after a turbulent and inglorious reign, according to our author, of four and twenty years, eleven months, and sixteen days, appears to have been the fate of Mûktedder; the misfortunes of whose government have been, by some writers, principally ascribed to the perpetual, and perhaps capricious variation, which he caused to take place among his ministers; the Vizzaurut being transferred no less than fourteen different times, while he slumbered, in luxury and idleness, in the palace of the Khalifs. It is however here obvious to remark, that for the last sixty or seventy years, the power of these once formidable, and illustrious sovereigns had been on all sides rapidly declining; for, as we shall hereafter have occasion to commemorate more at large, by the usurpations of the sons of Leiss on one side, of the more permanent and celebrated house of Sâman on another, and of the rapacious Keraumitah on a third, that extensive empire which, at one period, embraced beneath its sway the vast and spacious dominions of the Persian monarchy, in the meridian of its

glory, had by this time receded within the comparatively circumscribed limits of Babylonia and Mesopotamia, the modern Arabian Irâk, and Jezzeirah; with the addition, perhaps, of a precarious interest, which it still contrived to retain, in the adjoining provinces of Syria. A. H. 319. A. D. 931. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Ul Kaher B'illah* Abû Munsûr Mahommed the son of Mûatezzed, nineteenth Khalif ot the house of Abbas.

The military chiefs and principal inhabitants of Baghdâd uniting, on the death of the late Khalif, to pledge their allegiance to Ul Kâher, that prince conferred the dignity of the Vizzaurut on Abû Ally Eben Mûklah, formerly mentioned, and that of Hâjeb, or great chamberlain, upon Ally the son or Yelleik. The malignant disposition, however, which he exhibited in his treatment of the relatives and dependants, and particularly of the mother of his predecessor, whom, notwithstanding she laboured in the last stage of a dropsy, he fined in a large sum of money, and committed to the charge of his collectors until it was paid, soon furnished to the authors of his elevation, ample cause to regret their choice. But the discontent, which was brooding in the minds of his ministers, becoming known to the monarch, he contrived for the present to protract the threatening evil; by cutting off the chief of the eunuchs Mouniss ul Khaudem, with Yelleik the chamberlain, and Ally, one of his sons. Eben Mûklah the Vezzeir found means, however, to escape: and by holding, from his retreat, a correspondence with the disaffected chiefs, continued to animate them to the design of dethroning their sovereign. Accordingly, when all things indicated that the means of Ul Kâher's humiliation were complete, Seymâ the captain of the Turkish, or Tartar guards, in conjunction with the other chiefs, seized the person of that prince; and by passing the searing instrument across his eyes, forever disqualified him from resuming the functions of the imperial dignity. In this state, he is said to have continued his miserable existence to the reign of Ul Mûteia B'illah, for a period of fifteen, or sixteen years; during which he was regularly seen every Friday, with other blind mendicants, at the gates of the principal mosque, soliciting the charity of the benevolent for the man, who but as yesterday was their sovereign; although this day reduced to be their wretched supplicant.

Ul Kaher B'illah, XIXth Khalif of the house of Abbas.

* Dei gratiâ triumphans.

A. H. 322. A. D. 934. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

The wretched Ul Kâher was thus precipitated from his throne, at the age of fifty-two, in the second year of his reign, and the three hundred and twenty-second of the Hidjerah; the office of Vezzeir having been alternately exercised under his authority, by Eben Mûklah, by Mahommed the son of Ul Kaussem, and by Ahmed the son of Abdullah.

Ul Rauzy, or Raudhy B'illah,* Abûl Abbas Mahommed, the son of Mûktedder, twentieth Khalif of the house of Abbas.

Having accomplished their design in the deposition of the unfortunate Ul Kâher, the heads of the conspiracy, and chief citizens of Baghdâd, proceeded to enlarge from imprisonment Mahommed the son of Mûktedder; whom they immediately raised to the throne of the Khalifs, under the title of Ul Rauzy B'illah; and however profuse, on his accession, in his promises of the justice with which he was determined to govern, and of the favors which he was disposed to dispense to his people, it would appear from the sequel, that the hopes thus inspired by the new monarch, were by no means intended to deceive. He conferred the Vizzaurut first on Eben Mûklah; but taking offence at the conduct of that minister, he removed him in the course of three hundred and twenty-four, and vested the appointment in Abdurraihman the son of Eissa. The continuance in office of the latter, and of several others who succeeded, was, however, not more durable than that of their predecessors.

Ul Rauzy B'illah, XXth Khalif of the house of Abbas.

A. H. 325. A. D. 937.

In the three hundred and twenty-fifth of the Hidjerah, Abû Bukker, entitled Eben Râtek, and here designated the master spring, or perhaps key stone of the power of Ul Rauzy, entered into a composition with Abû Tâher the prince of the Keraumitah; by which, for the annual sum of fifty thousand dinaurs* of gold from the customs of Baghdâd, that chief engaged to offer no further molestation to the pilgrims, on their way to Mekkah; and thus a method was at last discovered to alleviate, in some degree, the mischiefs so long entailed upon Isslâm by these ferocious schismatics.

The very next year, the Vizzaurut being restored to Eben Mûklah, and a dispute arising between that minister and Eben Râtek, for the part which he was supposed to have taken in his former dismission, he

* Dei gratia acquiescens.

† About 22,916l. 13s. 4d. at the lowest computation.

sought to avenge the injury by inviting to Baghdâd one of the slaves of Murdauenje the son of Zebaur, prince of Dylem, whose name appears to have been Bûhkem Makauny; and who, after the assassination of his benefactor, had contrived to subjugate some part of the territory of Arabian Irâk. But the treacherous correspondence being detected by Eben Râtek, and laid before the Khalif, and the presence of the usurper in his capital but little according with the benevolent views of Ul Rauzy, he sent for Eben Mûklah, and in terms of indignation, taxed him with the odious treason, which he attempted to deny; but as his guilt was too clearly substantiated, he was immediately condemned to lose his right hand: and the sentence was carried into execution, in spite of his loud and earnest intreaties, that that hand might be spared, which had written so many copies of the Korân. It is further noticed as something singular, that this man should have been three times vezzeir, should have served three different Khalifs, performed three pilgrimages to Mekkah, and thrice fairly copied the sacred text of the Korân; and lastly that he should have been three times buried. A. H. 326. A. D. 938. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Notwithstanding all this, the Makaunian, in the course of the same year, contrary to the known and acknowledged intentions of Ul Rauzy, entered Baghdâd; and Eben Râtek being compelled to fly for life, the intruder immediately usurped the absolute administration of affairs; and either received, or extorted from Ul Rauzy the title of *Ameir-ul-ûmra*, first grandee, or lieutenant general of the empire, on this occasion first instituted under the government of the Khalifs: and from that moment may perhaps be properly dated the mere and absolute pageantry, the shadow of their former splendor, which only, this illustrious line of princes were henceforward suffered to retain.

Three years subsequent to this usurpation, namely, in the former month of Rebbeia, of the year three hundred and twenty nine,* Rauzy, at the age of thirty-two, expired of a dropsical complaint; after having exercised a precarious authority for about six years and ten months. He bears with historians the character of having surpassed the majority of the monarchs of the house of Abbas, in accomplishments both natural and acquired, and particularly in the benevolent and liberal qualities of his heart; and he his said to have left several poetical performances, as memorials of an elegant and cultivated mind. Con-

* December, A. D. 940.

A. H. 329. A. D. 940. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

temporaries with him, were Emmaud-ud-doulah the Deylemite, and his brothers; and Nasser the son of Ahmed the Samaunian, monarch of Transoxiana.

Ul Mutekky* Ullah, Abû Ishauk Ibrauhim, the son of Mûktedder: twenty-first Khalif of the house of Abbas.

Ul Mutekky Ullah, XXIst Khalif of the house of Abbas.

Being absent at Waussit, at the period of Ul Rauzy's disolution, the Ameir-ul-ûmra, on intimation of that event, dispatched his instructions to the Ulema, Kauzies, and chiefs of the Hâshemites at Baghdâd, requiring them to transfer their allegiance to any one of the race of Abbas, whom they conceived best qualified for the arduous charge of the imperial government. In conformity with these instructions, the principal inhabitants proceeded accordingly to deliberate on the choice of a successor to the vacant throne; and ultimately fixed upon Ibrauhim the son of Mûktedder, the brother of the late monarch, whom they immediately saluted Khalif with the title of Mûtekky Ullah.

But, that the proud sovereignty of the Khalifs was now reduced to a shadow, a convincing proof, if any were at all necessary, was exhibited in the conduct of the rapacious Ameir-ul-ûmra Bûhkem, in the early part of this reign. For dispatching to Baghdâd a division of his followers, they seized for his use the whole of the horses, and camels, and other valuable effects of every description, hitherto deemed the exclusive property of the imperial family. The usurper did not, however, long survive to felicitate himself on this audacious act of successful spoliation; for almost at the very moment of its execution, he was assassinated on a hunting party, by a native of Kûrdestaun. On the death of this chief, who is otherwise favorably spoken of, for the rigor of his police, and the strictness with which he caused the laws to be executed against malefactors, the dignity of Ameir-ul-ûmra was aspired to, by Abû Abdullah Bûreidy, at this period governor of Bassorah; who fo the attainment of the object of his ambition, shortly afterwards approached Baghdâd; but being successfully opposed in arms, by a body of the Tartar garrison, he was this time compelled to recede from his design.

The year following he returned, however, and made himself master of Baghdâd; and in revenge for his former miscarriage, gave up that

* Pius.

wretched city to all the horrors of pillage and slaughter. Mûtekky, with a band of faithful followers, effected his escape in private to Mossûl; from whence he implored the assistance of Nasser-ud-doulah and his brother, the sons of Abdullah ben Hamdan governor of Syria. In cheerful compliance with his request, he was joined shortly afterwards by those chieftains at the head of a numerous force; with which they proceeded to re-instate him, in the possession of his metropolis and authority. On intelligence of the Khalif's approach thus powerfully supported, the Bûreidian abandoned Baghdâd, which was immediately re-occupied by its legitimate prince, the usurper retreating towards Waussit: but being closely pursued by Nasser-ud-doulah, he was overtaken on his march towards that place, in the neighborhood of Medâein; where having ventured to give battle to his pursuer, he was shamefully defeated; and driven to consult his safety by a precipitate flight.

A. H. 330. A. D. 941. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

In the course of three hundred and thirty-one,* the dignity of Ameir ul ûmra, notwithstanding the alleged odiousness of his relative, appears to have devolved on Touzûn, one of the kindred of the late Makaunian; but some jealousies having arisen to destroy the harmony, which might for a short time have subsisted between the prince and his minister, both parties had recourse to the sword; and the former having been defeated, was compelled in the following year to retire to Rakkah: from whence he now dispatched to solicit the aid of Ekhsheid, prince or governor of Egypt. That prince repaired shortly afterwards to Rakkah, and endeavored to prevail upon Mûtekky to accompany him to his province; there to reside while a sufficient force should be assembling to avenge his wrongs. The Khalif, for reasons which are not explained, declined this invitation; chusing rather to risk the chance of an accommodation with his oppressor, to whom he accordingly applied for peace. Convening the heads of the law and religion at Baghdâd, the perfidious Touzûn, in their presence, and that of the messenger employed by Mûtekky on the occasion, took a solemn oath, that without the most distant conception of evil, he should henceforward ever retain for the Khalif's authority, the most sincere loyalty and submission: and to that effect, having drawn up, and executed a written engagement in due form, it was by the same messenger immediately transmitted to Mûtekky; who most unadvisedly fell into the snare.

*A. D. 943.

A. H. 333. A. D. 944. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

On receipt of this insidious paper, the Khalif, in spite of the remonstrances of both Nasser ud doulah and Seyfud doulah, and of Ekhsheid governor of Egypt, proceeded towards Baghdâd; and being met, on his arrival at the canal of Eissa, by Touzûn, he there received outwardly from that minister every mark of respect and duty, at the same moment that his agents were employed to conduct Abdullah the son of Mûkteffy to the encampment, for the purpose of superseding him: but immediately on the arrival of Abdullah, the perfidious minister threw off the mask, seized the person of his unhappy sovereign, and, applying the searing instrument to his eyes, forever bereaved him of sight.

This event appears to have taken place in the three hundred and thirty-third of the Hidjerah, when Mûtekky had exercised his precarious authority for three years, and eleven months. He is stated to have survived his misfortune for a period of five and twenty years; namely, to the three hundred and fifty-eighth of the Hidjerah, when he quitted this life, and was buried somewhere on the western side of Baghdâd. In addition to its other distresses, that unfortunate city experienced, during the reign of Mûtekky, the affliction of a severe famine: and we shall further remark, that contemporary with this ill-fated monarch, were the princes Nâsser ben Ahmed, and his son Nûh, or Noah, the Samanides: and Emmaud-ud-doulah and his brothers, the Deylemites of the race of Bûyah.

Ul Mustekfy B'illah,* Abûl Kaussem Abdullah, the son of Mûkteffy, twenty-second Khalif of the house of Abbas.

Ul Mustekfy B'illah, XXIId Khalif of the house of Abbas.

Having circumvented, and deposed his sovereign in the manner above related, Touzûn proceeded to establish on the throne of the Khalifs, Abdullah the son of Mûkteffy, the couzin german of the extruded monarch, with the title of Mûstekfy or Mûstekeffy B'illah. The perfidious Ameir-ul-ûmra was, however, not suffered long to triumph in the success of his iniquitous plans; a signal, and almost immediate judgment would seem to have pursued him, for the violence of which he had been guilty towards the person of the unfortunate Mûtekky; for he was smitten with blindness, and died shortly afterwards, in the month of Mohurrim of the year three hundred and thirty-four.†

The government of Baghdâd, at this period become, very probably, an appendage to the dignity of Ameir-ul-ûmra, now devolved upon

* Deigratiam intente supplicans. † August, A. D. 945.

one of the military chiefs, here called the son of Sheirzaud. This minister proceeding, however, to exercise his authority with every species of oppression and violence, the situation of the wretched inhabitants became to the last degree deplorable; and intelligence of their sufferings being conveyed to *Ahmed the son of Bûyah*, who had by this time extended his conquests to Ahûauz, that commander immediately directed his march towards Baghdâd. The son of Sheirzaud, and the Turkish Maumlûks terrified at his approach, abandoned the city and fled; and Mûstekfy conceived it expedient for a short time to follow their example. But Ahmed the son of Bûyah having soon afterwards* entered Baghdâd, without opposition, the Khalif, among others, hastened to visit him; expressing the utmost joy and gratitude, that his presence should at last have relieved him from the apprehensions, under which he had continually lived, from the violence of the Turks. A. H. 334. A. D. 945. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

The son of Bûyah made little difficulty in pledging his allegiance to Mûstekfy, and received from him, in return, the title of Mûezz-ud-doulah, *the glory of the state*, by which we are henceforward to recognize him. For a few days, things appeared to proceed between them with considerable harmony; but a misunderstanding having ultimately arisen, this phantom of a Khalif was, in the course of the very same year, seized by Mûezz-ud-doulah, and like some of his predecessors, condemned to lose his eye-sight; in which situation he, however, survived to the year three hundred and thirty-eight.

Mûstekfy had attained to the age of forty-one, before he was called to the now meagre, and unsubstantial honors of the Khelaufut; which, however nominal, he was not suffered to enjoy beyond the circumscribed period of sixteen months; having been degraded from his authority, and condemned to languish in perpetual night in the year three hundred and thirty-four. The office of Vezzeir, which still subsisted, though shorn of all its splendor, was held during the reign of Mûstekfy, by Abûl Ferrah Mahommed the son of Ally. Contemporary with this Khalif were Nûh the son of Munser, or Munsûr, the Samaunian; and Emmaud-ud-doulah the Deylemite, with his brothers Rokken-ud-doulah, and Mûezz-ud-doulah; the latter of whom became, as we have just seen, the author of his misfortunes and disgrace.

* On the 11th of the former Jummaudy, or 18th of December, A. D. 945.

CHAP. V.

A. H. 334. A. D. 946.

Khelaussut-ul-akhbaur.

UL MUTEIA ULLAH* Abûl Kaussem Fazzel, the son of Mûktedder, twenty-third Khalif of the house of Abbas.

Having confirmed, instead of alleviating the degraded state of the Khelaufut, by the sufferings inflicted upon the deposed Mûstekfy, the Deylemite proceeded to the further exercise of his power, by raising Fazzel the son of Mûktedder to the sovereign dignity, with the title of Mûteia Ullah; providing, at the same time, that he should not forget his humiliating dependence, by the appointment of an agent, to note and keep a regular account of, the receipt and expenditure of the pageant prince. So totally indeed, according to our author, was the representative of the house of Abbas excluded from any influence in the government, during the ministry of Mûezz-ud-doulah, that it was for some time in the contemplation of that minister, to transfer the Khelaufut altogether, to Abûl Hussun Mahommed the son of Yaheya the Zeidian; from an opinion, which he appeared to have embraced, of the superior claims of the decendants of Ally: but from the execution of this design he was dissuaded by his Vezzeir Abû Jauffer Mahommed the Zemmeirian; who proved to him, by the most convincing arguments, that such a change in the succession would be inevitably followed by the subversion of his own power.

UL MUTEIA ULLAH, XXIIId Khalif of the house of Abbas.

Such being the absolute nullity to which his power was reduced, it is perhaps not extraordinary that, during the comparatively protracted reign of Mûteia, the only circumstance which our author has conceived worthy of record, is the restoration, in three hundred and thirty nine,† of the hidjer-ul-asswad, by the Kerau.nitah; who, having brought it to the city of Kûfah, and fastened it to one of the pillars of the principal mosque at that place, there left it; with the information, that it was by command they had taken it away, and by command they now

* Deo submissus, vel submittens. † A. D. 950.

restored it. The venerated marble was soon afterwards conveyed by the faithful Mahommedans to Mekkah, and there fixed in its proper place. And it is moreover added, on the authority of another work,* that, although in conveying it to the country of their abode, the Keraumitah disabled forty camels in the undertaking, the single camel which was employed on this occasion by the Mosslems, to carry it back to Mekkah, throve to an extraordinary degree under the sacred burden. A. H. 339. A. D. 950. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

It will be seen in a subsequent page of this work, that Mûezz-ud-doulah dying in the course of three hundred and fifty six, he was succeeded as Ameir-ul-ûmra, by his son and successor, Ezz-ud-doulah Bukhtiaur: which does not however appear to have produced any change in the destiny of the Khelaufut. Be this as it may, on the thirteenth of the month of Zilkaudah, of the year three hundred and sixty three,† the shadow of authority which remained to him, was abdicated by Mûteia, in consequence of a stroke of the palsy, in favor of his son Abdul Kereim. He survived his abdication about two months.

The reign of this prince appears to have occupied a period of twenty eight *solar*, or twenty nine *lunar* years, and five or six months; and contemporary with him were Nûh or Nouh and his son Abdulmêlek, the Samanides, monarchs of Bokhâra; and Emmaud-ud-doulah, his brothers, and nephew Ezzed-ud-doulah the son of Rokken-ud-doulah the Deylemites.

Ul Taeia Ullah‡ Abû Bukker Abdul Kereim, the son of Mûteia, twenty-fourth Khalif of the house of Abbas.

The throne of the Khalifs having been abdicated by his father, in the manner just related, the military chiefs, and principal inhabitants of the metropolis appear to have submitted without debate to the authority of Abdul Kereim, under the title of Ul Tâeia Ullah: but the dissensions which broke out at the very commencement of his reign, between Ezz-ud-doulah Bukhtiaur the Ameir-ul-ûmra, and the Turkish mercenaries, afforded but a fearful prospect of the advantages of royalty. In the mean time, Ezz-ud-doulah withdrawing with precipitation towards Waussit, in order to solicit the aid of his couzin Ezzed-ud-doulah, the Khalif was compelled to accompany the Turks in their Ul Taeia Ullah, XXIVth Khalif.

* The Tarikh gûzeidah. ‡ Third of September, A. D. 974. ‡ Deo submittens.

A. H. 364. A. D. 975. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

pursuit of him to the walls of that city; before which several conflicts now took place, terminating for the most part to the disadvantage and defeat of Bukhtiaur.

But Ezzed-ud-doulah advancing into Arabian Irâk in the course of the succeeding year, to the relief of his kinsman, and the Turks flying towards Baghdâd, on his arrival near Wâussit, they were immediately pursued, in their turn, by the two cousins now united. Baghdâd was soon afterwards again subjugated to the power of the Deylemites. Ul Taeia received, however, from the conquerors every mark of veneration and respect; and Ezzed-ud-doulah, having re-established his kinsman in the dignity of Ameir-ul-ûmra, returned in triumph into Farss.

From a misunderstanding which had, however, arisen with his relative, Ezzed-ud-doulah in three hundred and sixty six, re-appeared before Baghdâd at the head of his troops; and having succeeded after a tedious and obstinate course of hostilities, in dispossessing Ezz-ud-doulah* of the city, compelled him in the following year, three hundred and sixty seven, to retire into Syria. In that province Ezz-ud-doulah unfortunately contrived to raise a body of troops, with which he hastened once more towards Baghdâd; and his kinsman advanced to give him battle. He was defeated and taken prisoner in the neighbourhood of Tekreit, and immediately put to death. Ezzed-ud-doulah survived this period about five years—to the year three hundred and seventy-two; when he died, and was succeeded in all his powers and possessions by his son, with the title of Sumsaum-ud-doulah.†

At the hazard of being taxed with equal credulity, we are here compelled to mention from our author, as a circumstance which he professes to relate on the concurring testimony of historians, that in the course of the year three hundred and seventy-four, a prodigious animal, in size surpassing an elephant, and of the feathered race according to some writers, was observed to emerge from the sea of Omman; and taking its station on the summit of an adjoining tumulus, to utter in distinct and excellent Arabic, the words "Kuddi-Kûrreba," three different times, directing its voice, and looking eastwards. This was repeated for three days successively, after which it totally disappeared. The

*These two names are so easily confounded, that it may be necessary to remark, that the former signifies the *arm*, and the latter the *glory* of the state.

† A. D. 984-5.

expressions may be alleged to signify either, "the separation, or the resurrection, is at hand." But of what nature the animal, or what strange event it might be construed to prognosticate is not exactly explained. On the authority of the Tarikh gûzeidah, however, it may be added that during the same year, the province of Hejauz, including the two sacred cities, was wrested by the Issmauilians from the dominion of the house of Abbas. A. H. 374. A.D. 984-5. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Through some malignant motive, either of jealousy or ambition, an army was conducted in the course of three hundred and seventy-six,* by Shurf-ud-doulah, to the attack of his brother Sumsaum-ud-doulah, at Baghdâd; and the latter imprudently relying on the influence of fraternal affection, and repairing to the camp of his aggressor, found in imprisonment ample occasion to regret his imbecility. On his entrance into Baghdâd shortly afterwards, Shurf-ud-doulah evinced, however, for Ul Tâeia every outward proof of respect, and suffered him as before to retain the trappings of imperial splendor.

On the death of Shurf-ud-doulah in the three hundred and seventy-ninth of the Hidjerah,* he was succeeded in the dignity of Ameir-ul-ûmra, by his brother Abû Nasser Feyrôz Khossrou, who received the title of Behâ-ud-doulah. The year following, the avarice of this man being attracted by the rich effects, of which the representative of the house of Abbas was yet allowed to retain possession, he solicited one day, on some pretext or other, permission to visit the palace of the Khelaufut: where having seated himself, according to custom, in a chair of state, in the presence of Ul Tâeia, and several of the Deylemite commanders pressing forwards at the same time, the Khalif, on the supposition that it was for the purpose of kissing his hands, very graciously extended them towards the intruders. The Deylemites immediately seied him by the arms, and forcing him from his throne, conveyed the wretched monarch to another apartment: while Behâ-ud-doulah employed the opportunity to appropriate his treasure and valuables. At the same time messengers were dispatched to invite Ahmed the son of Ishauk, the grandson of Mûktedder, now residing at Tenjah, or Mekkah sometimes so denominated, to take possession of the throne of his nephew.

*A.D. 986-7. †A. D. 989.

A. H. 381. A. D. 991. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Ul Tâeia is said to have occupied the throne of the Khalifs for a period of seventeen years, nine months and some days; by which we are led to conclude that his degradation took place from the fourteenth to the twentieth of Shabaun,* of the year three hundred and eighty-one. It is however added, that he survived his humiliation for a number of years, was admitted to a considerable degree of friendship, and to the society of his successor, and died after all at the mature age of sixty-nine.

Ul Kader B'illah,† Abûl Abbas Ahmed the son of Ishauk, son of Mûktedder, twenty-fifth Khalif of the house of Abbas.

Ul Kader B'illah, XXVth Khalif of the house of Abbas.

With the common failing of contracted minds, a predilection for the marvellous, our annalist ushers in his very concise account of the long reign of Ul Kâder, with the following circumstances; which he proceeds to communicate on the authority of Heybut Ullah, the secretary of Mûhuzzeb-ud-doulah the Deylemite.

Towards the close of the preceding reign, apprehensive that Ul Tâeia was meditating some designs hostile to his person, the grandson of Mûktedder fled for protection to Mûhuzzeb-ud-doulah, who kept his court at that period at Tenjah;‡ but whether this has any allusion to Mekkah, as recently advanced, must still remain in some degree of uncertainty. Be this, however, as it may, Heybut Ullah the secretary already mentioned, repairing one day to the abode of the imperial fugitive, found him involved in deep reflection, and proceeded to demand the reason. Ahmed informed him, without reserve, that the night before he had been visited, by what he conceived to be a very singular dream, which he then described. The city he imagined to be surrounded by a vast and sudden inundation; and while the inhabitants were busily employed in laying a bridge to effect their escape from it, and he was contemplating with astonishment the prodigious expanse of waters which extended on all sides of him, he thought he perceived, at the opposite extremity of the bridge, a person, who called to him to know, if he was desirous of being conveyed safe over this tremendous inundation. Having readily replied in the affirmative, he thought the stranger stretched out his hand, and drew him in

* 25th to 31st of October, 991. † Dei gratiâ potens.

‡ There is a place of this name west of Katif, on the gulph of Persia.

safety to the other side. That, his surprise being considerably augmented by the circumstance, he expressed a desire to learn to whom he was indebted for his miraculous deliverance; and received the following reply. "I am Ally the son of Abitauleb—the moment is at "hand when thou shalt be raised to the Khelaufut—it will behove "thee to protect, and befriend my children, and the advocates of my "family." When Ahmed had proceeded thus far in his relation, the voices of the messengers, who had been dispatched by Behâ-ud-doulah to invite him to Baghdâd, were heard at the door; and he was immediately dismissed to avail himself of his exalted destiny, with an equipment, adequate to his rank, provided by the liberality of Mûhuzzeb-ud-doulah.

A. H. 381. A. D. 991.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

On his arrival in the neighborhood of the metropolis, the Khalif elect was met by the regent, and all the principal inhabitants; and on the spot received their pledge of allegiance, with the title of Ul Kâder B'illah. He entered Baghdâd on the thirteenth of the month of Ramzaun;* and we might be led to imagine that his reign commenced under auspices the most favorable, since it is here stated, that on his entrance into his capital, the affairs of the Khelaufut immediately assumed an appearance of regularity and system; and that the power hitherto exercised by the princes of the race of Bûyah, was not much longer permitted to retain its over-bearing and oppressive predominance.

Under the year three hundred and eighty-three we find it, however, noticed, that Sekeinah the daughter of Behâ-ud-doulah should have been espoused by Ul Kâder, whose spiritual supremacy does not yet appear to have been acknowledged in the great province of Khorassaun. The people of that province resenting that a blameless and unoffending Imaum should have been dethroned without a cause; and therefore continuing both the Khotbah, and the coinage, in the name of Ul Tâeia, until the period between the years three hundred and eighty-seven and eighty-nine. When, the whole country being subjugated by the arms of Sûltan Mahmûd Ghauzi, of Ghezni, that monarch, in consequence of the friendship which had been recently established between them, and peradventure of the imperial robe or mantle, and the title of Yemein-ud-doulah transmitted to him by the Khalif,

Tarikh gûzeidah.

* Twenty-second of November, A. D. 991.

A. H. 388. A. D. 998. directed the Khotbah to be thence forward pronounced in the name of Ul Kâder.

Tarikh gûzeidah.

In three hundred and ninety-nine,* the province of Syria was recovered from Hâkem the son of Azziz the Issmauilian, by the Benni Kûlaub; and about the same period Behâ-ud-doulah, and the principal inhabitants of Mossûle were invited by the prince of Egypt of that race, to acknowledge the descendants of Fâtima, as rightful heirs to the Khelaufut. The letters and presents which were transmitted on the occasion being, however, rejected through the zeal and influence of Kauzy Abû Jauffer, and conveyed by him to Ul Kâder, they were publicly burnt, before the gates of the Khalif's palace at Baghdâd: and the Kauzy, whose exertions had been so seasonably and successfully employed to retain the nobles of Mossule in their allegiance, was rewarded, in a double proportion to the value of the presents received from the Fatimite.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

In the latter Jummaudy of the year four hundred and three,† on the death of his father Behâ-ud-doulah, the dignity of Ameir-ul-ûmra devolved to Sûltân-ud-doulah, with whom it continued to the year four hundred and eleven; when the arms of his brother Mûshurref-ud-doulah prevailing, the government of Baghdâd was transferred to that prince.

Having nominated his son Abdullah to succeed him in the empire with the title of Ul Kâeim B'immer Ullah, so far back as the year four hundred and sixteen, the Khalif ul Kâder reposed himself in the arms of death, in the last month of the four hundred and twenty-second of the Hidjerah;‡ at the very advanced age of eighty-six, and after a protracted reign of one and forty years.

Ul Kâder has acquired with historians the character of a temperate, just, and pious prince, eminent for his many amiable and laudable qualities; for which, as some compensation even in this life, an Almighty providence blessed him with a long, and prosperous reign.

We cannot here omit the circumstance, that it was at the court of Ul Kâder that the prince of Persian bards, the celebrated Ferdoussy, sought an asylum against the vengeance of Mahmûd Sebektekein. In the letter which that formidable conqueror wrote on the occasion, he is stated to have threatened, that if the object of his wrath was

* A. D. 1008. † December, 1012. ‡ December, 1031.

not delivered up, the proud palaces of Baghdâd should be trampled to dust under the hoofs of his elephants; to which the Khalif returned no other reply than a laconic reference to the fate of Abrâhah-ul-ashrem, and the Ass-haub-ul-feil,* well known in Arabian story; and this was superscribed on the back of Mahmûd's angry epistle. A. H. 422. A. D. 1031. Tarikh gûzeidah.

Contemporary with Ul Kâder were, as we have briefly shewn, Sûltan Mahmûd above mentioned, and his son Mûssâoud, of Ghezniân, or Ghezni: Behâ-ud-doulah and Sûltaun-ud-doulah the Deylemites; and the princes Nouh, or Nûh, the son of Munsûr, and Munsûr and Abdulmêlek the sons of Nouh of Bokhâra. The power of the house of Sâman became however extinguished, in the early part of this reign, in the death of Issmâil the son of Nouh, entitled Mûntesser, who was assassinated in the former Rebbeia of the year three hundred and ninety-five, as will be noticed hereafter in its proper place, by one of the agents of Sûltan Mahmûd.

Ul Kaeim B'immer Ullah,* Abû Jauffer Abdullah, the son of Ul Kâder, twenty-sixth Khalif of the house of Abbas. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Immediately on the death of his father the allegiance of the people of Baghdâd was renewed with due solemnity to Ul Kâeim. But the power of the Khelaufut being by this time reduced to little better than the name, the substance is to be sought for in the transactions of those ministers, who, under the title of Ameir-ul-ûmra, or whatever other appellation, successively usurped the entire authority of the state. Ul Kaeim B'immer Ullah, XXVIth Khalif.

Jullaul-ud-doulah dying in Shabaun, of the year four hundred and thirty-five, his nephew Abû Kalinjar Merzebaun, quitted Shirauz, the metropolis of the race of Bûyah; and proceeding to Baghdâd, was invested, on his arrival in that city, in the course of the year following, with the dignity of Ameir-ul-ûmra, which he retained to the period of his death in four hundred and forty; being then succeeded by his son Ul Melek-ur-raheim Khossrou Feyrouz.

Unhappily, some dissension arising between the Reiss-ur-roussa, the vezzeir of Ul Kaeim, and Bessaussery, who held a distinguished rank among the Deylemites, the latter chief, in the course of four hundred and forty-seven, withdrew from Baghdâd; and proceeding

* See the incident described in Sale's Korân, vol. II. p. 510, in the note.

† Dei mandato locum tenens.

A. H. 447. A. D. 1055. Khołaussut-ul-akhbaur.

to commit every species of depredation throughout the country, dispatched to demand the assistance of Mûstanser the Fatimite, at this period prince of Egypt. The demand was readily complied with, and the wretched metropolis of the house of Abbas became again the scene of tumultuous rage and disturbance; to that degree, that it was found necessary to fortify with a ditch and rampart the great mosque of Fakher-ud-doulah the Deylemite, situated in the western quarter of Baghdâd; in order to protect the people, while at their devotions, against the violence of the licentious depredators, by whom the place was so cruelly infested.

Such was the state of Baghdâd, when it attracted the attention of Toghrel Beg, of the race of Seljûk, who had about this crisis established his authority in Khorassaun, and Persian Irâk; and to whom an alleged * invitation from Ul Kâeim to relieve him and his people from the effect of these convulsions, afforded a favorable pretext for extending his conquests westwards. He accordingly appeared before Baghdâd, and encamped in irresistible force before the gate of Shammaussiah, on Monday the twenty-fifth of Ramzaun, of the year four hundred and forty-seven.†

The month however had closed, when some dispute occurring between the town's people and the troops of Toghrel, with respect to some business in the market; and the inhabitants proceeding to assail the soldiery with stones, it soon increased into a serious affray, in which many were killed on both sides; and it ended in a general pillage of the place by the Seljûkians. In the mean time, ascribing the tumult to some contrivance on the part of Melkûr-raheim, Toghrel Beg sent to intimate to Ul Kâeim, that if he were truly unconcerned in promoting the sedition, that minister would immediately repair to him. As it was thought prudent to comply with the intimation, the unfortunate minister no sooner entered the camp of the Seljûkian, than his person was seized, and he was condemned to pass the remainder of his days in a prison.

In the course of the succeeding year, Toghrel Beg became master of Mossûle, and the adjoining territory, which had been seized by the rebel Bessaussery; but being unexpectedly summoned into Persian Irâk in the year four hundred and fifty, to quell the revolt of his

* Tarikh gûzeidah. † Seventeenth of December, 1055.

maternal brother Ibrauhim Niaul, who had taken possession of Hamadaun, Toghrel was constrained to draw his troops to the eastward, in the midst of his triumphs; and Bessaussery taking advantage of his absence, hastened to Baghdâd, and there imprisoning the person of Ul Kâeim, in Zilkaudah of the same year, proceeded to pronounce the Khotbah in the name of Mûstanser, the Fâtimite Khalif of Egypt already alluded to. A. H. 450. A. D. 1059. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

As soon, however, as Toghrel Beg had extinguished the ill-timed and ill-advised rebellion of his brother, he resumed his designs upon western Irâk, and put his troops again in march for Baghdâd; which was abandoned at his approach by the usurper Bessaussery. The Khalif Ul Kâeim was now enlarged from his confinement, and proceeded to meet the Seljûkian monarch; who dismounting at his appearance, kissed the ground before him, and continued walking by the side of his horse, until invited to remount by the title of *Rokken-ul-doulah*. The two princes re-entered Baghdâd together on this occasion, in the latter part of Zilkaudah of the year four hundred and fifty-one.* Bessaussery was immediately pursued to the neighborhood of Kûfah, where he was overtaken before the conclusion of the year; and falling into the hands of the Sûltan's advanced guard, his head was struck off without much ceremony, and transmitted to that monarch; who is said to have lamented this anticipation of his justice, since it deprived him of the opportunity which he had in contemplation, of *returning good for evil.*†

The person whose fate we have just recorded, and whose spirited exertions, in spite of repeated discomfiture, to resist the arms of Toghrel Beg, have been detailed at considerable length by several respectable authorities, was originally the slave of Behâ-ud-doulah the Deylemite, and in early life bore the name of Arslan—the lion. He also bore indiscriminately the names of Abûl Hâreth, and Bessaussery; the latter from the place of his nativity near Shirauz, of which city he held the government for some time, under the authority of his master.

Tranquillity being at last thoroughly established, Ul Kâeim determined, by a double connubial tie, to complete his alliance with Togh-

* December, 1059. † Tarikh gûzeidah.

A. H. 451. A. D. 1060. Tarikh gûzeidah.

rel Beg; and for this purpose he bestowed upon that monarch his daughter, the princess Seydah Khatûn, taking to himself Arslan Khatûn, the daughter of Tchegher Beg, the sister of the celebrated Alep Arslan, and niece of Toghrel. The year following he declared his son Abdullah successor to the throne of the Khalifs by the title of Mûkteddy B'illah.

The month of Ramzaun of the year four hnndred and fifty-five* was distinguished by the death of Toghrel Beg, who expired at Râi, whither, at the age of seventy, he had proceeded to consummate his union with the daughter of Ul Kâeim. He was succeeded in his extensive dominions by Alep Arslan Mahommed his nephew, the son of Tchegher Beg, already mentioned. Eitkein Sûlimauny was immediately dispatched by that prince to assume the government of Baghdâd; and with him it continued to the year four hundred and sixty-four,† when it was conferred upon Saud-ud-doulah Gouher Eyne; who had recently distinguished himself by the capture of an emperor of Constantinople, vanquished in a great battle by the renowned Alep Arslan; as will be hereafter noticed.

That fearless monarch was, however, assassinated in the very year following, on his march towards Transoxiana, by Yûssuf Kôtwaul, the governor of a petty fortress on the banks of the Jeyhûn; whom he had condemned to die, for what he conceived to have been a rash and unwarrantable defence of his post. Alep Arslan was succeeded by his son Melek Shah, the most accomplished and illustrious of the race of Seljûk.

About two years subsequent to that period, namely, in the middle of Shabaun, of the four hundred and sixty-seventh of the Hidjerah,‡ died the Khaleifah Ul Kâeim, at the age of seventy-six years, three months, and five days; and after having exercised the precarious functions of his station, now almost totally spiritualized, for the long interval of forty-four lunar years, eight months, and two days; which added to the period of his father's reign, is observed to have nearly equaled the entire duration of the power of the house of Ommeyah.

Ul Kâeim is considered to have been a learned, prudent, and eloquent prince, of distinguished virtue and liberality of spirit.

* September, A. D. 1063. † A. D. 1071. ‡ April, A. D. 4075.

His contemporaries were, in Ghezni, Mûs'oud, Mahommed, and Abdurreshid the sons of Sûltan Mahmûd Ghâzi; Moudûd, Ally, and Ibrauhim, the sons of Mûssâoud, and another Mûssâoud the son of Moudûd: in the two countries of Irâk and Parss, Jullaul-ud-doulah, Emmaud-ud-dein Ullah, and Melk-ur-raheim the Deylemites, whose power was now extinguished; and latterly in all these countries, Ghezni excepted, Toghrel Beg, succeeded by Alep Arslan, and his son Melek Shah, of the race of Seljûk. A. H. 467. A. D. 1075. Tarikh gûzeidah.

Ul Mukteddy B'illah,* Abul Kaussem Abdullah the son of Ul Kâeim, twenty-seventh Khalif of the house of Abbas.

While some historians are agreed in considering this prince as immediately the son of Ul Kâeim, there are others who state that he was the grandson only of the deceased monarch, by one of his children who bore the name of Zekheir-ud-dein. Be this however as it may, the nobles and principal inhabitants of Baghdâd renewed, without scruple, the allegiance already pledged during the life of his predecessor, and quietly submitted to the authority of Mûkteddy: that authority which was now more than ever confined within the lofty enclosures of the palace of Baghdâd, and beyond which, with a few slight and transient exceptions, it was never again suffered to extend any substantial influence, or controul. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur. Ul Mukteddy B'illah, XXVIIth Khalif of the house of Abbas.

During the year four hundred and seventy-nine,† the twelfth of Mûkteddy, the city of Baghdâd received a peaceful visit from Sûltan Melek Shah, the glory of the race of Seljûk; whose deportment towards the illustrious representative of the house of Abbas, is described to have evinced the utmost respect and reverence. In the month of Suffur of the year following,‡ that monarch returned to his capital of Isfahaun; from whence his daughter, who had been already betrothed to Mûkteddy, was by his directions conducted to Baghdad, in a style of unparalleled splendor. The princess was received on her arrival with extraordinary rejoicings; and she entered the metropolis accompanied by the whole court of her imperial consort, amidst an illumination which eclipsed the stars, and set the firmament in a blaze. This was followed, the next day, by an entertainment of unexampled cost and magnificence; of the expenditure of which in other articles, some estimate may be formed, when it is said, in that of sugar only, to

* Dei gratiâ assecutus. † A. D. 1086. ‡ May, 1087.

A. H. 480. A. D. 1087. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

have amounted to forty thousand munns or maunds; and this, calculated at a quarter of a hundred weight per maund, will exhibit the moderate total of five hundred tons.

Under some circumstances of displeasure with her imperial spouse, the daughter of Melek Shah thought fit, notwithstanding, to return, in the course of four hûndred and eighty-one, to the court and protection of her father, where she died shortly afterwards.

In the year four hundred and eighty-four Melek Shah again visited Baghdâd; and the year following, this illustrious monarch, having been seized with a fit of illness on a hunting party in the neighborhood of that city, expired in the month of Shavaul,* just eighteen days after the execution of his admired, and faithful minister Nizâm-ul-mûlk. Of Melek Shah we shall however have occasion to relate some further particulars, when we come to treat more immediately of this branch of the race of Seljûk.

And, in the month of Mohurrim, of the year four hundred and eighty-seven,† the Khalif Mûkteddy also finished his earthly career at the age of thirty nine; having supported the pageantry of the Khelaufut for a period of nineteen lunar years, and four or five months. Contemporary with this prince were, as above recited, Sûltan Melek Shah, and latterly his son Sûltan Berguiâruk, of the race of Seljûk, in Persia and Transoxiana; and in Ghezni, Ibrauhim Shah the son of Mûssâoud. It may also be of importance to observe that, according to the Tarikh gûzeidah, it was during the Khelaufut of Mûkteddy, about the year four hundred and eighty-three,‡ that Hussun Sabah the first Shaikh-ul-jebbel, or old man of the mountain, in the fortress of Al Mowut, or castle of the eagles, in the neighborhood of Kazvein, (the foundation of which is ascribed to Hussun the Zeidite in the time of Mutewukkel) proclaimed the doctrines of the Issmauilians, or Bowatinists; which continued to be disseminated from thence by that Fanatic and his successors, until their impregnable retreat was finally surrendered to Hollâkû, in the six hundred and fifty-fourth of the Hidjerah.

Ul Mustezhir B'illah, XXVIIIth Khalif.

Ul Mustezhir or Mustezehir B'illah,§ Abûl Abbas Ahmed the son of Mûkteddy, twenty-eighth Khalif of the house of Abbas.

With the immediate concurrence of Sûltan Berguiâruk the son of Melek Shah, then on the spot at Baghdâd, the throne of the Khalifs

* November, 1092. † January, 1094. ‡ A. D. 1090. § Dei gratia defensus.

was ascended on the demise of his father, by Ahmed the son of Mûkteddy, under the title of Mûstezhir B'illah. A. H. 487. A. D. 1094.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Sûltan Berguiâruk dying in the latter Rebbeia of the year four hundred and ninety-eight,* the Khotbah was pronounced in the same metropolis, in the name of his son Melek Shah the second: but Sûltan Mahommed, the brother of the deceased monarch, arriving at Baghdâd in the course of the succeeding month of Jummaudy, a treaty was concluded between him and his nephew, by which it was agreed that the two princes should be equally associated in the royalties of the Khotbah. The supreme authority was however entirely absorbed in the stronger power of the uncle; with whom it continued to the year five hundred and eleven,† when he died, leaving his throne to his son Mahmûd; who was however soon destined to yield the precedence to his uncle Sûltan Sunjur, another of the sons of Melek Shah, who assumed the sovereign authority; leaving to his nephew, the government only of Persian Irâk.

Mûstezhir is said to have enjoyed the unsubstantial glories of the Khelaufut, for a period of five and twenty years and a fraction; his death may therefore be assigned to the month of Mohurrim of the year five hundred and twelve,‡ when he had attained to the forty-second year of his age. The judgment of posterity has conferred upon this Khalif the character of a just and equitable prince, in the transactions of his government, of considerable genius in poetry, and of eminent skill in penmanship.

Tarikh gûzeidah.

To this Khalif has, by other writers, been ascribed the construction of the eastern rampart, or city, of Baghdâd, which he caused to be fortified with turreted gates and ditches. In Stevens' history of Persia, we find it stated that the former city, which stood on the opposite bank of the Tigris in Mesopotamia, being ruined by the over-flowing of the river, Ul Mûstezhir, or Mostecer as he calls him, removed it to the other side, where it now remains. Here then we discover the occasion on which this celebrated metropolis was transferred from its original site, on the western bank of the Tigris, to the eastern or left bank of that river, on the Persian side.

* December, 1104. † A. D. 1117. ‡ May, 1118.

A. H. 512. A. D. 1118.

Tarikh gûzeidah.

In other respects, to the consummate prudence of Mûstezhir it is attributed, that during the whole of his reign, not a single insurrection occurred to disturb the tranquillity of his government. Contemporary with him were, as already noticed, Sûltan Berguiâruk, Sûltan Melek Shah the second, Sûltan Mahommed, Sûltan Mahmûd, and Sûltan Sunjur, of the race of Seljûk; Kûtb-ud-dein Mahommed prince of Khaurezm; and in Ghezni, Ibrauhim the son of Mûssâoud, another Mûssâoud the son, and Arslan Shah the grandson, of Ibrauhim. Hussun or Hassan Sabah, continued to disseminate from Al Mowut the doctrines of the Bouautinah, and to extend his usurpation through the mountains of Rûdbaur.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaar.

Ul Mustershid, or Musterreshid B'illah,* Abû Munsûr Fazzel, the son of Mûstezhir, twenty-ninth Khalif of the house of Abbas.

The inhabitants of Baghdâd, of every rank and description, uniting on the death of Mûstezhir to acknowledge the claims of his son Fazzel, that prince was immediately invested with the dignity of the Khelaufut, under the title of Ul Mûstershid B'illah; and among the few latter sovereigns of the house of Abbas, who, in the decline of its power, displayed some portion of zeal to revive the expiring lustre of the Khelaufut, Mûstershid appears to claim a distinguished pre-eminence.

Ul Mustershid B'illah, XXIXth Khalif.

Soon after his accession, he found himself however involved in a contest with his brother Abûl Hussun, who absconded from Baghdâd; and continuing his flight to Hellah, and from thence to Waussit, there asserted his claims to the Khelaufut, and invited the people to submit to his authority. But the governor of Hellah, Weiss or Weyss the son of Sedkah, leading an army to that quarter by direction of Mûstershid, the ambitious prince perceived the inadequacy of his power to sustain a conflict, and sought for safety in the solitude of the desert. He fell however ultimately into the hands of those who were in search of him, and was conveyed to the presence of Mûstershid; who signalized his triumph on the occasion, by humanely sparing the life of his misguided brother.

The genius of discord having produced a misunderstanding between the Khalif, and the chief of whose services he had availed himself on

* Dei gratiâ rectus.

this occasion, it terminated in the course of the year five hundred and seventeen, in open hostility. In a desperate battle which took place between the parties, the issue was favorable to the standard of Mûstershid, who returned in triumph to his metropolis; while Weiss the vanquished rebel withdrew to the court of Sûltan Toghrel the Seljûkian; whom, about two years subsequent to his defeat, that is in the five hundred and nineteenth of the Hidjerah, he prevailed upon to undertake the reduction of Baghdâd. The Khalif, however, resolutely prepared to repel the danger, and assembling his troops, proceeded at their head to oppose the invaders. Receiving intelligence of the departure of Mûstershid from his capital, his aggressors conceived it expedient to separate their force; Sûltan Toghrel directing his march immediately for Baghdâd, while the rebellious Weiss sought to oppose himself to the person of his sovereign. It happened, providentially at this crisis, that Sûltan Togrel should experience a severe attack of fever and ague, and such heavy and incessant rains came on, as to render the march of the Seljûkians totally impracticable. At the same period, Weiss was endeavoring by a forced march under cover of the night, to surprise the camp of Mûstershid: but losing his way, he continued to wander about at the head of his troops until day light; when exhausted with fatigue and exertion, he was compelled to encamp on the first plain that presented itself. To complete the chain of circumstances, which fortuitously concurred to liberate Mûstershid, from the danger which thus menaced him on all sides, that monarch, who had been abandoned by the greater part of his army on information that Sûltan Toghrel was pushing for Baghdâd, chanced to arrive with a few followers, on the very spot where the division of Weiss lay encamped, overwhelmed in sleep and weariness. The astonished rebel awoke to the mortification of being a suppliant for life, at the mercy of his offended sovereign; who gave, on this occasion, a further proof of his clement spirit by pardoning the traitor, and suffering him to rejoin the troops of Sûltan Toghrel; whom he accompanied on his retreat to Hamadaun.

A. H. 517. A. D. 1123. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Sûltan Mahmûd the son of Mahommed, and grandson of Melek Shah the first, dying in the month of Shavaul of the year five hundred and twenty five, the Khotbah was recited at Baghdâd, early in the

A. H. 525-29. A. D. 1131-35. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

course of the year ensuing, in the name of his surviving brother Sûltan Mûssâoud. But some of the principal officers of that monarch withdrawing to Baghdâd, through fear of their master's displeasure, in the course of five hundred and twenty nine, fatally prevailed on Mûstershid to strike his name from the public invocations and prayers, and to lead an army to attack the dominions of the Seljûkian. In the neighborhood of Dainûr he was met and defeated by Sûltan Mûssâoud; and disdaining to quit the field of battle, fell together with his Vezzeir into the hands of the conqueror, who committing his illustrious captive to the custody of a proper escort, proceeded with him into Azerbâijaun.

On his arrival at Meraughah the Sûltan conceived the design of setting his captive at large; on his engaging to remit him annually, from the revenues of Baghdâd the sum of two hundred thousand dinaurs,* and to abstain for the future from all hostility. But while this arrangement was, either really or pretendedly, in contemplation, one of the devoted enthusiasts attached to the Shaikh-ul-jebbel, found means one day, through the negligence of his guards, to enter the Khalif's tent, whom he murdered on the spot. Some writers, however, do not hesitate to affirm that this nefarious transaction was perpetrated by the express and immediate direction of Mûssâoud. In the mean time the inhabitants of Meraughah have been ever since stigmatized with the appellation of Khaleifah-kosh—*murderers of the prophet's successor.* Such, at all events, in the month of Rûdjub of the year five hundred and twenty-nine,† is represented to have been the fate of Mûstershid, at the age of forty-three, and after a turbulent reign of about seventeen lunar years and six months.

Mûstershid has acquired, as we have already premised, among historians, the character of a magnanimous prince, distinguished in particular for the spirit with which he endeavoured to check the encroachments of the race of Seljûk. Neither has he been less eulogized for his profound knowledge in the mysterious readings of the Korân, and in the traditional doctrines of the prophet; in consequence of which he became in a great measure the oracle of the age in which he lived. He surpassed moreover in the powers of elocution, and in the rare

* About 91,666l. 13s, 4d. at the lowest computation. † April, A. D. 1135.

and estimable talent of communicating a multitude of ideas within the compass of the fewest words. A. H. 529. A. D. 1135.

Tarikh gûzeidah.

Contemporary with this Khalif, were in Khorassaun and Persian Irâk, Sûltan Sunjur the son, and Mahmûd, Toghrel, and Mûssâoud the grandsons of Melek Shah; in Ghezni, Arslan Shah, Behram Shah, and Ibrauhim the son of Mûssâoud; and in Khaurezm, Kûtbud-dein Mahommed. Hussun Sabah died during the reign of Mûstershid, and was succeeded in the territories of Al Mowut by Bûzûrg Omeyd; of whom hereafter.

UL RASHID B'ILLAH,* Abû Jauffer Munsûr, the son of Mûstershid, thirtieth Khalif of the house of Abbas.

Intelligence of the assassination of Mûstershid being conveyed to Baghdâd, the nobility and principal inhabitants, on Monday the twenty-seventh of Zykaudah, of the year five hundred and twenty-nine,† proceeded to establish his son Munsûr on the throne of the Khalifs; to whom they immediately engaged their allegiance under the title of Ul Rashid B'illah. UL RASHID B'ILLAH, XXXth Khalif.

Soon after his accession, an agent arrived at Baghdâd, to demand from Rashid, on the part of Sûltan Mûssâoud, the tribute alleged to have been agreed upon with his father; an agreement which he disdained however to ratify, and in conjunction with the inhabitants, he immediately proceeded, sword in hand, to expel from the city, all the officers of the house Seljûk. Under these circumstances Dâoud the son of Mahmûd, grandson of Melek Shah, from Azerbâijaun, and Emmaud-ud-dein Zengui, from Mossûl, appearing at Baghdâd, the Khalif embraced the opportunity of substituting the name of Dâoud in the Khotbah, or peroration of the Khateibs, in the room of that of Mûssâoud; which was discontinued without further ceremony.

This act of undisguised defiance drew upon Ul Rashid, shortly afterwards, the vengeance of Sultan Mûssâoud, who now appeared before the walls of Baghdâd at the head of a formidable army; but the inhabitants uniting in a resolute defence of the town, the Sûltan after a siege of fifty days, drew off towards Neherwaun: and the Khalif availing himself of the opportunity, hastened towards Mossûl, in company with Emmaûd-ud-dein. From thence, at a subsequent period,

* Dei gratia Pius. † September 7th, A. D. 1135.

A. H. 530-32. A.D. 1136-38. Tarikh gûzeidah.

he proceeded to Meraughah, on a visit to the grave of his father; and from this time continued to wander through the different provinces of the empire, until the month of Ramzaun, of the year five hundred and thirty-two;* when, on the twenty-seventh of that month, in an attempt to reduce the city of Isfahaun, he was also put to death by an assassin before the walls of that place.

Ul Rashid had been extruded from the Khelaufut, at the expiration of little more than a twelve month from his accession; and at the period of his assassination had attained to the age of forty-three. Contemporary were in Khorassaun, of the race Seljûk, Sûltan Sunjur, and in Irâk the above mentioned Sûltan Mussâoud; in Khaurezm Ultessûrz; and in Al Mowut the speculations of the Bowautinah, or Esoterists, continued to be propagated by Bûzûrg Omeyd.

Ul Mukteffy L'immer Ullah,† Abû Abdullah Mahommed, the son of Mûstezhir, thirty-first Khalif of the house of Abbas.

Ul Muktffy L'immer Ullah, XXXIst Khalif.

Abandoned by Ul Rashid in the manner just related, Bâghdâd with the territory dependant on it, was soon afterwards taken possession of by Sûltan Mussâoud; who, with the concurrence of the principal inhabitants, proceeded to pronounce the fugitive monarch formally deposed, and to inaugurate his nephew Mahommed, the son of Mûstezhir, in the dignity of the Khelaufut, by the title of Mukteffy-l-immer-Ullah. The entire authority of the government was, however, exercised with unlimited controul by the Sûltan, by whom the new made Khalif was totally precluded from every share of power. And thus affairs continued until the year five hundred and forty; when on the death of the Seljûkian monarch, the splendor of the Khelaufut was for a time, in some measure restored; Mûkteffy no longer permitting any of the princes of the race of Seljûk to enter the gates of his capital.

The year five hundred and forty-nine, the eighteenth of the Khalif Mûkteffy, will be ever memorable for the birth of the invincible Tchengueiz, or *Jengueiz Kaan;* which took place at Deylûn Yeldak,‡ in the country of the Moghûls, according to our author, on the twentieth day of the month of Zilkaudah.§ His father, Beysouka Bahauder,

* 6th of April, 1138. † Dei mandato succedens.

‡ *Yuldak*, according to some manuscripts. § January 25th, 1155.

der, being just then returned from a successful expedition against some of the Tartar hordes, (the Sou Moghûls, according to Mr. Petis de la Croix) in which he had defeated one of their principal chiefs called Temûtchîn, gave to his new born son the name of the vanquished sovereign, which he retained for forty-nine years afterwards; to the period, when he was solemnly inaugurated by the Kûriltâi, or general diet of the Tartar nations, as their universal sovereign, under the title of Jengueiz Kaaun, or king of kings. This fearful slaughterer of nations is stated to have been ushered into light with a mass of congealed blood in his grasp, which was predicted to denote the dreadful havoc which he was destined to occasion among his enemies: but of him, much more hereafter.

A. H. 549. A. D. 1155. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

In five hundred and fifty-one, the city of Baghdâd was exposed to another siege from Sûltan Mahommed, the son of Mahmûd, of the race of Seljûk, by whom, at the head of a great army, it was invested in the course of the year. Before he could however effect his purpose in the reduction of the place, he was compelled to raise the siege by the alarming intelligence which he received, of the revolt of his brother, in Persian Irâk.

The following year Mûkteffy, having finished a gate of exquisite workmanship for the sanctuary of the Kaaubah, transmitted the same to Mekkah; and directing the ancient one to be conveyed to Baghdâd, of that formed a coffin for himself.

He survived this period about three years, dying in the five hundred and fifty-fifth of the Hidjerah,* at the age of sixty-six, and after a reign of four and twenty years, three months, and twenty-one days; with the character of a mild and beneficent prince, distinguished, while he held the controul, for the justice of his government.

Ul Mustunjid, or Mustanjer B'illah,† Abûl Mûzuffer Yûssuf, the son of Mûkteffy, thirty-second Khalif of the house of Abbas.

Ul Mustunjid B'illah, XXXIId Khalif.

Having been already nominated to the succession, during the life of his father, the homage and submission of the principal inhabitants of Baghdâd was, on his death, immediately transferred to Mûstunjid. Dur-

* A. D. 1160. † Dei gratia audax.

A. H. 555. A. D. 1160. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

ing the illness of the late Khalif, the succession had been aspired to by Abû Ally, another of the sons of Mûkteffy, who with that view was known, in concert with his mother, to have been forming designs against his brother. For these reasons Mûstunjid was no sooner firmly seated on his throne, than he conceived it expedient to secure himself against any further machinations from the same quarter, by lodging the aspiring prince within the walls of a prison. Some unfortunate females, of the haram, accomplices in his design, were however thrown into the Tigris.

Bating these instances of unavoidable severity, the reign of Mûstunjid was distinguished, for its wholesome regulations to promote the ends of justice, to relieve the distresses of the indigent, and to punish the crimes, and usurpations of vice and oppression. In one circumstance he may perhaps be quoted as an example for the imitation of sovereigns far more illustrious. He was a determined discourager of detraction in all its disguises. As a proof of this, it is related, that having consigned to a prison one of his subjects who had been found guilty of defaming, or perhaps informing against his neighbour, he was, at the expiration of a reasonable interval, applied to by one of the friends of the delinquent for his release, with an offer of ten thousand dinaurs* if he acceded to the application; to which the Khalif observed in answer, that if, on the contrary, the proposer of this request would engage to discover another person guilty of similar defamatory praetices, so as to bring him to confinement, he would, for his part, for such a piece of service, promise him a reward of the same sum of ten thousand dinaurs.

But, whatever were his virtues, or his defects, Mûstunjid passed from this world to that which is more permanent, in the five hundred and sixty sixth of the Hidjerah,† the fifty-sixth of his age, and after discharging the functions of the Khelaufut for eleven years, one month and a few days.

Contemporary with this Khaleifah were, in the Persian empire, Mahommed the son of Mahmûd, his uncle Sûliman Shah, and his couzin Arslan Shah the son of Toghrel, of the race of Seljûk; in Shirauz, the

*About 4,583l. 6s. 8d. †A. D. 1170.

Autabeks Sunjur the son of Moudûd, and his brother Zengui of the race of Sulgher: in Khaurezm Aeil Arslan: and in Rûdbaur and Almowut Mahommed the son of Bûzûrg Omeyd maintained the doctrines of the Bowautinists It was at the commencement of the Khelaufut of Mûstunjid, namely in the five hundred and fifty fifth of the Hidjerah, that the empire of the Gheznians, became extinct in Khossrou Shah, the last monarch of the race of Sebekteggin; it was then transferred to the princes of Ghour. A. H. 566, A. D. 1170. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Ul Mustunzy, or Mustezzey Benur Illah,* Abû Mahommed Hussun, the son of Mûstunjid, thirty-third Khalif of the house of Abbas.

On the day of his father's dissolution, Mûstunzy hastened to decorate his brows with the diadem of the Khelaufut, and signalized his accession by an extensive and liberal display of his bounty.

Here it may be seasonable to observe, that some years antecedent to the period under consideration, namely, about the five hundred and sixty-third of the Hidjerah, the Fatimite Khalif of Egypt, Azzyd-ud-dein Ullah, terrified by a formidable invasion of the Ferrengs or Franks, or Western Christians, had agreed to purchase their forbearance for a ransom of one million of dinaurs;† which some delegates from the christian army had already entered Kaherah, or Cairo to receive. This was however a circumstance too humiliating for the digestion of the haughty Mosslems; and they accordingly determined, with the concurrence of Azzyd-ud-dein, to apply for the assistance of Nûr-ud-dein Mahmûd prince of Damascus and Syria, an ally of the Abbasides. In compliance with their application, a force of eighty thousand cavalry was immediately dispatched by that chief to the relief of the Egyptians, under the command of Assud-ud-dein Sheirkouh. The Franks, reynard-like, betook themselves to a precipitate flight on the approach of this general; who made his entrance into the metropolis of Kaherah in the latter Rebbeia of the year five hundred and sixty four,‡ and was immediately invested with the dignity of Vezzeir. But as he died at the expiration of sixty-five days, the appointment was conferred by the Fatimite, the last of this dinasty, upon Sullah-ud-dein Yûssuf the son Ul Mustunzy, XXXIIId Khalif.

* Dei splendore illuminatus. † About 458,333l. 6s. 8d. at the lowest computation.

‡ January, 1169.

A. H. 566. A. D. 1170. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

of Ayûb, the nephew of the deceased; in whom we are to recognize the celebrated Saladin, the warlike and distinguished opponent of the crusaders.

In a very little time, the new Vezzeir usurped to himself the entire controul and government of the country, excluding the ministers of the Egyptian Khalif from every vestige of authority; which being announced to his superior the Sûltan of Damascus, a message was dispatched by the latter to Sullah-ud-dein, requiring that the coin of the province should be struck, and the Khotbah repeated in the name of Mûstunzy. To this after some demur, and the message had been repeated, Sullah-ud-dein, by the advice of his principal officers, at last consented; and the name of Mûstunzy was accordingly proclaimed in the Khotbah, in Mohurrim of the year five hundred and sixty seven,* while the unfortunate Azzyd-ud-dein lay stretched on the bed of sickness. In the course of the same week he was suffered to expire unconscious of the degradation; and thus terminated the power of the Issmâilian Khalifs of Egypt, the descendants of Ally and Fatima, when, from the revolt of Abûl Kaussem Mahommed, entitled Mehedy, in Africa and the west, about the two hundred and ninety-sixth of the Hidjerah,† it had subsisted for a period of two hundred and seventy one lunar years. The province of Egypt, unless the empty compliment of the Khotbah paid to the house of Abbas, be considered some abatement, now devolved in full sovereignty to Sullah-ud-dein; in whose possession, and that of his descendants, it continued long afterwards.

In the early part of the reign of Mûstunzy, the powers of his government became almost entirely invested in Kûttûb-ud-dein Keymaur; and when, to the honours already heaped upon him, had been added the dignity of Ameir-ul-ûmra, that minister proceeded to intrude himself into every department of the state, communicating with his sovereign or otherwise, as seemed convenient to his own discretion. At last in the year five hundred and seventy, having made an attempt to seize the person of Zeheir-ud-dein Attaur, one of the Khalif's particular household, this officer fled for protection to the palace of his master: whither, after the pillage of his house, and the destruction of his pro-

* September, 1171.

† An event, which is said to have been foretold by the prophet, in these words: "At the "end of the third century a sun shall arise in the west."

perty, he was followed by Kûttûb-ud-dein, accompanied by a number of his Ameirs, and a prodigious multitude assembled as spectators. Hearing the uproar before his palace, Mûstunzy, already awafe of the occasion, hastened to one of the terraces; and shewing himself to the people, told them aloud, that Keymaur had violated his duty, that his property was at their dispósal, and his blood at that of an offended master. With their usual promptitude, the populace hastened to avail themselves of the intimation, and proceeded in a body straight to the habitation of the obnoxious minister. The latter contrived, however, to anticipate their arrival, and endeavored for some time to prevail upon them to forget their views of plunder; but to little purpose. The multitude thronged so violently about his doors, that finding the means of escape in front entirely cut off, he was ultimately compelled to retire by a breach in the back wall of the house, and fly towards Mossûle; and he perished on the way to that place. As a proof of the extravagance to which this man had carried his ideas of magnificence, it is mentioned, that in the place to which he retired on neccessary occasions, a chain of gold was suspended from the roof to rest his hands upon, and a case of the same precious metal, charged with musk, and amber, and the most expensive aromatics, always stood in the same apartment, to guard his senses against the approach of offensive odours.

A. H. 567. A. D. 1171. Kholanssut-ul-akhbaur.

In the month of Shavaul of the year five hundred and seventy-five,* the Khalif Mûstunzy hastened, at the age of thirty nine, to the bosom of his creator's mercy; having exercised the now unsubstantial powers of the Khelaufut for a period of nine years and eight months. With the name of the sainted Imaum Hussun, he is said to have inherited the benevolent disposition of that blameless prince; and this is recorded as a felicity to which no other Khalif but Mûstunzy was ever permitted to attain.

Contemporaries with Mûstunzy were, in Khorassaun and Irâk Ajem, Arslan the son of Toghrel, and his son Toghrel, of the race of Seljûk; in Khaurezm, Arslan Shah, and his sons Sûltan Shah, and Tokesh Khaun; and in Al Mowut, Hussun or Hassan the son of Mahommed

* March, A. D. 1180.

A. H. 575. A. D. 1180. Bûzûrg Omeyd, and his son also of the name of Mahommed, the Bouatinists.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

UL NAUSSER-UD-DEIN ULLAH* Abûl Abbas Ahmed son of Mûstunzy, thirty-fourth Khalif of the house of Abbas.

UL NAUSSER-UD-DEIN-ULLAH, XXXIVth Khalif.

In conformity with the will of his father, Abûl Abbas Ahmed on the demise of Mûstunzy invested himself, without opposition, with the cares of government, under the title of Ul Nausser-ud-dein-Ullah; and he is said to have surpassed in the subtilty of his genius, the liberality of his disposition, and the numerous excellencies of his understanding; all which he applied, with unremitting assiduity, to promote and secure the comfort and happiness of his subjects of every description. He is further represented as the founder of a great variety of charitable establishments, of mosques, and lodges for the accommodation of travellers, which he left as monuments of his public spirit; and lastly to have strenuously exerted the whole influence of his authority and example, to advance the prosperity of Isslâm, and to abolish the corruptions, which had in numerous instances been introduced into the system of his faith.

For a period of fourteen years, in which he was perhaps permitted to gratify a laudable disposition to cultivate the arts of peace, without the interference of foreign usurpation, we find little recorded of the reign of this prince, until the year five hundred and ninety; when having conferred the dignity of Vezzeir upon Mûeyud-ud-dein Mahommed, denominated the butcher's boy, (Eben-e-Kussaub) he sent him at the head of a considerable force to reduce the province of Khûzistaun, which was brought, thus once more, under the authority of the Khalifs; and three years afterwards, in the five hundred and ninety-third of the Hidjerah,† one of Ul Nausser's Maumlûks, of the name of Sunjur, extended the authority of his master into the territory of Laristaun.

Under the year six hundred and four, an ordnance of Ul Nausser's is adverted to, which appears to have had for its object the removal of vexatious restrictions from the commercial intercourse of his people; since by virtue thereof his officers were prohibited from exacting, or

* Dei fidei defensor. † A. D. 1196.

perhaps requiring the production of the tumghau, charter, or patent, from such as were employed in the purchase or sale, of any article of trade. A. H. 613, A. D. 1217. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

From some traces of a correspondence between this Khalif, and Sûltan Shahaub-ud-dein Ghoury, discovered among the papers of the latter prince on the conquest of Ghezni, by Sûltan Mahommed king of Khaurezm, that monarch had long entertained designs of hostility against Ul Nausser; and in the six hundred and fourteenth of the Hidjerah, having pledged his allegiance to Alla-ul-mûlk Termezy as counter-Khaleifah, he prepared to carry his scheme of vengeance into further execution, by advancing towards Baghdâd with an army of three hundred thousand men. To avert, if possible, the storm which threatened to overwhelm him, Ul Nausser dispatched Shaikh Shahaub-ud-dein Sheherverdy to negociate some sort of accommodation with the Khaurezmian, whom he found encamped in the neighborhood of Hamadaun. After experiencing considerable difficulty and delay, the envoy was at last admitted to the Sûltan's pavilion; where his reception was as discouraging as primary obstacles might have taught him to expect; the Khaurezmian not even deigning to return his salutation. He proceeded, however, to discharge the object of his mission, without producing the slightest impression in favor of his sovereign; to whom he accordingly returned, shortly afterwards, to report the mortifying failure. The inhabitants of Baghdâd were therefore constrained to reconcile their minds to meet the dangers of an approaching siege.

But on entering the passes of Hulwaun, the Sûltan experienced such intensity of cold, and heavy falls of snow, it being then the commencement of winter, that his army was rendered totally incapable of movement; and the whole of his cattle perishing through the severity of the weather, he was in this state compelled to withdraw into his own territories, in order to recruit and restore his shattered equipments. He had however not yet quitted the provinces of Persian Irâk on his return, when the messengers of Ghâeir Khaun, the governor of Otraur, reached his camp, to request his permission to put to death the merchants arrived from the court of Jengueiz; on the pretext that they were emissaries employed to explore the situation and strength of the country.

A. H. 614. A. D. 1217. To this perfidious request it was his misfortune to accede, and to provoke that fearful tide of vengeance which drenched his country in blood, and terminated in his own destruction; but of which the circumstances will be laid before the reader, in a future page.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

From the horrors and apprehensions of these dreadful events, the Khalif Ul Nausser was fortunately removed by the hand of death, on the first of the month of Shavaul,* of the year six hundred and twenty two and at the age of sixty nine. In the duration of his reign, which was extended through the protracted period of six and forty years, and two months, he surpassed all the monarchs who sat on the throne of the Khelaufut, either before or after him: but notwithstanding the praises bestowed upon his memory; for the liberal application of his treasures in works of charity and public benefit, the author is in the sequel constrained to acknowledge, that his avidity to accumulate wealth was carried to such a degree, that the effects of every merchant who died at Baghdâd, were invariably seized for his use; not the slightest article being allowed to revert to the heirs of the deceased.

The Persian branch of the race of Seljûk was extinguished during the reign of Ul Nausser, by the Khaurezmians; and the latter, in their turn, were compelled to recede before the countless myriads of the invincible Jengueiz; who had by this time extended his conquests from the seas of Japan to the north-eastern limits of the Persian empire.

Ul Zaher B'illah† Abû Nasser Mahommed, the son of Ul Nausser, thirty-fifth Khalif of the house of Abbas.

Ul Zaher B'illah, XXXVth Khalif.

In the early part of the preceding reign this prince had been nominated to the succession; but by some means or other incurring the displeasure of his father, he was degraded from his prospective honors, and the title of heir apparent transferred to a second brother, of the name of Ally. The latter dying, however, before the father, the nomination became confirmed in Ul Zâher, although he was still condemned to consume his days in a prison; from whence he was only released, on the death of Ul Nausser, by the cordial and unanimous zeal of the people; who in all their gradations proffered on that event a willing homage to his authority. But, having already attained to

* October 5th, A. D. 1225. † Dei gratiâ vincens.

the age of fifty-two, he could not forbear expressing some discouraging presages as to the duration of his reign: it was easy, he remarked, to calculate the profits of a man's business, whose shop was not opened until the third hour of prayer. He proved, however, a just and pious monarch, labouring to the utmost of his power to restrain the enormities of the oppressor; and he conspicuously evinced his benevolent spirit, by setting at large all those who languished in prison for exchequer debts; and, contrary to the practice of his father's reign, by prohibiting the pestilent class of spies and informers, from interfering with, or disclosing the secrets and private pursuits of the people. A. H. 622. A. D. 1225. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

The benevolent views of Ul Zâher were early destined to be circumscribed by the hand of death. He expired, after a short reign of eight months, and fourteen days, on the thirteenth of Rudjub, of the year six hundred and twenty-three.*

His contemporaries were, over the greater part of the oriental world, the resistless Jengueiz; in Farss, Saud Zengui; and in Al Mowut and the territory of the Shaikh-ul Jubbel, Allâ-ud-dein.

Ul Mustunser or Mustancer B'illah, Abû Jauffer Munsûr, the son of Ul Zâher, thirty-sixth Khalif of the house of Abbas.

Equally distinguished by his virtues and estimable qualities, Mûstunser was acknowledged successor to the throne of the Khalifs, immediately on the death of his father. His reign being, however, for the greater part, devoted to cultivate the pursuits of peace and benevolence, occupies, as might be expected, but a small place in our author's attention.

We shall here briefly notice, that in the second year of Mûstunser, namely, on the fourth of Ramzaun, of the year six hundred and twenty four,† remarkable at the same time, as the day of his birth, and of his accession to imperial power, died that direful scourge of nations, the invincible Jengueiz Kaun; whose destructive career will, in a future page, more particularly claim the attention of the reader. Ul Mustunser B'illah, XXXVIth Khalif.

The study of Mûstunser continued, in the mean time, to be taken up in promoting the happiness of his people; and as a proof that this was an object which seemed to form at the same time his business and his pleasure, it is related from the Rouzut-us-Suffâ, that a few days previous to one of the principal Mahommedan festivals, either the Eid-

* July 10th, A. D. 1226. † August 16th, A. D. 1227.

A. H. 624-32. A. D. 1227-34. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

ul-Fetret, at the conclusion of the fast of Ramzaun, or the Eid-e-Korbaun, or festival of sacrifice on the tenth of Zilhudje, he was walking on the terrace of his palace; when, observing the roofs of all the neighboring houses overspread with apparel, he demanded of his vezeir the occasion of it. The minister informed him, that the inhabitants had been washing their clothes, in order to appear with decency on the ensuing festival. On this, expressing his concern and ignorance, that his good people of Baghdâd were in such circumstances, as to be precluded the comfort of a new suit, to assist in the public festivals of their country, the Khalif gave orders that his goldsmiths should prepare a vast number of small balls of gold; which distributing to his domestics, he caused to be shot, with pellet bows, into the different houses throughout the city. From such a circumstance, it is not improbable that Mûstunser may have incurred the charge of prodigality; through which, according to some historians, he is alleged to have ultimately reduced himself to poverty.

On one occasion it, however, appears from respectable authority,* that the energies of this Khalif could on emergency unfold themselves in the arrangements of a warlike undertaking. A body of Moghûls under Manjû Nûyan, one of their principal commanders, had laid siege to the city of Ardebeil; and compelled the inhabitants to withdraw into the castle or citadel, from whence they dispatched to implore the assistance of Mûstunser. It happened to be about the period of annual visitation to Mekkah, and the monarch immediately availed himself of the opportunity to awaken the zeal of the Hadjies to take up arms against those ferocious infidels. By this means he succeeded in assembling a numerous and formidable army, which, under one of his generals, he sent to the relief of Ardebeil. The Moghûls were attacked and defeated with great slaughter; and the effectual, though perhaps temporary relief of the besieged, with a prodigious booty, became the reward of the conquerors. Neither is it improbable that this was followed by other similar successes, which the troops of Mûstunser are elsewhere represented to have obtained, over the desolators of the Persian empire.

An illustrious monument of the magnificence of this prince was the college of Mûstansriah; of which he laid the foundation in the month of Rudjub, of the year six hundred and twenty five, and which was

* Tarikh gûzeidah.

completed in six hundred and thirty two. It is described as the most splendid and extensive endowment established on one spot, by any monarch, as a memorial of liberality and love of science. A. H. 632-40. A. D. 1235-42. Tarikh gûzeidah.

The death of Mûstunser is recorded to have taken place in the six hundred and fortieth of the Hidjerah, at the age of fifty one; and after an auspicious and succesful reign, as it his alleged, of sixteen years, two, or perhaps, ten months, and some days; which latter would fix the precise period of this event to about the twentieth of the former Jummaudy.* If the statements of the Tarikh gûzeidah are in any degree entitled to belief, Mûstunser had, indeed, by the blessings of his administration, rendered the territory of the Arabs the envy of heaven itself; having banished from the land every vestige of distress and desolation. But to furnish something more than bare assertion, to direct the judgment by, it is added, that the revenues of Arabian Irâk, Khûzistaun, and Kûrdestaun, with part of Diaurbekir and Syria, to which this monarch had extended the waning power of the Khelaufut, and which, in the subsequent period at which the author wrote his history, yielded to the treasury not more than six hundred tomauns,† or about eighteen thouand rupees, conveyed to the exchequer of Mûstunser the sum of *six thousand six hundred* tomauns; which, at thirty rupees of two and six pence each, would amount to about twenty four thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds sterling; making a difference of eleven to one in less than a century.

Contemporary with Mûstunser were, first, on the death of his father, Ougtay or Oktai, the third son of Jengueiz; in Farss Saud Zengui, and Abû Bukker the son of Saud, the Sulgherites; in Kermaun, Bûrauk the son of Hâjeb, and his son Mûbaurek Khaujeh: in the other parts of the Persian empire, Sûltan Jullaul-ud-dein, the son of Mahommed the Khaurezmian; and in Al Mowut, the principles of Bouatinism, and the mystic allusions of the Korân, continued to be asserted by Alla-ud-dein.

Ul Mustaussem B'illah-ul-wauhed,‡ the son of Abdullah, son of Mûstunser, thirty-seventh and last Khalif of the house of Abbas.

* November 14th, A. D. 1242.

† In the reigns of Akbar and Jahângueir, the Persian tomaun was estimated at thirty rupees.

‡ Dei indivisi gratiâ defensus.

A. H. 640. A. D. 1242. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

By a certain class of historians, Ul Mûstaussem has been estimated the four and twentieth in descent from Abbas, as may be traced in the note annexed to this page;* while by others, who contend that Mûkteddy was the grandson only of Ul Kâeim, he is made the twenty fifth. However this may be determined, it seems generally understood that as Mûstaussem was the last, he was also the haughtiest, and most ostentatious of all the monarchs of his race. In the same degree is he also stated to have surpassed the whole of his predecessors, in the vast accumulation of treasure and jewels, of superb and costly furniture, and in the sumptuous display of imperial apparatus, in all its variety. No less than four hundred domestics were employed in the ordinary service of his palace, and four and twenty thousand horsemen were maintained at the expence of his private treasury. Such, moreover, was the fastidious pomp of his court, that not one of the potentates of the surrounding regions, not the most distinguished prince or noble, no rank, or dignity, however illustrious, could approach the presence of the last of the Khaleifahs. Among other expedients, devised to produce an impression of awe for the sacred character of his person, a block of marble, similar to the black stone of the sanctuary at Mekkah, was fixed at the entrance of the imperial apartment, and from the arched roof depended a piece of black satin, in the form of a long sleeve; with which, in the same manner as is observed with the veil, or covering of the sanctuary, the people touched their eyes, while they kissed the marble at the threshold. This, and much more, might peradventure be affirmed, in order to shed its utmost lustre round the declining star of the Khelaufut, before it finally cast its splendors into the gulph of perennial night. It is at the same time remarked that Mûstaussem, on succeeding to the throne of his ancestors, exhibited such a singular display of grandeur and magnificence, that the report of it was conveyed to the remo-

Ul Mustaussem, XXXVIIth and last Khalif of the house of Abbas.

24. Mûstaussem.
23. Abdullah.
22. Mûstunser.
21. Ul Zâher.
20. Ul Nausser.
19. Ul Mûstunzy.
18. Ul Mûstunjid.
17. Ul Mûkteffy.
16. Ul Mûstezêhir.
15. Ul Mûkteddy.
14. Ul Kâeim.
13. Ul Kâder.
12. Isshauk.
11. Ul Mûktedder.
10. Ul Mûtezzed.
9. Ul Mouffek.
8. Ul Mûtewukkel.
7. Ul Mûtussem.
6. Ul Râshid Harûn.
5. Ul Mehedy.
4. Ul Munsûr.
3. Mahommed.
2. Ally.
1. Abdullah son of Abbas.

test regions of the earth; of which, the most powerful sovereigns of the east and west, and of every degree, either by pronouncing the Khotbah in his name, or by other testimonies, hastened to offer their homage of allegiance to his superior authority. A. H. 640. A. D. 1242. Tarikh gûzeidah.

The office of Vezzeir becoming vacant, in the year six hundred and forty two, by the death of Nusseir-ud-dein Mahommed the son of Ul Naffez, who had filled the same important station under the reign of Mûstunser, it was now conferred by Mûstaussem upon Abitauleb Mûeyud-ud-dein Mahommed, surnamed the son of the Alkemite; who proved, in the issue, a principal instrument in the destruction of his country, and of the house of Abbas.

In the six hundred and fiftieth of the Hidjerah, some serious dissensions having broke out between the two adverse sects, the Sûnnies and Sheiahs, at Kerkh, one of the suburbs of Baghdâd principally inhabited by the latter sect, Ameir Abû Bukker, the Khalif's brother, was employed to take the part of the Sûnnies; which terminated in the disgrace and imprisonment of a great number of the Seyuds, descendants of Ally and Fâtima. The Vezzeir being disposed, from a similarity of opinions, to favor the vanquished sect, conceived on this account so deadly a resentment against his sovereign, that from this moment he began to meditate on his treasonable designs; looking forward to the first favorable opportunity of revenge. A. H. 650. A. D. 1252.

The very next year Hûlaukû Kaun, the son of Tûly Bahauder, and grandson of Jengueiz, was advancing, by his brothers orders, to subdue the regions of the west; but as it leads to the final destruction of an illustrious dinasty, the progress of this exterminator will demand a more circumstantial relation; and we shall therefore revert to the apparently accurate detail furnished by the more extensive labours of our author, in the Habeib-us-seyr.

About the period in question, Mangû Kaaun, the third successor of Jengueiz, was in possession, at Karakorum and Kalûran, of the throne of his puissant grandsire; and one of the earliest measures of his government was to dispatch Bâitchîu Nûyan,* one of his principal generals, Habeib-us-seyr.

* Once for all, it may be necessary to remark that the term Nûyan bore among the Tartars, the same signification as Ameir among the Persians—general of the first order. In the authors copy of the Kholausut-ul-akhbaur the name of this general is written Tâjû.

A. H. 651. A. D. 1553. Habeib-us-Seyr.

to secure the territories bordering on, and to the westward of the Jeyhûn, or Oxus. On reaching the frontiers of Irâk and Azerbâijaun, this general took occasion to transmit to his sovereign, some complaint of the conduct of the Khalif Mûstaussem; which, together with the importunities of Kauzy Shums-ud-dein Kazveiny, who about this same period, through fear of the daggers of the Bouatinists, wandered about the country in the scales of his armour, (like a fish in a shell) at last impelled the great Kaaun to conceive that the affairs of Persia demanded the presence of one of the princes of the imperial race, supported by a powerful army: and on this occasion his choice immediately rested on his brother Hûlaukû.

That prince was accordingly furnished with instructions to reduce the whole of the countries, between the Oxus and the remotest borders of Egypt; and in the execution of his orders he was enjoined to conform without variation to the code of Jengueiz; namely, to spare and protect those who submitted, but to pillage and put to the sword, without distinction of age or sex, all such as presumed to resist his authority. The charge was accepted on the part of Hûlaukû with becoming cheerfulness; and after partaking of a series of festivities with his brother, and the Shah zadahs, and principal nobility of his court alternately, for the period of a month, he proceeded in the former Rebbeia of the year six hundred and fifty one,* from the Ourdû, or residence of the Kaaun; accompanied by one fifth of the army of the empire, consisting of one hundred and twenty thousand horse, to the head quarters of his own government. Here he continued for some time, completing the equipments for his expedition, until the month of Ramzaun,† when he finally left the Moghûl territory; taking with him on this occasion a thousand families of Chinese artificers, skilled in the construction of warlike machines, and in the throwing of naphtha, and other inflammable materials.

A. H. 653. A. D. 1125.

Some time in the course of the year six hundred and fifty three, at the expiration of something more than a twelve month, he encamped on the enchanting lawns of Kaun-e-gûll, in sight of Samarkand: where he halted for the space of four days, being magnificently entertained by Mûssâoud Beg Yelwauje, at this period governor of Mawur-un-neher,

* May, A. D. 1253. † October, November, 1253.

the country on the Oxus. From thence he continued his march to the vicinity of Kesh, where he was met by Ameir Arghûn the governor, and other officers of Khorassaun, who hastened to greet his arrival with the customary presents, and testimonies of homage. Proceeding in the same manner by easy stages, and occasionally receiving on his march, the visits of the different feudatories of the Persian empire, Hûlaukû crossed the Jeyhûn in the last month of the year,* and took up his winter quarters in the territory of Shabraghaun.

A. H. 653. A. D. 1255. Habeib-us-Seyr.

On the return of spring he prosecuted his march to the territory of Khawauf; Arghûn Aga having previously taken his departure for Karakorum, by his orders, leaving his son Guerâi Melek, with Ahmed Puttuktchei, and Khaujah Attâ-ul-mûlk Joueiny, the author of the Târikh Jahaun gûshâi, to attend the presence of Hûlaukû ; on whom, and on his immediate descendants, the oriental historians in general bestow the title of Eyl Khaun—supreme Khaun, or sovereign. On reaching Zawah he detached Keybûka Nûyan to reduce the Kohestaun, proceeding with the main body of the army to Tûsse ; where he was sumptuously entertained at the expence of Ameir Arghûn, and Khaujah Ezz-ud-dein, another lord of the country. In the mean time, Shums-ud-dein Mahommed Guerret had been dispatched to demand the surrender of Serkhess from Nausser-ud-dein, the governor of that place on the part or Rokn-ud-dein Khûrshah, the prince of Al Mowut. That officer thought it prudent to submit to superior force, and accompanied the envoy to the camp of Hûlaukû, from whom he experienced a favorable and distinguished reception. The Eyl Khaun now led his troops without interruption towards the territory of Rûdbaur ; on the confines of which, by a succession of marches, he ultimately arrived ; and there, in the manner which will be hereafter related, on Sunday the first of Zykaudah† of the year six hundred and fifty four, he received, in person, the submission of Khûr Shah the prince of the Bouautinists ; after the total subjugation of whom, he finally directed his course, in terrible magnificence, towards the metropolis of the house of Abbas.

The unworthy representative of that illustrious house had, on the other hand, by this time become entirely the dupe of his perfidious min-

* January, A. D. 1256. † Nov. 19th, A. D. 1256.

A. H. 654. A. D. 1256. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

ister, the son of the Alkomite; who, on his part, receiving intelligence of the designs of the Moghûl, determined to pave the way for the execution of that destructive scheme of vengeance, which he had so long held in contemplation. His first step appears to have been, to cajole the feeble minded Mûstaussem into a belief, that his authority was so firmly established, and so universally respected by all the princes of the earth, that the maintenance of so many military chiefs and their numerous stipendiaries, was, in his judgment, a drain upon the imperial treasury, which, for the future, might as well be put a stop to. At all events, if his imperial master would confide to his discretion, they might be employed in a way to replenish, instead of exhausting the resources of the state. Seduced by a sordid spirit of avarice and love of gold, the credulous monarch suffered himself to be led away by the treacherous views of his minister; and committing the entire management of the business to the Alkemite, gave himself up, in the most ignominious indolence and forgetfulness of his duty, to the wretched indulgence of his pleasures. The minister, in a short time, contrived accordingly, by dispersing the greater part of the military force of Baghdâd to the distant provinces, to expedite the consummation of his perfidious system; and having thus cleared the way for his approach, dispatched to communicate to Hûlaukû his assurances of entire devotion, and attachment, to the interests of that prince.

Hûlaukû, who had by this time conducted his army to Hamadaun, left that place in the month of Ramzaun of the year six hundred and fifty-five,* on his march for the devoted metropolis of the Khelaufut; the advanced guard of his troops being consigned to the direction of two of his principal generals Sûghûnjak and Tâiju; the latter, not improbably, the person who had originally stimulated the resentment of the great Kaaun against the feeble Mûstaussem. All that remained of respectability and honesty, among the courtiers of the unhappy monarch, endeavored on this alarming intelligence, to awaken him from the fatal and ignominious dream of negligence, pride, and security, into which he was fallen: but without effect. The crafty and perfidious Vezzeir continued in private to impose upon his sovereign

* September, October, A. D. 1257.

the most absurd conceptions of the superiority of his arms: "for what "of injury" said he, "have the brave troops of Baghdâd to apprehend "from the ferocious, but undisciplined Moghûls? the very women "and children of the city would annihilate them in the streets, with "stones from the terraces of their houses." A. H. 655. A. D. 1257. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

By these and similar arguments, the Alkemite had totally laid asleep the faculties of his master, when intelligence unexpectedly arrived that the advanced guard of the Moghûls were approaching the capital by the route of the desert: and a detachment of ten thousand horse under Futtah-ud-dein and Mûjahed-ud-dein, was marched without delay, by the Khalif's direction, to oppose the enemy. The hostile divisions appear to have met in the vicinity of, or perhaps in a defile between, two neighboring hills, where they became unavoidably engaged in a very fierce and obstinate conflict; the day, however, closing before the victory could be determined, both parties proceeded to encamp for the night in the presence of each other: and here the resources, and indefatigable spirit of the Moghûls, decidedly evinced their superiority over the pampered legions of an effeminate government. Under cover of the night they absolutely conducted the stream of a neighboring river (it could scarcely have been the Euphrates as stated in the manuscript) into the camp of their adversaries; who thus losing the whole of their baggage and equipments, and being otherwise thrown into the utmost consternation, were in that state, the next morning, attacked by the Moghûls and entirely put to the sword; with the exception however of Mûjahed-ud-dein, one of the generals, and three other individuals, who escaped to relate the story at Baghdâd. As a proof of Mûstaussem's total insensibility to the magnitude of the approaching storm, and of the recent misfortune, it is represented that he should have thrice repeated *Ul humd-ul-ullah*, the ordinary ejaculation, or God be praised, that Mûjahed-ud-dein was safe; indicating we will suppose, that the destruction of his followers was a matter of no great importance.

To dispense with all further detail, of circumstances less material, the author proceeds to relate, that towards the close of the six hundred and fifty-fifth of the Hidjerah, Hûlaukû, in person, at the head of a prodigious force, appeared before Baghdâd; and compelled the un-

A. H. 655. A. D. 1257. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

happy Mûstaussem to combat for safety, and existence, behind the walls of his metropolis. For the space of nearly two months, during which the inhabitants were exposed to every species of violence and injury, the city continued to be defended, with considerable perseverance, against the daily exertions of the assailants from without: but at the expiration of that period, the feeble representative of the house of Abbas, no longer capable of sustaining the effect of perpetual alarm, yielded at last to the base suggestions of domestic treachery, ever more fatal than the most formidable aggressions of foreign hostility; and consented, by the advice of the perfidious Alkemite, to commit his person to the hazard of an interview with the fierce Hûlaukû. For that purpose, in the early part of the month of Suffur of the year six hundred and fifty-six,* he accordingly quitted his capital by the gate of Daur-ul-Salaum; and, accompanied by his two sons, Abû Bukker and Abdurraihman, and a numerous group of relatives, and the most distinguished and enlightened members of his court, proceeded to the pavilions of the Tartar monarch. Here, the Khalif, with his sons and two or three of his attendants, was admitted without great difficulty; but the melancholy remainder were excluded, and many of them doomed, the very same day, to the fatal distinction of becoming the first victims, of Hûlaukû's unsparing vengeance.

Habeib-us-Seyr.

On Friday, the ninth of the same month of Suffur,† Hûlaukû made his entry into the metropolis of the Khelaufut, where he gave to his generals, and principal followers, a sumptuous entertainment. To this display of barbarous festivity and triumph, the last of the Khalifs was now summoned, and required, as the host of his conqueror, to produce as far as he was capable, something that should be worthy the acceptance of such an exalted guest. Conceiving that nothing more was intended than expressed, the unhappy monarch gave directions that a present of two thousand costly and magnificent robes, two thousand dinaurs of gold, and a variety of gold and silver plate, vases, and other articles, enriched with jewels of the greatest price and beauty, should be selected from his treasury and wardrobe, and laid in the usual style, in trays, before Hûlaukû. Surveying them with an eye of contempt

* February, A. D. 1258. † February 14th, A. D. 1258.

and scorn, the Moghûl immediately distributed these articles among the attendants, and addressed Mûstaussem in the following terms; "the whole of thy visible property, together with that of the inhabi- "tants of Baghdâd, is already at the disposal of my followers; of that "therefore it was needless to make an offering: what we require of "thee, is to indicate something with respect to thy hidden treasures." The object of the conqueror could be no longer misunderstood; and the captive monarch pointing to the area in the court of the palace, there, on opening the ground, was indeed discovered what might have been amply sufficient to glut the utmost cravings of avarice itself; a tank or covered reservoir, loaded to the brim, with cakes, or ingots of solid gold, of the weight of one hundred meskals each, or something less than a pound and a quarter avoirdupois; the meskal being estimated at a dram and a half.

A. H. 656. A. D. 1258. Habeib-us Seyr.

There is, moreover, not wanting authority to relate, that for several days the remorseless Hûlaukû confined his illustrious and unhappy captive, without food or sustenance of any kind; and that when the pangs of hunger became no longer endurable, the wretched Mûstaussem sent to implore relief. The attendants now brought him from the Moghûl, a dish full of gold and jewels, of which he was desired to eat. The unhappy monarch expostulated on the impossibility of obeying so strange an injunction: "then" said the interpreters of Hûlaukû's will, "since these are things which thou couldst not eat, wherefore was "it, that thou didst not devote them to the preservation of so many thou- "sands of thy fellow Mosslems; wherefore not bestow them on such as "might be employed to defend the inheritance of thine ancestors, from "the invasion of foreign armies?" To this Mûstaussem, the wretched Mûstaussem, could offer no reply; but from a heart, continues the author, burning like the crucible of the gold refiner, he drew a sigh of chilling anguish and despair, and found a sad, but temporary relief, in the tears which copiously overflowed his furrowed cheeks.

In the mean time, it having been intimated, according to some authorities, that some awful and tremendous convulsion of nature would infallibly ensue, if the blood of the reigning Khalif was in any manner made to flow, it became the subject of deliberation, between Hûlankû and his generals, how the person of Mûstaussem should be ultimately

A. H. 656. A. D. 1258. Habeib-us-Seyr.

disposed of; when the ferocious monarch put a period to the debate, by remarking, that in one respect they might venture to discard every uneasy apprehension, since it formed no part of his design to spill a drop of that blood, which was esteemed so sacred. He accordingly gave immediate instructions that his wretched, and defenceless captive should be closely wrapped up in camelots, or coarse hair blankets; and in that state caused him to be rolled backwards and forwards, on the ground, with such force and violence, that every joint and articulation of his frame was either mashed or wrought asunder. Such being the expedient adopted by the Moghûl, to terminate the existence, without shedding the blood of his illustrious prisoner. His children, his brothers, his kindred, his principal officers, and every agent of his government were sacrificed at the same time, to the exterminating vengeance of Hûlaukû.

The Moghûl troops had been now ordered to enter the devoted city; where, for the space of forty days, they opened such a scene of pillage, massacre, and blood, as outraged humanity, as much as it almost surpasses the scope of human belief. It will not, however, be difficult to conceive that the stream of the Tigris should have been discoloured with human gore; when, exclusive of those who were butchered in the villages adjoining, the number of the slain, in the city alone, is estimated at *eight hundred thousand* persons.* The booty which fell into the hands of these ferocious exterminators, is stated in general terms, whether in specie and jewels, in furniture of silver and gold, in rare and costly manufactures, the produce and fabric of every region of the globe, and in Greek and Russian slaves, to have surpassed the ordinary powers of arithmetic. Having glutted themselves with plunder and slaughter, the troops of Hûlaukû were next employed to demolish the walls, and towers, and other fortifications of the place; when, the wrath of the Eyl Khaun becoming at last either exhausted or appeased, a sentiment of returning pity prevailed with him to spare the affrighted remnant of the inhabitants, who had escaped into holes and corners, from that ruthless destruction which had swept away so many myriads of their fellow citizens.

It is, however, some consolation to reflect, that, with the usual destiny of traitors, the perfidious Alkemite derived but little advantage

*The fearful list is swelled, by some writers, to the incredible total of one million eight hundred thousand.

from the consummation of his crimes. It would appear that he had been led, from the conspicuous part which he had acted in facilitating the humiliation and destruction of the house of Abbas, to encourage an expectation that he should at least be established in the government of Baghdâd: but the Tartar monarch, observing that *that* man who betrayed his benefactor had, in justice, nothing to aspire to, immediately bestowed that government upon Eben Amran; another traitor, who, while the Moghûls were engaged before the town on this occasion, found means to discover to Hûlaukû a hoard of grain, which was known to him as governor of Yakûbiah; which furnished a supply of fifteen days' consumption to the whole army, and probably enabled them to prosecute the siege to a succesful termination. A. H. 656. A. D. 1258. Habeib-us-Seyr.

Such, in the six hundred and fifty sixth of the Hidjerah, as we have attempted to describe it, was the fate of Mûstaussem the last of the Khalifs of the house of Abbas; in the forty seventh year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign. With his life terminated the power of that celebrated race of monarchs, after it had subsisted for a period of five hundred and eight solar, or five hundred and twenty three lunar years, two months, and twenty three days. The sovereign authority now devolved to the Tartar princes of the blood of Jengueiz, commencing with Hûlaukû; to whom, in a future page, we shall further claim the attention of the reader. In the mean time, in default of a more eligible arrangement, we shall proceed to describe, from the summary outline of the *Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur*, the origin, advancement, and alternate dissolution of the several dinasties, which successively flourished in the countries betwixt the Oxus and the shores of Egypt, during the ascendancy, and for some time subsequent to the extinction, of the house of Abbas.

CHAP. VI.

A. H. 204.
A. D. 819.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

IN tracing the causes which tended to place the government of Khorassaun for several successions in the descendants of Tâher Zûlyemnein, it becomes expedient in to recur to that period in the reign of the Khalif Ul Mamûn, when, subsequent to the death of his brother, that monarch proceeded to take up his residence in the metropolis of Baghdâd. The reader is already apprized of the important services rendered to his sovereign by the able and warlike Zûlyemnein: the title bestowed, as we have explained on a former occasion, on Tâher the son of Hûsseyne, the son of Mûssaub of the race of Khozzâi.

Of the TAHERITES in Khorassaun.

In one of those moments of conviviality, when Ul Mamûn was employed in steeping the recollection of past events, in the exhilarating juices of the grape, Zûlyemnein, unexpectedly, entered his presence; and the chief butler proceeded by his master's instructions, in common with the other guests, to circulate the goblet to that general. While this was passing, a flood of tears was observed to stream from the eyes of Ul Mamûn, and Zûlyemnein ventured to inquire, what could possibly produce these emotions of sorrow in the bosom of a monarch, whose power was established from the eastern, to the western limits of the earth. The Khalif made such a reply as he conceived suitable to the occasion; but continued so overpowered by his emotions, that Zûlyemnein, not daring to urge him with further importunity, quitted the palace under no slight impressions of alarm. Sending for one of the domestics of Hûsseyne the Shraubdaur, or chief butler, he engaged him, by a stupendous bribe of two hundred thousand dinaurs,* (if indeed it is not an error in the manuscript) to prevail upon his master to extract from Ul Mamûn the cause of his tears. Accordingly, when the monarch required his butler, the ensuing day, to furnish him with his favorite beverage, the latter declared with an oath, that until he disclosed the source of that affliction, which he had exhibited the day

* About 91,666l. 13s. 4d.

before, he should venture to disobey the commands of his imperial master. Ul Mamûn demanded his object in making such an inquiry; and Hûsseyne assuring him that he was actuated by no other motive in his presumption, than what arose from the deepest concern at observing his master's apparent distress of mind, the Khalif, after a strict injunction not to divulge the secret, then proceeded to acknowledge that whenever his eye fell upon Zûlyemnein, it never failed to bring to his recollection, the death of his brother Ul Amein; and that on such occasions he found it impossible to suppress his tears. A. H. 204. A. D. 819. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

The result of this conversation was punctually communicated to Zûlyemnein; and the latter availed himself of one of his first interviews with Abi Khaled, the Khalif's minister of state, with whom he was on terms of friendship, to make it the subject of discussion; and, as an expedient to remove him from the immediate influence of Ul Mamûn's eventual displeasure, to request that he would contrive to obtain for him the government of Khorassaun. The Vizzeir concurred without difficulty in the views of Zûlyemnein; and at his next conference with the sovereign, failed not to represent that the province of Khorassaun, through the incapacity of Ghassaun either to maintain the discipline of the troops, or secure the peace of the inhabitants, was falling into a deplorable state of anarchy and misrule. Ul Mamûn demanded what he thought advisable to be done, and whom he could recommend to be invested with a charge so important? the minister, without further ceremony, proposed Zûlyemnein, who was accordingly appointed to that government; and reaching his province in the course of the two hundred and fifth of the Hidjerah, rendered himself in a very short time, if not entirely absolute in his authority, in a great degree independent of that of his sovereign.

On the testimony of the agent employed to transmit to his court an account of the affairs of Khorassaun, it is now stated, that finding Zûlyemnein had at length proceeded to the extremity of erasing the name of his master from the Khotbah, one Friday during the celebration of divine worship at the principal mosque of his capital, as a preliminary to the declaration of independence, the person alluded to conceived it expedient to communicate the intelligence without a moment's delay, by a messenger whom he immediately dispatched to Baghdâd. The

A. H. 205-13. A. D. 820-28. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

very day afterwards, before the sun was yet risen, a messenger came to require his presence at the palace of government; on which, conceiving that the subject of his dispatch had been made known to Zûlyemnein, and that he was about to suffer under the sword of the executioner, he repeated the usual formulary of the dying, the *kelmah shihaudut*, attesting the unity of God and the divine mission of Mahommed; and then accompanied the messenger. Reaching the palace, however, the first person by whom he was accosted from behind the hangings of the saloon, happened to be Tellahah the son of Tâher, who demanded if he had closed his dispatches for the preceding day? Having replied in the affirmative, he was most agreeably suprised by an order, this day, to announce the death of Zûlyemnein; which with feelings of considerable satisfaction, he proceeded to obey. It is further related, that when the former dispatch was delivered to Ul Mamûn, Ahmed the son of Abi Khaled, as the pledge of Zûlyemnein's fidelity, was called upon by his sovereign to proceed immediately into Khorassaun, to vindicate his insulted authority; and he was preparing for the expedition, when the second dispatch announced the death of Zûlyemnein, and very seasonably relieved him from his embarrassment.

The death of Zûlyemnein is stated to have taken place on the night of that very day on which he had undertaken to discard the authority of Ul Mamûn, just one year and six months after he had assumed the government of Khorassaun. He is described as being blind of an eye. In addition to the title of Zûlyemnein, he was sometimes distinguished by the appellation of Abûl Teyb, parent of good; no slight argument of the popularity of his character.

Tellahah or Tulleihah the son of Tâher, the second of this race, assumed the government of Khorassaun on the death of his father; but under the express, although perhaps nominal authority of Ul Mamûn. On the events of his government the author is however entirely silent. He died in the two hundred and thirteenth of the Hidjerah; and appears to have been succeeded, for a short time only, by a son of the name of Ally; who was put to death by a body of insurgents, who had revolted against his authority in the neighborhood of Neyshapûr.

Tulleihah, IId of the Tâherites.

Abdullah the son of Tâher, the third in succession of his race, happened to be at Dâinûr when he received intelligence of his brother's

death; and he hastened, with similar powers from Ul Mamûn, to take possession of Khorassaun. On his march he found it a necessary preliminary to employ his exertions in suppressing the insurrection at Neyshapûr, which had occasioned the death of his nephew. And in this he appears to have succeeded without any extraordinary difficulty, or delay. A. H. 213. A. D. 828. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Under the government of this chief it is related, on the authority of the Rouzut-us-suffâ, that a fire-temple belonging to a remnant of the Magian superstition, had been yet allowed to stand by the side, or in the vicinity, of one of the mosques in the city of Herât; which, as that persecuted race were regular tributaries of the government, they had long been suffered to frequent without molestation. It happened however, about this period, that some indiscreet and over zealous Mahommedan teacher, in one of his discourses, should have taken occasion to remark to his congregation, that the true faith must be at a very low ebb in Herât, since a temple of the worshippers of fire was still left standing by the side of the tabernacle of their holy religion; and not a Mûssulman appeared of sufficient energy to lay it in ruins. These indiscreet expressions had the effect he seemed to desire, in inflaming the dormant zeal of his auditors. The Mosslems immediately assembled in great multitudes, and the same night proceeded to demolish both the mosque and its obnoxious neighbour; and before the morning broke, had erected a mosque entirely new from the foundations, on the site of the former structures. Next day, the aggrieved and insulted *pyrolaters* discovering what had passed, and equally affected with surprise and resentment, made the best of their way towards Neyshapûr; in order to apply for redress to Abdullah Tâher, who appears to have fixed the seat of his government in that city. Abdullah, on his part, desirous of strictly investigating the grounds of their complaint, summoned to his presence all the oldest builders that could be found either at Herât, or in the surrounding territory; who, strange to tell, to the number of four thousand individuals, all agreed in attesting that, so long as they had lived, the mosque had appeared exactly as it now stood; neither had there ever existed, on that spot, either mosque or fire-temple of any other description, to the best of their belief. Upon this testimony it is probable, though not expressed, that the unfortunate Magians were com-

A. H. 213-59. A. D. 828-72. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

pelled to continue their lesson of forbearance under the injuries inflicted upon them by their odious persecutors; and the design of the author in relating the circumstance was, possibly, to intimate, that in thus totally obliterating from the minds of these worthies, the recollection of the past, providence had wrought a fresh miracle in support of the surpassing excellencies of *Isslâm*.

Abdullah Tâher died in the two hundred and thirtieth of the Hidjerah, at the age of forty eight, and after successfully conducting the government of Khorassaun for a period of seventeen years. He was equally distinguished for his talents and the liberality of his disposition, and not less so for the moderation and justice of his administration.

ABDULLAH, IIId of the Tâherites.

TAHER the son of Abdullah, fourth of the race of Tâher, succeeded to his father; and was confirmed in his authority by a patent and standard conveyed to him by the Khalif Ul Wauthek. He died in the subsequent reign of Mûstayne; and of him the author furnishes no further memorial.

TAHER son of Abdullah, IVth of the Tâherites.

MAHOMMED the son of the above mentioned Tâher, and the fifth of this race, succeeded to his father, under the mandate and authority of Ul Mûstayne; but being inordinately devoted to a life of pleasure, the circumstance proved a very natural stimulus to the ambition of Yakûb the son of Laiss-ul-Sûfaur, (the brazier or copper smith) who had by this time made himself master of Seiestaun; and who determined to avail himself of such an opportunity, to extend his usurpations to the neighbouring provinces. That adventurer accordingly conducted his troops to Herât; from whence, having without much difficulty expelled the officers and agents of the Tâherite, he directed his march towards Neyshapûr. The only opposition which he appears to have experienced to his approach, on the part of the indolent and voluptuous Mahommed, was an absurd message to demand, whither he was proceeding without the authority of the Khalif's sign manual? The son of Laiss placing his hand upon his sword, like many before and since, briefly observed in reply, "this is my warrant, and this my authority"! On the return of the messenger who conveyed this reply, the ministers of the son of Tâher immediately forsook him, and dispersed to different quarters; and their degenerate principal fell, shortly afterwards, into the hands of his more warlike and enterprising adversary. This event, in the two hundred and fifty ninth of the Hidjerah, put a period to the

MAHOMMED, Vth of the Tâherites.

power of the race of Tâher, when it had subsisted in Khorassaun, for about four years more than half a century. A. H. 259. A. D. 872.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

The narrative proceeds next to describe the events which, through the operation of an inscrutable providence, transferred the sovereign power to the Sûfauriah, or Sûfarides; the sons of Laiss so denominated, from the ignoble occupation of their ancestor. On this subject we are informed that Laiss, the person from whom the dinasty derived its name and origin, was an obscure mechanic who wrought in brass, and from his occupation called Laiss-ul-Sûfaur.* This man had three sons, Yakûb, who for some time wrought at his father's trade, and Omar, and Ally. Becoming tired of manual labour, Yakûb prevailed upon some dissolute characters like himself to form a band of outlaws, with whom he thenceforward proceeded to earn a subsistance by robbery, and plunder on the highway: conducting himself, however, in this career of violence with singular moderation, as he was never known to take from any individual the whole of his property.

Origin of the Sûfauriah.

One night, in the course of his predatory exploits, he had contrived to excavate a passage into the palace of Derham the son of Nasser; a descendant of Rauffia the son of Laiss, and of the celebrated Nusser Seyaur, who at that period held the government of Seiestaun; and having made up a convenient bale of gold and jewels, and the most costly stuffs, was proceeding to carry it off, when he happened in the dark to strike his foot against something hard on the floor. Thinking it might be a jewel of some sort or other, a diamond perhaps, he picked it up and put it to his tongue, and to his equal mortification and disappointment, found it to be a lump of rock salt; for having thus tasted the salt of the owner, his avarice gave way to his respect for the laws of hospitality; and throwing down his precious booty, he left it behind him, and withdrew empty-handed to his habitation. The treasurer of Derham ben Nasser repairing the next day, according to custom, to inspect his charge, was equally surprised and alarmed at observing that a great part of the treasure, and other valuables had been removed; but on examining the package which lay on the floor, his astonishment was not less, to find that not a single article had been conveyed away. The singularity of the circumstance induced him to report it immediately to his master: and the latter causing it to be proclaimed

* Laiss the brasier, or coppersmith.

A. H. 255-61. A. D. 869-75. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

throughout the city, that the author of this proceeding had his free pardon, further announced that on repairing to the palace, he would be distinguished by the most encouraging marks of favor. Yakûb Laiss hastened without the smallest apprehension to avail himself of the invitation; and when the prince demanded what motive could have impelled him to abandon a prize so completely at his discretion, Yakûb made a faithful disclosure of all that passed; and was immediately enrolled among the Yessawuls, or exempts, employed about the person of the chief to convey orders to those acting under his authority.

From this period, the advancement of Yakûb proceeded with such rapidity, that in a little time he became invested with the entire command of the military force of his patron; and on the death or removal of the latter, it is not exactly stated which, the soldiery put themselves under his authority, and enabled him to take possession of Seiestaun for himself. After this, having successively made himself master of Herât, and Foshenje, he proceeded in two hundred and fifty-five through the desert into Farss; where he succeeded in surprising the lieutenant of Sheirâz, whom he brought away with him a prisoner into Seiestaun.

YAKUB, Ist of the Sûfarides.

In two hundred and fifty-seven he further subjugated the provinces of Bâlkh and Tokharestaun; and two years afterwards, by the submission of Mahommed the son of Tâher, as we have recently seen, he extinguished at Neyshapûr the power of that family, and became master of Khorassaun. In the two hundred and sixtieth of the Hidjerah he engaged in hostilities with Hussun the son of Zeid, the prince of Tebrestaun, whom he defeated; but through the intenseness of the cold season, and a heavy fall of snow, which came upon them, he lost in the expedition, near forty thousand of his troops. In the two hundred and fifty first of the hidjerah, openly revolting against the authority of the Khalif Mûatemmed, he seized the cities of Sheirauz and Ahûauz; but advancing towards Baghdâd, in the course of the following year, he was opposed and defeated, as formerly observed, by Ul Mowffek, the Khalif's brother. On the day of his defeat Mahommed the son of Tâher effected his escape from captivity, and sought an asylum with Mûatemmed.

Resuming his design against Baghdâd, Yakûb Laiss was on his march towards that metropolis, when, in the course of the two hundred and sixty-fifth of the Hidjerah, a fit of the colic terminated in death, his active and eventful career. He is said to have reigned in absolute sovereignty for a period of eleven years; and he has left among historians, a character distinguished for sagacity of mind, for rigid and impartial justice, and for unbounded liberality. His numerous cavalry are represented, for the greater part, to have been mounted on horses from his own stables, and to have been subsisted from his private treasury. And as a proof of the splendor of his equipage on particular occasions, a thousand men in harness, chosen from the flower of his troops, with maces of gold on their shoulders, and the same number with maces of silver, are stated to have attended his person on days of ceremony. He adjusted all differences on his own personal investigation, and by the dictates of his own judgment; and he confided his secrets to no human being; to which latter may be ascribed the success which generally attended him in his undertakings. His manners and mode of life were at the same time so simple and frugal, that a person, on some occasion or other, could not forbear expressing his surprise that he should pretend to sovereign power; when all he perceived in his tent was confined to the coarse carpet on which he reclined, and the armour which he wore. his answer either implies that be the manners of their leader what they may, his followers will always be found ready to obey; or that their conduct will ever be governed by the example of their chief.

A. H. 265-67. A. D. 878-80. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Omar the son of Laiss, the second of the Sûfauriah or Sûfarides, succeeded to the authority and fortunes of his brother. As an expedient to consolidate his power, he determined however on opening a negociation with the court of Mûatemmed, and with suitable presents to appease the resentment of that monarch. An agent was accordingly dispatched to apologise for the conduct of his predecessor. All this was favorably received by the Khaleifah; and a patent for the government of Khorassaun and Farss, with that of Isfahaun and Seiestaun, was soon afterwards transmitted to Omar Laiss. Thus confirmed in his authority the latter now proceeded to Kazvein; and having arranged his interests in that quarter, he repaired, in the course of the two hun-

Omar, IId of the Sûfarides.

A. H. 267-87. A. D. 880-900. dred and sixty-seventh of the Hidjerah, to Sheirauz; and having established his agents throughout Farss and the territory of Isfahaun, returned into his native province of Seiestaun.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur. In the course of two hundred and seventy-one, the Khalif Mûatemmed, however, prevailed upon by the complaints of the inhabitants, withdrew from Omar Laiss his warrant for the government of Khorassaun, and an army was dispatched from Baghdâd to commence hostilities against that chief; who was ultimately defeated by the Khalif's troops. Nevertheless, an insurrection having been set on foot in favor of Mahommed the son of Zeid, the Fatimitê prince of Tebrestaun, in the two hundred and seventy fourth of the Hidjerah, by Rauffia the son of Harethmah, or Harsamah, the arms of Omar Laiss appear to have been directed in support of the Khalif's authority; and to have been so employed, until the year two hundred and eighty-six, when the insurgent becoming the prisoner of that chieftain, was by him conveyed in fetters to Baghdâd. From all which it is to be inferred, that a good understanding with that court had been by some means or other restored. But in the course of two hundred and eighty-seven, we find Ameir Issmauil the Samaunian, at the head of ten thousand horse, the greater part of whom with wooden stirrups, crossing the Jeyhûn at the request of the Khalif Mûatezzed, to attack the power of Omar Laiss. The latter opposed him with seventy thousand cavalry. When the armies were drawn out for battle, however, the horse which carried Omar becoming restiff and unmanageable, took fright, and bore his rider directly into the ranks of the enemy. This was followed by the entire defeat of his troops, and a complete victory on the part of Ameir Issmauil, to whom the son of Laiss became now a prisoner.

In this state he had been conveyed to one of the tents of his conqueror; from whence, observing one of his former domestics, who was passing by, he called to him to bring him something to eat. Having procured a piece of butcher's meat, the boy, for want of other utensils, put it into a brass cover, used in ablutions, and kindled a fire under it. While he went in search of something to season it, a dog entered; and thrusting his nose into the broth, which was by this time boiling hot, scalded his teeth, and was endeavoring to withdraw his head, when some way or other it became fixed in the handle of the cover, and he

ran off with the utensil suspended to his neck. Amused by the accident, Omar Laiss burst into a loud fit of laughter; and one of his guards demanding what, in such a situation, could afford him subject of mirth? he replied that on the morning of that day only, the purveyor of his kitchen had complained to him, that it was with no small difficulty a train of three hundred camels could convey his cooking furniture; "I "now perceive" said he, "that a single cur can remove it with all the "ease in the world." A. H. 287. A. D. 900. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

After a detention of some days, Ameir Issmauil sent his captive to Baghdâd; where he was condemned by Mûatezzed to the confinement in which he ultimately perished, after having exercised the powers of royalty, for a period of nearly three and twenty years. Omar, or as he is occasionally denominated, Amrû Laiss, has been stigmatized as an oppressive and sanguinary tyrant, ever covetous of the wealth accumulated by his ministers, and of all who served about his person: and, as an illustration, we are told that he should have one day called before him Mahommed the son of Besheir, of all others the most distinguished in his confidence, and to have proceeded to tax him with some offence of which he alleged him guilty. Aware of his object, the minister, instead of wasting his breath in useless assertions of innocence, began to protest that in all the world he was worth no more than fifty purses of gold; all of which he was, however, ready to consign to the custody of his treasurer, if for the future he would engage not to suspect him of uncommitted crimes. "Thou hast given me a decided proof," observed the tyrant, "that of all the men of this age, thou art the most "sagacious:" directing his treasurer, however, to take charge of the gold; though he further expressed himself highly delighted with this discreet sacrifice on the part of his obsequious minister.

On intelligence of the defeat and captivity of Omar Laiss, his grandson, Tâher the son of Mahommed, the third of the Sûfauriah, proceeded, with the concurrence of the principal inhabitants of Seiestaun, to take possession of the throne of his grandsire. In the two hundred and eighty-ninth of the Hidjerah, he successfully invaded Farss, and established his authority over the whole of that province. But the very next year, Segry, a slave of his grandfather's, revolting against him, he was defeated and made prisoner by that insurgent, TAHER, IIId and last of the Sûfaurides,

A. H. 290. A. D. 903. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur. together with his brother Yakûb. They were both conveyed to Baghdâd. Tâher was the last of the descendants of Laiss, who exercised the sovereign power, which continued in his hands for about six years; the wretched attempts made for a few days, on the extinction of his government, by a brother of the name of Maaudil, and a cousin german of the name of Laiss the son of Ally, terminating without success. The power of the Sûfauriah appears to have subsisted altogether for about forty years.

The attention of the reader will be now directed to the origin, and establishment of the race of Sâman; a line of princes destined to act a far more conspicuous part, on the theatre of the Persian empire, than any of those who have hitherto claimed his notice, within the limits of the present chapter.

A. H. 202-5. A. D. 817-20. It appears on competent authority, that while the Khalif Ul Mâmûn kept his court at Merû, a certain Assud the son of Sâman, of the stock of Behram Tchoubein, repaired to his presence, accompanied by his four sons; and had the good fortune to be admitted to a considerable share of that prince's favor. On the death of their father, and the departure of Ul Mamûn for Baghdâd, when the government of Khorassaun was vested in Ghassan, or Ghessan, the son of Ebbaud, he received it in charge from his sovereign, to be particular in promoting the advancement of the sons of Assud; and in conformity with these instructions, the subordinate government of Samarkand was then conferred upon Nouh, the elder of the brothers; that of Ferghaunah was allotted to Ahmed; that of Shaush, and Osrûshnah to Yaheya; and the city of Herât became the lot of Eleyas the fourth son of Assud.

Origin of the race of Sâman.

On the removal of Ghessan to make room for the race of Tâher, about the two hundred and fifth of the Hidjerah, his successors forbore to make any change in the destination of the four brothers; but Nouh the son of Assud dying in the time of Tellahah the son of Tâher, the government of Samarkand was committed, by that prince, to Yaheya and Ahmed, the second and third of the brothers. Of these, Ahmed possessed a distinguished reputation for his justice and piety, and he had seven sons whose names were as follows: *Nasser*, *Yakûb*, *Yaheya*, *Assud*, *Issmauil*, *Isshauk* or Isaac, and *Hameid*. To the former of these, when, after the exercise of his authority for a few days only, he re-

tired to a state of seclusion, Ahmed resigned the government of Samarkand. A. H. 261. A. D. 875.

When, in the course of the year two hundred and sixty one, Yakûb Laiss had availed himself of the declining power, and degeneracy of the race of Tâher, to extend his usurpations into Khorassaun, a patent, or mandate for the government of Maur-un-neher, the country on the other side the Oxus, was dispatched by the Khalif Mûatemmed, to this Nasser the son of Ahmed the Samaunian; who chusing to fix the seat of his authority at Samarkand, deputed his brother Issmauil to preside at Bokhâra. In the process of no very long time, some misunderstanding being, however, produced between the brothers, by the ill offices of malignant men, they hastened to decide their differences in the field of battle. The younger brother, Issmauil, was victorious, and Nasser became his prisoner; but contrary to what might have been expected, he experienced the most generous treatment from his conqueror, who caused him to be reconducted to Samarkand with every testimony of respect; and with the declaration, that he should continue to hold the government of Bokhâra as his lieutenant only. Ameir Nasser dying in the latter end of the two hundred and seventy-ninth* of the Hidjerah, Issmauil then became sole and absolute governor of Maur-un-neher; and has therefore been properly considered by historians as the first in order of the monarchs of the race of Sâman. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

ISSMAUIL the son of Ahmed, first of the race of Sâman, when seated on the throne of royalty, is said to have exhibited to the world a noble example of justice and moderation. Having, as we have already seen, defeated and taken prisoner the usurper Omar Laiss, and sent him a captive to the court of the Khalif Mûatezzed, he received from that prince in return, with the most costly and magnificent dresses of honor, a patent for the government of all the provinces lately held by the same usurper, including Seiestaun, Khorassaun and Mazanderaun, Rey and Isfahaun. The Khalif's dispatches were received on this occasion by Issmauil, with demonstrations of singular respect. He humbled himself as he put on each separate dress of honor, in two prostrations of prayer in token of his gratitude, and bestowed upon the bearer of the patent, a donation of seven hundred thousand dinaurs.† ISMAUIL, 1st monarch of Bokhâra, of the race of Sâman.

* A. D. 892. † 320,833l. 6s. 8d.

A. H. 279. A. D. 892. Khoiaussut-ul-akhbaur.

On the authority of Nizam-ul-Mûlk the Tûssite, it is affirmed, that on the defeat and capture of Omar Laiss, Ameir Issmauil proceeded to enquire after the treasures of his captive; and having failed in the discovery by other expedients, demanded of him in person where they had been deposited. The answer was, that they had been committed to the care of one of his relatives of the name of Saum; by whom, in all probability they were conveyed to Herât. On this information Issmauil conducted his troops before that city; and the inhabitants having surrendered on express stipulations to his mercy, he hastened to require, from the kinsman of Omar Laiss, that account of his master's treasures which his information had led him to expect; but without success. In the mean time, the necessities both of his officers and their followers had become extremely urgent; and it was intimated to him, by some of his confidential friends, that the city of Herât, and the adjoining territory, contained an immense population; and that if from every competent individual, a contribution were levied of only one meskal, about a dram and a half, of gold, he would be able to raise a prodigious sum of money, to the entire and ample relief of his army. The virtuous Issmauil, with a rectitude which reflects unfading lustre upon his memory, rejected without hesitation, the iniquitous proposal; observing in reply, that he had promised to this people his protection, and that nothing should induce him to extort from them the smallest article of their property. Then, lest any further corrupt suggestion of the principle of evil might be urged with him to infringe his capitulation, he withdrew in haste from before Herât, and encamped at a considerable distance from it. His generals, nevertheless, again assailed him on the same subject; when he addressed them in these memorable words. "That Being, who with the scourge of his destiny, impelled the horse "of Omar Laiss to place his rider at my disposal, is also able to supply "the wants, and repair the equipments of my soldiers, without the "guilt, on my part, of a breach of faith with his creatures." For this, his just forbearance, the reward soon followed.

One of the ladies of his family had taken off her neklace of rubies, and laid it on some conspicuous place, while employed on some business or other which required her attention. A kite, which was hovering near, taking the rubies for pieces of meat, immediately

pounced upon, and carried off the necklace. The domestics who fortunately observed the robbery, hastened to take horse and watch the motions of the plunderer. After some time, the kite let drop the necklace from his talons, and it fell, as it happened, into a neighboring draw-well. One of the party, who had anxiously accompanied the motions of the animal, descending into the well, discovered that it communicated, some way or other, with an inner cavern; in which his attention was immediately attracted by a number of chests piled together. These he found, on inspection, to be entirely filled with gold and jewels; the treasure of Omar Laiss, conveyed thither by his kinsman, as to a place of perfect security. From this accidental discovery, as if in just compensation for his scrupulous observance of the faith of treaties, the good Issmauil derived a far more abundant supply to satisfy the demands of his followers, than could have arisen from any unwarrantable contribution, which he might have imposed upon the defenceless inhabitants of Herât.

A. H. 287. A. D. 900. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Ameir Issmauil survived his triumph over Omar Laiss, for something more than seven years, during which he continued to govern with equal glory to himself and advantage to his people; until the middle of the month of Suffur, of the year two hundred and ninety-five,* when, at the age of sixty, he withdrew to the regions of eternal bliss.

Abu Munusser, or Nasser, Ahmed, the son of Issmauil, second of the Samanides, or race of Sâman.

This prince succeeded to the throne of his father at Bokhâra, immediately on the demise of the departed monarch; and was confirmed in his royal dignity by letters patent, and a standard, transmitted for that purpose by the Khalif Mûkteffy B'Illah.

Ahmed, IId of the Samanides.

About five years after his accession, namely, in the three hundredth of the Hidjerah, Omar the son of Yakûb, the great grandson of Omar Laiss, revolted in Seiestaun; and seized and imprisoned Munsûr the son of Isshauk the Samaunian, the lieutenant of the province; on which a considerable force was dispatched, by Ameir Ahmed, under Hûsseyne the son of Ally, to restore his authority in that country. After sustaining a siege of nine months in the capital of Seiestaun, the insurgent was compelled, either by his fears, or by extreme distress, to

* November 25, A. D. 907.

A. H. 300. A. D. 912. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

implore for mercy: and on surrendering the city, and putting himself into the hands of Hûsseyne, he was, together with Eben Heffaur his principal associate, conducted a prisoner to Bokhâra. The government of Seiestaun was now conferred, by the Samanian monarch, on Semjûr Dowauty.

While engaged on a hunting party, in the course of the year three hundred and one, Ameir Ahmed had given orders, on quitting one of his encampments, to set fire to the spot; when he received intelligence from Jûrjaun, that Hussun, the son of Ally-ul-ûtrûsh (the deaf) the Fatimite, had expelled his lieutenaut from Tebrestaun, and made himself master of that province. On this information, Ahmed is said to have been affected to such a degree, as to have impiously ejaculated, "if it was the will of God that the territory of Tebrestaun should de-"part from under his authority, to give him death!" and immediately returning on his steps, encamped on the same ground which he had just given orders to set fire to. Men of intelligent minds converted the circumstance into an omen which boded no good: and it accordingly fell out, that some of his domestic slaves, at this very crisis, offended at their exclusion from those assemblies which their sovereign occasionally held, with the learned and ingenious individuals who frequented his court, seized their opportunity; and, on Thursday the twenty-third of the latter Jummaudy,* entering the tent of Ameir Ahmed, there treacherously murdered their benefactor. Some of the assassins were laid hold of the next day, and cut to pieces by the nobles, who conveyed the body of their sovereign to the capital of Bokhâra for interment. Subsequent to his death, which took place in the seventh year of his reign, the title of Ameir Sheheid, the martyred Ameir, was bestowed upon this prince.

ABUL HUSSUN NASSER, more frequently written Mûnusser, the son of Ahmed, third of the Samanides.

NASSER, IIId of the Samanides.

Having ascended the throne of his father at eight years of age, the elevation of this prince excited at first but contemptible expectations in the minds of the people; by whom it was generally remarked, that when they considered the pretensions of his uncle Isshauk, the patriarch

* January 23rd, 914.

or senior, of the house of Sâman, who was in possession of the government of Samarkand, it was not difficult to prognosticate the degree of power, to which such a minor would be suffered to attain. The disposer of events had, however, ordained that this same despised stripling, who ultimately received the title of Ameir Sâeid, the august Ameir, should, in the sequel, attain to the most exalted rank among the potentates of the earth. A. H. 301. A. D. 914. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

In the early part of his reign, the affairs of the government had been necessarily committed by Ameir Nasser, with the dignity of Vezzeir, to the discretion of Abû Abdullah Mahommed the son of Ahmed; and Isshauk the Samaunian having, as it was foreseen, approached Bokhâra, with designs hostile to his nephew's authority, a general of the name of Hamûyah was selected to command the army employed to oppose him. Being twice defeated by this commander, and compelled after his last discomfiture to fly for shelter to Samarkand, the invader was pursued thither by Hamûyah; who appears to have entered that metropolis without resistance. A rigid search was immediately set on foot in order to discover the retreat of Isshauk; who, at last yielding to his fears, delivered himself up to the mercy of the conqueror, by whom he was conveyed without delay to Bokhâra, where he terminated his days in a prison.

A slave of Yûssuf the son of Abi-ul-Sauje, of the name of Fâeik, having revolted against the authority of the Khalif Mûktedder, in the course of the year three hundred and thirteen,* and seized the city and territory of Rey, Ameir Nasser received that monarch's instructions to proceed against the insurgent. The rebel Fâeik was expelled from his usurpations, apparently without difficulty; and Ameir Nasser having continued in that quarter for two months, left the province on his departure, to the care of Semjûr Dowauty, already noticed in a preceding page.

On the authority of the Tarikh gûzeidah, it is now described that Mâkan the son of Kauky, perhaps Kauly, one of the feudatories of the princes of the race of Bûyah, invading Khorassaun, in the three hundred and twenty ninth of the Hidjerah, Ameir Nasser dispatched against him, Ally one of his principal generals; by whom that chief

* A. D. 925.

A. H. 329. A. D. 940. was defeated and killed, and the event announced to his sovereign in a note of singular brevity. *Wa-Makâna-saur-kausmehû.*

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur. At the commencment of the year three hundred and thirty one, however, the respectable Ameir Nasser was smitten by a stroke of the palsy. While he suffered under this affliction, he caused an apartment to be constructed immediately before the entrance of his palace, to be called the house of prayer; in which, in vestments of purest white, and in acts of devotion to his maker, he passed the greater part of the remainder of his days; until, in the month of Rudjub of the same year,* he was received into the bosom of divine mercy. He died at the early age of eight and thirty, after a prosperous reign of thirty years, distinguished for his clemency, liberality, beneficence, and justice, and not less by the exemplary piety, and blamelessness, of his life and manners.

Nouh, IVth of the Samanides. Nouh the son of Nasser, fourth of the race of Sâman, with the entire concurrence of the military chiefs, and other nobility of Bokhâra, proceeded to seat himself on the throne of his father; selecting Abûl Fazzel Mahommed, the son of Ahmed for the post of Vezzeir, to assist him in the management of affairs. About the close of the three hundred and thirty second of the Hidjerah, during his residence at Merû, Nouh gave protection to Washmagueir the son of Zebaur, who had withdrawn from Tebrestaun; and who, experiencing from the Samaunian on this occasion a distinguished and welcome reception, returned at the head of a body of troops, furnished by that prince, towards Jûrjaun; and having wrested that territory from Hussun the son of Feyrôzan, took secure possession of the government for himself.

Here the good fortune of Ameir Nouh seems to have terminated; since from this period his reign appears to have been exposed to all the mischiefs of dissenssion, revolt, and civil war. In three hundred and thirty four,† Abû Ally the son of Mahommed Mehtauje, who administered the government of Rey, revolted against his authority; and having raised his uncle Ibrauhim, the son of Ahmed the Samaunian, to the royal dignity, proceeded to invade the province of Khorassaun. On intelligence of this event Ameir Nouh quitted Bokhâra, and hastened across the Jeyhûn to Merû; where, on the approach of the enemy, the greater part of his troops faithlessly deserted his standard,

* March, A. D. 943. † A. D. 945.

and went over to his adversaries. In consequence of this, he was compelled to recross the Jeyhûn in a single boat, to avoid, or abandon his capital, and make the best of his way to Samarkand. The year following, after taking entire possession of Khorassaun, Abû Ally advanced to Bokh ra, and there proclaimed the authority of Ibrauhim. But some evil disposed person having awakened a jealousy in his mind, against the instrument of his ambition, Abû Ally, shortly after this, withdrew into Tûrkestaun, or western Tartary; and Ibrauhim becoming unequal to the cares of royalty, Ameir Nouh embraced the opportunity of returning towards Bokhâra, where an accommodation was brought about by the nobles between the uncle and nephew. By this it was arranged that Ameir Nouh should retain the sovereign authority, and that the superintendance of the armies should be vested in Ibrauhim. The two princes then joined, and directed the whole of their attention to oppose, and defeat the hostile designs of Abû Ally.

A. H. 335. A. D. 946. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Both united, they proved, however, unequal to a contest with that warlike chieftain, who after a signal victory over the two princes, again took possession of Bokh ra; where he now invested Mahommed the son of Nasser, the brother of Ameir Nouh, with the honors of royalty. But still conceiving an apprehension of the hostile disposition of the nobles of Bokhâra, Abû Ally left that city, and retired to Tcheghaunian; while Ameir Nouh hastened, by invitation of the same nobles, to revisit his capital; into which he was triumphantly reconducted by Ibrauhim, and his brother Abû Jauffer, and once more firmly re-established on the throne of his ancestors. He determined, however, on this occasion, to secure himself against all further competition on their part, by immediately scaring the eyes of his uncle Ibrauhim, and of both his brothers, Mahommed, and Abû Jauffer.

In the three hundred and thirty ninth of the Hidjerah,* a correspondence took place which terminated in an accommodation between Ameir Nouh, and Abû Ally; Ameir Nouh condescending to forgive the past, and inviting his rebellious feudatory to accept the government of Khorassaun, of which he was accordingly put in possesion. In three hundred and forty-two, in conjunction with Washmagueir the son of Zebaur, the same Abû Ally conducted a force towards Rey, in order to oppose the designs of Rokken-ud-doulah the Deylemite; but having concluded

* A. D. 950.

A. H. 342. A. D. 953. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

a treaty of peace with that prince, on his engaging to remit annually to the exchequer of Ameir Nouh the sum of two hundred thousand dinaurs,* he was, on his return from the expedition, accused to his sovereign by Washmagueir, of having from a motive of corrupt and improper partiality, consented to a peace with the Deylemite, when he had a fair opportunity of destroying his power. In consequence of this accusation, Abû Ally was once more exposed to the displeasure of Ameir Nouh; by whom he was immediately superseded in the government of Khorassaun, which was now transferred to another chief of the name of Abû Sâeid. Abû Ally, on his part, withdrew to Rey, and was there admitted by Rokken-ud-doulah, among the most distinguished of his followers.

Soon after this, in the former Rebbeia of the three hundred and forty-third of the Hidjerah,† and in the thirteenth year of an eventful and turbulent reign, Ameir Nouh took his departure for a better world. he bore also the title of Ameir Hameid,—the laudable or well approved.

Abul Fouauress (father of chivalry) Abdulmelek, the son of Nouh, fifth of the race of Sâman.

This prince, through the influence and exertions of Bukker the son of Mâlek, and ultimately with the concurrence of the nobles of Bokhàra, succeeded to the throne of his father. He was engaged in frequent hotilities with Rokken-ud-doulah the Deylemite; but after employing several armies in vain to reduce his power, he consented at last to a treaty of peace with that prince. It was during the reign of Abdulmêlek the Samaunian that, raised from the lowest condition of servitude to the most exalted distinctions of the state, Aleptekkein, or Alputtekein, was advanced to the government of Khorassaun; and there amassing prodigious wealth, and applying that wealth to engage a numerous train of followers in his service, became ultimately too powerful for his master. This was the patron of Sebektekein the father of the celebrated Mahmûd of Gheznin.

Abdulmelek, Vth of the race of Sâman.

Ameir Abdulmêlek, who bore during life the additional title of Mûeyud, *confirmed*, and after his death that of Mouffek, *prosperous*, received, in the course of the three hundred and fiftieth of the Hidjerah,

*91,666l. 13s. 4d. † July, A. D. 954

a dangerous fall from his horse, while engaged in the favorite Persian game, of Gûi Tchougan, or horse-Goff; of which he died in a very short time, after a reign of something more than seven years. A. H. 350. A. D. 961.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Abu Salah Munsur the son of Nouh, sixth of the race of Sâman.

It would appear that on the death of Abdûlmêlek, an agent had been dispatched by the nobles of Bokhâra, into Khorassaun, to demand of Alputtekein, who had by this time become almost absolute master of that powerful province, which of the race of Sâman he conceived worthiest of the succession; but before the messenger could return with the reply of that chief, that Munsûr was too much of a stripling, and that in his judgment their choice should be fixed upon one of his uncles, the principal generals and nobility had united in favor of the same Munsûr, whom they had accordingly proclaimed in the room of his deceased brother. In consequence of his apprehensions of the resentment of the young monarch on this account, Alputtekein determined to disobey the summons which he received to repair to Bokhâra; and soon afterwards breaking out into open rebellion, withdrew towards Ghezniîn, accompanied by a body of three thousand of his own disciplined slaves, or Maumlûks: with whose assistance he took possession, sword in hand, of that city and the whole of the adjoining territory. The government of Khorassaun was now transferred to Abûl Husseyne Semjûr; but though an army was twice dispatched to chastise the defection of Alputtekein, it returned as often repelled by the skilful valour of that successful adventurer and his followers.

Munsur, VIth of the race of Sâman.

In the year three hundred and fifty three, Kholf the son of Ahmed, descended by the mother-side from the Sûfauriah or race of Laiss, being compelled by the revolt of one of his principal subjects, to abandon the province of Seiestaun, now sought the assistance of Ameir Munsûr; and receiving from him an ample supply of troops and treasure, was enabled to return in triumph to his capital, and to resume with additional lustre, his authority in the territory of Neimrouz. This Kholf the son of Ahmed is represented, at the same time, as equally adorned and distinguished, by his acquirements in all the learning of his age and country, by the liberality and benevolence of his mind, and by his unbounded patronage of genius and science however exhibited.

A. H. 356. A. D. 967. Khoiaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Under the three hundred and fifty sixth of the Hidjerah, we find recorded the death of Washmagueir, prince of Jûrjaun; who was succeeded by his son Beisettoun, as will be again noticed in a future page. About the same period, through the mediation of Abûl Hûsseyne Semjûr, a treaty was concluded between Ameir Munsûr, and Rokken-ud-doulah the Deylemite; by which the latter submitted to pay into the treasury of the Samaunian, an annual tribute of one hundred and fifty thousand dinaurs of gold.*

After a generally successful reign of fifteen years, the death of Ameir Munsûr is recorded to have taken place on the eleventh of Rudjub of the three hundred and sixty-fifth of the Hidjerah.† He bore while living the additional title of Ameir Mûeyud, *the confirmed*, which was transmuted after death into Ameir *Seddeir*—the prince who resides in heaven, in the mansion of Gabriel.

Nouh; IId and VIIth of the race of Sâman.

Abul Kaussem Nouh the IId, son of Munsûr, and seventh of the race of Sâman, ascended the throne of his father without opposition; and evinced no less discrimination than prudence, in bestowing the office of Vezzeir on Abûl Hûsseyne Utteba, equally distinguished by his virtues, and his consummate abilities.

At a very early period of the reign of Ameir Nouh the second, Alputtekein died in possession of Ghezniîn, and was succeeded by his slave Sebektekein, or Sebekteguin, the father of the celebrated Mahmûd. And in three hundred and sixty six, Kâbouss the son of Washmagueir became prince of Jûrjaun, on the death of his brother Beisettoun.

About five years afterwards, namely in the three hundred and seventy first of the Hidjerah,‡ Ameir Nouh finding it expedient to remove Abûl Hûsseyne the Semjurite from the government of Khorassaun, and to confer that province upon Abûl Abbas Taush, sometimes entitled Hûssaum-ud-doulah, the degraded lieutenant ascribed his supersession either to the calumnies, or ill offices of Abûl Hûsseyne the Vezzeir; and immediately entering into a conspiracy with Fâeik, who had been some time enrolled among the principal officers of Ameir Nouh, resolved on the destruction of that able and faithful minister. This, through the treachery of some of the slaves whom they suborned to

* 68,750l. † March 14, A. D. 976. ‡ A. D. 981

the execution of their design, they found it no great difficulty to accomplish. In the mean time Ameir Nouh, equally afflicted by the loss of his minister, and offended by the daring insolence thus exercised against his authority, dispatched to Neyshapûr, requiring the immediate presence of Hussaum-ud-doulah, in order to assist him in avenging the injury. Hussaum-ud-doulah repaired without delay to Bokhâra; and all those of the murderers of the unfortunate Vezzeir whom he could lay hands on, were speedily consigned to the awful solitude of the grave. The Vizzaurut was then conferred on Abûl Hûsseyne Mezzeny. A. H. 371. A. D. 981. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

While Hussaum-ud-doulah Taush remained at Bokhâra on this occasion, Abûl Hûsseyne the Semjurite had been dispatched at the instance of Ameir Nouh to lay siege to the capital of Seiestaun: but he no sooner found that the province of Khorassaun was left through the absence of its ruler, to provide for its own defence, than that refractory chieftain entered into a fresh conspiracy with Fâeik; and, in conjunction with him, proceeded immediately into Khorassaun, to oppose the return of Taush. The latter hastened however to meet his adversaries; but an unaccountable accommodation taking place between the parties, it was finally arranged that the command of the troops, and the government of Neyshapûr should continue as formerly, with Abûl Abbas Taush, Hussaum-ud-doulah indifferently so called; while the city of Balkh was ceded to Fâeik, and that of Herât to the Semjûrite.

Not long afterwards, the Vizzaurut being transferred by Ameir Nouh to Abdullah, or perhaps Abdulazziz, the new minister, entertaining no great degree of complacency towards Hussaum-ud-doulah Taush, soon prevailed upon his sovereign to remove that distinguished commander from his employments; and to consign his post to Abûl Hûsseyne the Semjûrite, already governor of Herât. On this Hussaum-ud-doulah applied for assistance to Fakher-ud-doulah the Deylemite, on whom, by former services, he had laid some very lasting obligations; and having obtained the support he sought for, immediately commenced hostilities against the Semjûrite. But being resolutely opposed by that commander, in conjunction with his associate Fâeik the governor of Balkh, Abûl Abbas after repeated conflicts was ultimately defeated, and compelled to withdraw for protection to his friend Fakher-ud-doulah; with whom he resided hence-

A D. 872-9. A.H. 980-9. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

forward, in a state of inactivity, and repose from the cares of ambition, until, in the three hundred and seventy ninth of the Hidjerah, a pestilential disorder terminated his mortal existence.

Abûl Hûsseyne Mahommed, the son of Ibrauhim, the son of Semjûr, of whom so much as been recently spoken, dying about this period, the government of Neyshapûr, was confirmed, by Ameir Nouh, to his son Abû Ally; while that of Herât was bestowed upon Fâeik. But jealousies and animosities arising between these two rival chiefs, they soon proceeded to adjust their differences by the sword. The issue was favorable to Abû Ally; and his antagonist retiring to Merû-ur-rûd, there assembled a fresh army; but instead of leading it to renew the contest with his rival, he marched, without the concurrence of his sovereign, directly towards Bokhâra. Alarmed at this suspicious movement, Ameir Nouh on his part, sent two of his generals Eynaunje and Bekhtozûn to give him battle. The refractory and seditious Fâeik was here again defeated; and making the best of his way to Termed, the principal pass on the main branch of the Oxus, from thence opened a correspondence with Boghra Khaun, the monarch of Tûrkestaun; whom he earnestly invited to undertake the conquest of Maur-un-neher.

On the other hand, having rendered himself absolute in Khorassaun, Abû Ally the Semjûrite, forgetful of his allegiance, and of the gratuitous favors of his sovereign, entered upon measures of similar hostility to the government of his benefactor. In prosecution of these hostile designs, letters were by him also transmitted to the same Khaun of Tûrkestaun, already mentioned, in which he proposed, that if that monarch would approach Bokhâra, from the eastward, he would himself advance to attack it from the side of the Oxus; further stipulating however, that when Ameir Nouh should be disposed of, the Khaun should be satisfied with that part of the dismembered territory eastward of the Oxus, while the whole of Khorassaun should be vested with full sovereignty in himself.

This application appears to have determined Boghra Khaun at once to advance against Bokhâra; and Eynaunje, who was employed to oppose him on the part of Ameir Nouh, having been defeated and taken prisoner, that prince was constrained by the urgency of the danger to over

look the recent rebellious attempt of Fâeik, and to dispatch to Termed to entreat his assistance. Such was the man whom he now selected to make head against the Khaun of the western Tartars; and that perfidious chief proceeded accordingly to Samarkand. On the approach of the Tartar monarch, he drew his troops out of that city for the purpose, as it might have been conceived, of giving battle; but, before he could discharge an arrow in the face of the enemy, he basely turned his back, and withdrew to Bokhâra. Having taken possession of Samarkand, Boghra Khaun advanced without further obstacle, towards the metropolis of the race of Sâman, which was abandoned on his approach by Ameir Nouh. The false Fâeik now went over to the Khaun, and being immediately admitted amongst the most distinguished members of his court, proceeded shortly afterwards under his authority to preside over the territory of Bâlkh. A. H. 380-83; A. D. 990-93. Kholaussut-ul.akhbaur.

Thus expelled from his capital, Ameir Nouh, disguising his exterior, hastened across the Jeyhûn, and took post at a place called Amûlshet, perhaps the town of Amol on that river. Here he was gradually joined by his troops, and found himself after some delay at the head of a considerable force. In the mean time, the Khaun of Tûrkestaun, being attacked by some malignant disorder, which he might have ascribed to the climate, suddenly adopted the resolution of returning to his native country, and died on his march. On intelligence of this unexpected event, Ameir Nouh proceeded with infinite delight to repossess himself of Bokhâra, and was again restored to the throne of his ancestors. In the midst of the incertitude and despondence produced by this diversity of fortune, Abû Ally the Semjûrite at last conceived the design of dispatching an agent to entreat for his past offences, the forgiveness of an injured sovereign: when his evil genius so ordered it that he should be joined by the rebel Fâeik, his late competitor; who had been compelled to fly before the troops of Ameir Nouh, and who now employed with Abû Ally such arguments as dissuaded him from his design, and prevailed upon him once more to display the standard of disloyalty.

After some deliberation, Ameir Nouh determined in these circumstances to dispatch to Gheznîn, and demand the aid of Sebektekein; and the application experienced from that able and warlike chieftain,

A. H. 384. A. D. 994. Kholaussut-ul.akhbaur.

an attention most flattering to the hopes of the Samaunian. Sometime in the three hundred and eighty fourth of the hidjerah, he set out from Ghezniân, at the head of a powerful army; and having on his arrival at Bokhâra demonstrated for Ameir Nouh every possible degree of zeal and respect, proceeded in conjunction with him, immediately in quest of the rebel associates. The latter had by this time secured the support of Fakher-ud-doulah the Deylemite; and advancing from Herât, aided by the reinforcements received from that prince, appeared little disposed to avoid a battle. In the conflict which ensued, they were however totally defeated by Ameir Nouh, and his powerful ally; and making the best of their way to Neyshapûr, continued their flight, after remaining there a few days only, to Jûrjaun; where they became content to enrol themselves in the train of Fakher-ud-doulah. Ameir Nouh evinced his gratitude for this important service, by bestowing upon Sebektekein the title of Nasser-ud-dein—defender of the faith, with every possible mark of favor and distinction; while he conferred upon his son, the celebrated Mahmûd, with the title of Seyf-ud-doulah—sword of the state, the supreme command of his armies, and the government of Khorassaun. Having reposed himself for some time at Herat, Sebektekein, returned to Ghezniân, and Mahmûd repaired to the seat of his government at Neyshapûr.

Having however contrived to raise a fresh army in Jûrjaun, Abû Ally and Fâeik, who have by some authors been considered as children of the same father, in the course of three hundred and eighty-five,* like an unforeseen calamity, appeared once more, under the walls of Neyshapûr; and pouring with irresistible fury into the camp of Seyf-ud-doulah Mahmûd, compelled him to fly with considerable loss. But Ameir Sebektekein, with all the force he could assemble, soon afterwards entering Khorassaun, to the assistance of his son, and Fâeik and Abû Ally hastening from Neyshapûr to oppose him, the two armies came to a decisive battle in the neighborhood of Tûsse; in which victory declared for the standard of Sebektekein, with dreadful slaughter to his adversaries. Abû Ally and his associate sought a temporary asylum in the fortress of Kolaut; from whence they were, in a very few days, however, compelled to withdraw, and betake themselves for a considerable period to a desultory and wandering life,

* A. D. 995.

At last they separated, Fàeik directing his course towards the territories of Eylek, the successor of Boghra Khaun of Tûrkestaun, and Abû Ally proceeding to Jûrjauniah, to implore the protection of Mâmûn the son of Mahommed Farighûny, prince of that country. But before he could effect his escape to the residence of the chieftain whose protection he sought, Abû Ally was seized at Hazaurasp, and detained a prisoner by Abû Abdullah, king of Khaurezm. This drew upon the Khaurezmian the vengeance of Mâmûn, by whom he was immediately attacked, taken prisoner, and put to death. Having liberated the fugitive, and otherwise treated him with great kindness and respect, Mâmûn next employed his mediation with Ameir Nouh to obtain a pardon for the offences of Abû Ally; in which, as far as appearances could be trusted, he prevailed. Abû Ally was invited to repair to Bokhâra, and being induced to accede to the invitation, was compelled on his arrival in that capital, to take up his abode in a prison; and information of his being at last in safe custody, being conveyed to Ameir Sebektekein, at this period residing at Merû, a request was transmitted from that prince that the prisoner might be consigned over to his care. To this, if he were even so disposed, Ameir Nouh was not in circumstances to demur, and Abû Ally was accordingly removed to Merû; and in the prisons of Sebektekein, from which he never escaped, made some atonement for his disloyalty and ingratitude. A. H. 384-6. A. D. 994-6. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

More fortunate in his exertions, Fàeik made good his retreat to the court of Eylek Khaun, whom, without much difficulty, he prevailed upon to resume the designs of his predecessor against the territory on the Jeyhûn. Ameir Nouh, on his part, again solicited the aid of Sebektekein; who hastened without delay to Bokhâra, to oppose the invader: but Ameir Nouh declining to quit his capital, to participate in the hazards of the field of battle, an incipient and unaccountable jealousy fastened on the mind of Sebektekein. In his measures to counteract the designs of the enemy he neglected to exert his accustomed energies, and he finally concluded a dishonorable peace; by which he consented that the able Fàeik should be formally confirmed in the government of Samarkand, and that all hostilities should here terminate on either side.

A. H. 387. A. D. 997. Ameir Nouh does not appear to have long survived these events. His death took place in the month of Rudjûb of the three hundred and eighty seventh of the Hidjerah,* the two and twentieth year of his reign. He has subsequently borne the title of Ameir Ruzzy—the prince who is in paradise.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Abul Hareth Munsur the son of Nouh, eighth of the race of Sâman, was seated on the throne of his father by the unanimous concurrence of the Nobles of Bokhâra. But Eylek Khaun of Tûrkestaun, becoming apprized of the death of the late monarch, immediately marched for Samarkand, into which he was triumphantly received by his adherent Fâeik. The latter proceeded shortly afterwards by the Khaun's instructions towards Bokhâra; which Ameir Munsûr, incapable of resistance, abandoned at his approach, retiring across the Jeyhûn. Having taken possession of the metropolis, a belief was circulated by Fâeik, that so far from entertaining any designs hostile to the person of Munsûr, he had appeared in that quarter for the purpose of supporting his authority to the utmost of his power, and of acquitting himself, with becoming zeal, of the obligations of good faith and loyalty. After some correspondence on the subject, Munsûr was prevailed upon to return to Bokhâra, where he permitted Fâeik to assume to himself the entire controul of affairs; Bektouzûn being invested by the latter with the government of Khorassaun, and the command of the army.

Munsur, son of Nouh, VIIIth of the race of Sâman.

In the mean time Ameir Sebektekein† had breathed his last at Ghezneen; and his son, Seyf-ud-doulah Mahmûd, ultimately succeeding to his authority, dispatched his agent to Bokhâra to demand from Ameir Munsûr the dignities, which he claimed by inheritance from his father. As the post and honors to which he laid claim had been already disposed of, by the appointment of Bektouzûn, the application was unavailing, and the agent returned to his master; who immediately advancing at the head of his army to Neyshapûr, soon afterwards attacked, and defeated the new chief, who had been imprudently selected to supersede him. On intelligence of this act of defiance to his authority, Ameir Munsûr crossed the Jeyhûn from Bokhâra, and came to Serkhess; while Mahmûd, from an alleged repugnance to incur the

* July, A. D. 997. † More generally written in English *Sebekteggin*.

guilt of disloyalty and ingratitude, evacuated Neyshapûr, and withdrew to Merû-ur-rûd, not unfrequently called Mûrghaub, from the river on which it is seated. When he had however been permitted to enjoy his fancied powers for about a year and seven months, Ameir Munsûr, in the middle of Suffur, of the year three hundred and eighty-nine,* was suddenly divested of his precarious sovereignty, and deprived of sight, by the prime minister Fâeik, and Bektouzûn the general of his armies.

A. H. 389. A. D. 999. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

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Abdulmelek the son of Nouh, ninth of the race of Sâman. Immediately on the dethronement of his brother, this prince was prevailed upon at the instance of Fâeik and Bektouzûn, to undertake the arduous responsibility of royal authority. But as the recent violence of the two chiefs had furnished to Seyf-ud-doulah Mahmûd a favorable opportunity of disguising his own ambitious designs, under the mask of avenging the cause of an injured sovereign, that prince no longer hesitated to advance towards Merû Shahjahaun, the ancient capital of the province of Khorassaun, at the head of a very formidable army. His adversaries attached, as they affected to be, to the stirrup of Abdulmêlek, proceeded to meet the son of Sebektekein, amusing him at the same time with overtures towards an accommodation of their differences. Mahmûd appeared at first disposed to acquiesce in these pacific measures; but offended at some indications of disrespect exhibited on their part, he determined to break off the negociation, and to commit his fortune to the decision of the sword. A dreadful battle ensued, which terminated in favor of Mahmûd. Abdulmelêk and Fâeik fled immediately to Bokhâra; Bektouzûn at first to Neyshapûr, but after remaining at that place for a few days, he proceeded to join his unfortunate associates. The guilt of accumulated treachery at last arrested the career of Fâeik, since he appears to have died soon after his return to Bokhâra about this period.

Abdulmeler IXth of the Sâmanides.

Eylek Khaun could not long continue an idle, or inactive spectator of the distractions which were rending to pieces the superb and splendid inheritance of the race of Sâman. Leaving his capital of Kashghâr, about the period under consideration, he directed his march for Bokhâra,

* Beginning of February. A. D. 999.

A. H. 389. A. D. 999. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

publishing however to the world that his expedition was undertaken for the express relief of Abdulmêlek. And yet when, on Tuesday the tenth of Zilkaudah, of the three hundred and eighty ninth of the Hidjerah,* he entered the metropolis of the house of Sâman, his first object appears to have been to secure the person of that unfortunate prince, who had absconded on his arrival; but who soon fell into the hands of the emissaries employed to discover his retreat. He was then conveyed in bonds to the city of Ouzkund, where he was ultimately destined to terminate his existence in captivity.

Subsequent to this, Abû Ibrauhim Issmauil the son of Nouh, entitled Mûntusser, having escaped from Bokhâra, continued, for a period of nearly six years, to lead, with a handful of desperate adherents, a wandering and predatory life; and to infest, as opportunity offered, the boundaries of the various potentates, whose authority had been established on the dismemberment of the dominions of his ancestors; until in the former Rebbeia, of the three hundred and ninety-fifth of the Hidjerah,† he was put to death, on his way from Nissa towards Bokhâra, by Mahrûy, one of the agents of Mahmûd of Gheznin: thus fulfilling the destiny of the race of Sâman, after it had continued in power for about one hundred and twelve solar, or one hundred and sixteen lunar years; if we calculate from the period at which Ameir Issmauil the son of Ahmed, became sole governor of Mawur-un-neher in the latter part of the two hundred and seventy ninth of the Hidjerah.

Issmauil, son of Nouh last of the Sâmanides.

The narrative will be next devoted to describe the events which produced and attended the elevation to sovereign power, of the several branches of the race of Bûyah; from the country of their origin more frequently designated the Deyaulemah, or princes of Deylem.

On the authority of many of the most respectable historians, it is stated that Abû Shûja Bûyah, the founder of the family, was a man in moderate circumstances among the people of Deylem, a well known and almost inaccessible division of the province of Tebrestaun, part of the ancient Hyrcania. He nevertheless boasted his descent from Behramgour, one of the most renowned of the ancient Persian monarchs. On this person heaven had bestowed three sons, each of whom des-

* October 21st, A. D. 999. † December, A. D. 1004.

tined, by a benevolent providence, to ascend to the most exalted rank among the powers of the earth. The names of these sons were Ally, Hussun, and Ahmed. A. H. 295. A. D. 908. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Abû Shûja entertained for the mother of his children, an unbounded affection; and on her death became a prey to the most violent grief. A native of the same country, and an intimate acquaintance, of the name of Sheheryaur the son of Rûstum, on whose subsequent relation this part of the narrative is expressly founded, proceeded to visit, and expostulate with him, on this unmanly surrender of his faculties to the dominion of an unavailing sorrow; and finally prevailed upon him to be an inmate in his family, unt l the violence of his affliction should become in some degree abated. While he continued a guest at his friend's, on this occasion, a man who professed some skill in astrology and the interpretation of dreams, chanced to call, in the way of his profession; and it occurred to Abû Shuja to describe to this wizzard, the circumstances of a curious dream which had happened to him a few nights before. In this he had conceived that a prodigious fire issued from his navel,* casting its light through the surrounding regions, and increasing in splendor until it reached the skies: it then separated into three distinct sections, attracting the wonder and adoration of whole countries, and subject states. The astrologer observed, that it was in truth a very singular dream; but that he could not deliver a word in explanation, until he gave him a horse and suit of apparel. Abû Shûja protesting his inability to comply with such a demand, the astrologer abated in his fee to ten dinaurs; but this being also found to surpass the resources of Abû Shûja, he proceeded at last to state gratuitously, that his dream prognosticated the future dominion of his three sons, which should extend to the whole of the countries illuminated in the manner he had described: and that their renown should fill the earth. "My children" said Bûyah "are those whom thou seest before thee; and for my-" self, I am but an obscure and indigent individual; by what possible "force or circumstance is it then to be imagined, that any children of mine "should ever attain to the destiny, with which thou hast thought proper "to flatter me? It appears to me that thou art disposed to make a jest

Origin of the Deylemites, or race of Bûyah.

* Exientem ex ventre ignem.

A. H. 295. A. D. 908. Kholaussut-ul.akhbaur.

"of me." "Not so by him that made us," replied the astrologer; "acquaint me with the period of thy children's nativity, in order that I "may take a more deliberate view of their destiny." Abû Shûja now communicated the necessary information; and the astrologer, having had recourse to the mysteries of his art, proceeded to take the hand of the elder boy Ally; and kissing it pronounced that the sovereign power would first descend to this youth, the same that became afterwards entitled Emmaud-ud-doulah. In a similar strain he took the hands of Hussun and Ahmed, the future Rokken, and Mûezz-ud-doulah, declaring, that to them also was allotted a share in the splendid and auspicious destin yof their brother.

After this, it is not very surprising that the ambition of power should have been deeply implanted in the minds of the sons of Bûyah. In the mean time, Mâkan the son of Kauky becoming master of Tebrestaun, entertained both father and sons in his service. It was, however, not long before Esfaur the son of Sheirûyah, revolting against the authority of Mâkan, expelled him from his government and assumed it to himself. When he had retained his power for the space of a twelve month, the son of Sheirûyah was assassinated by one of the Keraumitah or Bowautinists, and succeeded by Murdawunje the son of Zebaur, the brother of Wâshmagueir. But the extruded Mâkan returning to recover his dominions, Murdawunje was, in his turn, expelled, and driven into Khorassaun. Ally the son of Bûyah, and his brothers, who appear to have shared the fortunes of their master, were now dispatched by Mâkan towards Karje; while he proceeded himself to the attack of Isfahaun. At or near that place, he defeated Mûzuffer the son of Yakût, the governor on the part of the Khalif Mûktudder. The vanquished chief proceeded to Sheirauz to demand the assistance of his father, who hastened, without delay, at the head of the troops of Farss to repel the invaders. Here the name of Murdawunje is abruptly and inexplicably introduced in the original, instead of that of his competitor Mâkan, as the chief who had been before victorious at Isfahaun, and as being now a second time triumphant over the governor of Farss, who was compelled to withdraw from the contest; but passing in his retreat through Luristaun, with about two thousand horse, he unfortunately fell in with the sons of Bûyah, whom, in

the desire of revenge, he ventured to attack. His hopes were frustrated, and he was driven for the last time from the field of battle. Emmaud-ud-doulah Ally, the elder of the Deylemites, accompanied by his brothers, now hastened in triumph to take possession of Shirauz, which they appear to have entered without opposition. A short time afterwards, Murdawunje being assassinated in a bath, by his guards, or disciplined slaves, the government of both Farss and Irâk Ajèm became permanently invested in Emmaud-ud-doulah.

A. H. 321. A. D. 933. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

EMMAUD-UD-DOULAH Abûl Hussun Ally, first monarch of the Bûides, or race of Bûyah.

In the latter part of the three hundred and twenty first of the Hidjerah, at Shirauz, thus destined to be the metropolis of his family, Ally the son of Bûyah, with the unanimous concurrence of the Deylemite Ameirs, proceeded to seat himself on the throne of royalty. The title of Emmaud-ud-doulah he did not receive until the three hundred and thirty-fourth of the Hidjerah, when it was conferred upon him, at the same time with those of Rokken-ud-doulah, and Mûezz-ud-doulah, on his brothers Hussun and Ahmed respectively, by the Khalif Mûstekfy. By those titles we shall, however, as they generally appear in history, henceforward continue to distinguish the brothers. Soon after he had assumed the sovereign authority, Rokken-ud-doulah Hussun was dispatched, by his brother, to take possession of Isfahaun and Persian Irâk: while the third brother Mûezz-ud-doulah was employed to secure the province of Kermaun.

EMMAUD-UD-DOULAH, ALLY, 1st of the Bûides.

On taking possession of Shirauz, after the defeat of Yakût, Emmaud-ud-doulah is described to have established his abode in the habitation of the fugitive; and as the treasury of Yakût had been found quite empty, the soldiery were becoming extremely clamorous for their arrears. He was deliberating with considerable anxiety of mind, on the means by which he should contrive to extricate himself from this dilemma, when casting his eyes upwards, he observed from a hole in the ceiling of the apartment, a hideous serpent, alternately putting out and drawing back its head. In some degree of dismay, he immediately directed the ceiling to be broke up, in order to destroy this dangerous and detestable reptile. While they were employed in carrying these orders into execution, the workmen discovered, to his infinite sur-

A. H. 321. A. D. 933. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

prise and gratification, in a particular part of the roof, a deposit in treasure and jewels, to an incalculable amount; the former of which he very cheerfully distributed to his soldiers. Not long afterwards, sending for a taylor to cut out some wearing apparel, he happened to desire his attendants to bring him a cubit staff; and the taylor, who was deaf, misconceiving, (or hearing imperfectly what had been said) that the prince had ordered his cane, for the purpose of extorting from him some confession with respect to the property of Yakût, incontinently cried out, that the cudgel was by no means necessary; for, God was witness, there were not in his possession, of the effects of the late governor, more than seventeen chests. Smiling at the unlooked for and agreeable discovery, which had no less excited the astonishment of his attendants, Emmaud-ud-doulah did not neglect to avail himself, of course, of this additional instance of good fortune.

In thus bestowing her favors upon Emmaud-ud-doulah, fortune appears indeed, to have been more than usually equitable, since he has left to posterity the character of a benevolent, just, and prudent prince. He finally quitted the scene of earthly grandeur, in the three hundred and thirty-eighth of the Hidjerah,* after a prosperous reign of sixteen years and six months: having, in the course of the disorder, which carried him to his grave, nominated his nephew Ezzed-ud-doulah, the son of Rokken-ud-doulah, to succeed him.

Before he enters upon the reign of Ezzed-ud-doulah, the author necessarily proceeds to devote a few passages to trace the destiny of the surviving brothers, Hussun, and Ahmed.

Muezz-ud-doulah Ahmed, having, in concurrence with his brother's instructions formerly adverted to, marched from Shirauz in the three hundred and twenty second of the Hidjerah, in order to take possession of Kermaun, was first employed in making himself master of Serjaun; here at least supposed to be distinct from the capital, of the same name with the province at large. On the reduction of that place, he proceeded further towards Kermaun which he also subjugated, after defeating Mahommed the son of Eleyas, the governor of the province, in a variety of conflicts. Having disposed of his conquests in

* A. D. 949.

that province in a manner to ensure his permanent possession, Mûezz-ud-doulah next directed his views towards the territory of Ahûauz; all of which, in the course of time, he succeeded in uniting to his other acquisitions. It was subsequent to this final extension of his power, that he led his troops to Baghdâd; which metropolis he entered on the eleventh day of the former Jummaudy, of the three hundred and thirty-fourth of the Hidjerah, pledging his allegiance to the Khalif Mûstekfy, and receiving from that monarch for himself, as formerly related, together with the dignity of Ameir-ul-ûmra, the title of Mûezz-ud-doulah; and for his brothers, Ally and Hussun, those of Emmaud, and Rokken-ud-doulah, each of them signifying respectively, prop, or pillar of the state.

A. H. 334. A. D. 945. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

After sustaining the authority of Ameir-ul-ûmra at Baghdâd for a period of one and twenty years, Mûezz-ud-doulah died in the three hundred and fifty sixth of the Hidjerah, and was succeeded, as we have already noticed, in treating of the affairs of the Khelaufut, by his son Ezz-ud-doulah Bukhtiaur.

Rokken-ud-doulah Abû Ally Hussun the son of Bûyah, on information of the death of his elder brother Emmaud-ud-doulah, in the three hundred and thirty-eighth of the Hidjerah; hastened immediately to Shirauz; and having resided there for about nine months, possibly to confirm the authority of his son Ezzed-ud-doulah appointed to succeed to the possessions of the deceased monarch, returned to Rey; the city which he appears to have fixed upon for the seat of his own government. Hence he became engaged in multiplied hostilities, intermitted by occasional accommodation, with the princes and generals of the race of Sâman, as will already have occurred to the reader in a preceding page.

Rokken-ud-doulah Hussun, the son of Bûyah.

Hearing, towards the close of his life and reign, that his son, who had succeeded to the throne of Shirauz, had led his troops against Baghdâd to the attack of his kinsman Ezz-ud-doulah Bukhtiaur, and taken him prisoner, Rokken-ud-doulah received the intelligence with manifest displeasure: and, with a mind deeply aggravated, proceeded straight to Isfahaun. Under such circumstances, Ezzed-ud-doulah repaired to the presence of his father, whose resentment he employed every species of apology to disarm; and the malady which had already

A. D. 366. A. H. 976. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

seized upon Rokken-ud-doulah beginning at this crisis to exhibit some symptoms of more than ordinary danger, that prince proceeded to make, between his three sons, an equitable division of the territories acquired through the valour and abilities of the family. To Ezzed-ud-doulah he confirmed the entire province of Parss, with Kermaun and Ahûauz, and the country dependant on Baghdâd. The government of Hamadaun, the region of Jebaul, with Rey and Tebrestaun, he bestowed upon Fakher-ud-doulah; while the territory of Isfahaun was allotted to a third son, Mûeyed-ud-doulah: the two latter princes were, at the same time, enjoined in no case to deviate from the authority of Ezzed-ud-doûlah. A short time after he had had acquitted himself of these arrangements, Rokken-ud-doulah, in Mohurrim of the three hundred and sixty sixth of the Hidjerah,* hastened to the more permanent abodes of a better world; after having exercised the powers of royalty for a period of forty years, of which, sixteen and a half during the life, and twenty-seven years and a half subsequent to the death of his elder brother Emmaud-ud-doulah. He is described to have been possessed of many benevolent qualities, and to have distinguished himself by considerable exertions in favor of the Seyuds, of the race of the prophet, in particular, and in general of men of learning and merit of every class aud description.

EZZED-UD-DOULAH Abû Shûja Finna Khossrou, the son of Rokken-ud-doulah.

EZZED-UD-DOULAH.

The narrative must now again revert to the three hundred and thirty eighth of the Hidjerah, when, in conformity with the nomination of his uncle, Ezzed-ud-doulah ascended at Shirauz the throne of royalty, and diffused to the world every grateful presage of a just and beneficent reign.

The memory of this prince has, indeed, been transmitted to posterity, with every attribute that can command the admiration, or secure the attachment of mankind. He has been celebrated as the very flower not only of the monarchs of the race of Bûyah, but of all the contemporary potentates of the world; as forming the copious subject of the poet's praise, and of the historian's approbation; as will be found particularly recorded in the Kettaub-e-taujy, a work dedicated to his patronage by Zeiâi, or perhaps Sebâi, on the transactions of this dinasty.

* September A. D. 976.

In the course of his reign he was twice engaged in hostilities against the territories of the Khelaufut; and the last time, having defeated his kinsman Ézz-ud-doulah Bukhtiaur, in a great battle in the neighborhood of Tekreit, that prince became his prisoner, and was put to death by his orders in the three hundred and sixty-seventh of the Hidjerah, at the age of six and thirty; and after having retained the government of Baghdâd and Arabian Irâk, for something more than fifteen years. A. H. 367. A. D. 978. Khotaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Having continued for some time at Mossûle, in order to complete the reduction of the towns and castles in the adjoining territory, Ezzed-ud-doulah returned to Baghdâd in the course of three hundred and sixty eight; where he devoted a great part of his attention to restore to their former splendor the ruined edifices of that shattered metropolis. He allotted to the ministers of religion, the Imaums and Mûezzins, with their respestive places of worship, a regular and competent subsistance; he employed his care to remove the distresses, and provide for the necessities of the indigent, the helpless, and infirm: he abolished the vexatious contributions levied upon the pilgrims to Mekkah; and he encouraged and rewarded, by his patronage and bounty, the labours of the divine, the traditionist, the poet, the physician, and the learned in every branch of science. In short, he promoted, with a liberality which had no bounds, the objects of benevolence, humanity, and literature, in every shape and form. Among other memorials which he consigned to posterity, of his taste for magnificence and useful improvements, our attention is particularly directed to the fabric which he caused to be constructed over the sepulchre of Ally at Nudjef; and to the dike or embankment which was erected at his expence to confine the waters of the Kûrr, or Cyrus, between Armenia and Georgia; a work, of which, according to our author, the whole world can scarcely furnish a parallel.

In the three hundred and seventy-second of the Hidjerah, this benevolent and able prince, was attacked by an epilepsy, which hurried him to his grave either in the latter part of the month of Ramzaun,* or beginning of Shavaul, at the age of forty-seven, and after a splendid reign of four and thirty years. In conformity with his dying instructions he was buried at Nudjef.

* March A. D. 983.

A. H. 372.
A. D. 983.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

MUEYED-UD-DOULAH Abû Munsûr, the son of Rokken-ud-doulah. It was formerly observed that by the tenor of their father's will, the two younger brothers were particularly enjoined in all cases to respect the authority of the elder. Accordingly on the death of Rokken-ud-doulah, a dispatch was conveyed by Mûeyed, to Ezzed-ud-doulah, announcing that with his permission he should then proceed to take possession of the country allotted to him by their father: and as this proposal was in all respects consonant to the liberal and benevolent views of Ezzed-ud-doulah, he not only complied with it, but appears to have made considerable exertions, if not sacrifices, in order to augment the splendor of his brother's lot. The conduct observed by Fakher-ud-doulah the other brother, evinced, however, a very different spirit. Without consulting the paramount authority of Ezzed-ud-doulah, who, if the comparative statements of his age and reign above recited, be in any degree correct, could nevertheless have scarcely exceeded his fourteenth year, he proceeded without ceremony to invest himself with the sovereign dignity. This step drew upon Fakher-ud-doulah the immediate displeasure of Ezzed-ud doulah, by whom the third brother, Mûeyed-ud-doulah, was employed to commence hostilities against him. Fakher-ud-doulah conceiving himself over matched, withdrew from his province, and claimed the protection of Kâbûs the son of Waushmagueir, prince of Jûrjaun; who received him with kindness and distinction, and who steadily rejected every application, on the part of the brothers, to deliver up his guest.

In order to enforce the application, Mûeyed-ud-doulah, in the beginning of three hundred and seventy one, proceeded with his army towards Jûrjaun; where he fought, and defeated the prince of that territory, and compelled both him and Fakher-ud-doulah to fly for refuge into Khorassaun. In that province, from Hussaum-ud-doulah Taush, the lieutenant of Ameir Nouh the Sumaunian, whose aid they besought, they experienced a very distinguished and hospitable reception; and they were soon afterwards accompanied by him, at the head of a powerful force, and under the sanction of his master's authority, to expel their aggressor from Jûrjaun. Mûeyed-ud-doulah shut himself up at first within the ramparts of that place; but during the month of *Ramzaun*, of the same year, in a formidable sortie, under cover of

the night, he completely surprised the camp of his besiegers; who were compelled, with disgrace and loss, to return again into Khorassaun. A. H. 373. A. D. 945.

After this signal victory, Mûeyed-ud-doulah continued, in the full enjoyment of success, to exercise his power, until the three hundred and seventy-third of the Hidjerah, when he died, possibly at Rey, after a government, should we calculate from the death of his father, of five and thirty years. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

FAKHER-UD-DOULAH Abûl Hussun Ally, the son of Rokken-ud-doulah.

At the period of his brother's death, Fakher-ud-doulah was still residing at Neyshapûr, under the protection of the government of Khorassaun; but on intelligence of that event, and on the express invitation of the nobles of the country, he proceeded, without hesitation, into Irâk Ajem. For, on the decease of their late lord, the courtiers, or principal followers of Mûeyed-ud-doulah, having debated as to the person whom they should select from the race of Bûyah, to succeed to the sovereign authority, it was determined, on the recommendation of Issmauil the son of Ebbaud, that Fakher-ud-doulah, as the eldest surviving prince of the family, should be immediately summoned from Khorassaun, and invested with the authority of his predecessors. The invitation was accordingly conveyed to Neyshapûr, from whence Fakher-ud-doulah hastened without delay, to avail himself of this favorable concurrence; and being seated without opposition on the throne of Rokken-ud-doulah, conferred the dignity of Vezzeir, with very extensive powers, on the above mentioned Issmauil, who had so essentially promoted his recal and restoration. FAKHER-UD-DOULAH.

In the three hundred and seventy-seventh of the Hidjerah, the same Vezzeir, who is described as a man of unrivalled talents and ability, was employed by Fakher-ud-doulah, in the reduction of Tebrestaun; which, by the capture of several of its numerous strong holds, he brought, to all suitable purposes, under the authority of his master.

Having further conceived the design of extending his power over Baghdâd and the western Irâk, Fakher-ud-doulah, in the course of three hundred and seventy-nine, proceeded at the head of his troops towards that quarter, while his kinsman Bahâ-ud-doulah advanced to oppose him. In the territory of Ahûauz while both armies lay en-

A. H. 379-85. A. D. 989-95. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

camped in the presence of each other, the position of Fakher-ud-doulah was suddenly inundated by a flood in the river of that name; and the circumstance being ascribed by the soldiers to some treachery, or contrivance on the part of the enemy, they shamefully betrayed the glory of their sovereign, and fled from a danger which had no existence but in their own terrified imaginations. Fakher-ud-doulah, returned with precipitation to his capital of Rey, or Rài; from whence, at some subsequent period, he appears to have transferred his residence to Hamadaun.

In the three hundred and eighty fifth of the Hidjèrah, he was summoned to attend the last admonitions of his prudent and skilful vezzeir, Issmauil Sâhib-Ebbaud, as he is occasionally entitled; who proceeded to state to his sovereign, that during the period of his administration, his utmost exertions had been directed to promote the welfare and happiness of all classes of his people; and that the success of those exertions was to be seen in the prosperity and abundance, which pervaded every part of his dominions. His dying request therefore was, that the system thus successfully traced for his sovereign, might not be abandoned; so that the advantages, the blessings derived from the approved arrangements of a faithful minister, might continue to be felt in the future happiness of his master's reign, without being in any shape ascribed to the merit of him who was no more. Otherwise should the prince unfortunately neglect these prudent and disinterested counsels, and be governed by maxims of an opposite tendency, the source of so many beneficent results would be sought for in his grave; and he could not but predict the most disastrous consequences to the state. Fakher-ud-doulah very readily promised to abide by the precepts of his faithful admonitor; but he had scarcely breathed his last, before he ungratefully seized upon all his treasures; exposed his children and dependents to every species of injury; and in every measure of his government, betrayed the principles and disposition of an unjust and arbitrary tyrant.

Such, at the same time, was the veneration exhibited by the noble Deylemites, towards the virtues and talents of this illustrious minister, that they kissed the ground before the car which conveyed his body to the principal mosque; and having there, for the present, suspended his coffin

from the roof, they at a subsequent period removed it to Isfahaun, where his remains were ultimately committed to the earth. Of the same Issmauil Sâhib Ebbaud, it is further recorded, that in talents and science, genius and intelligence, he was the Phœnix of the age in which he lived, in as much as in the clearness of his views and the comprehensiveness of his mind, he was the perpetual theme and reference of old and young in every condition of life. Of his passion for literature, we have a conspicuous proof in the assertion, that in some of his expeditions, a train of four hundred camels was required for the conveyance of his library; and he had finally conducted the affairs of the vizzaurut, with splendid ability for a period of eighteen years. A. H. 387. A. D. 997. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

While he resided in the fortress of Tabarek or Teberek, in the three hundred and eighty-seventh of the Hidjerah, having gorged himself to excess, on kabaub, or forced-meat of beef and grapes, Fakher-ud-doulah was attacked by a violent bowel complaint, which shortly afterwards carried him to his grave, after a reign of about fourteen years. The property which he left behind him is stated to have been prodigious; and as a criterion whereon to form some estimate of his other effects, we are further instructed, that the articles of his wardrobe, in apparel ready for wear alone, extended to three thousand camel-loads. he was, as will be presently related, succeeded by his son Majid-ud-doulah. In the mean time, our attention must necessarily be withdrawn, to trace the proceedings of the collateral branches of the race of Bûyah.

SHURF-UD-DOULAH Abûl Fowauress (father of chivalry) Sheir Zeid, the son of Ezzed-ud doulah.

At the period of his father's death, in the three hundred and seventy second of the Hidjerah, this prince was governor of Kermaun; but hastening to Shirauz on intelligence of that event, he employed some time and assiduity in rendering his authority secure in the metropolis of his family. That object attained, and all the means provided that were necessary to substantiate his power, he led his troops towards Ahûauz, from whence he succeeded in expelling his brother Ahmed. In the month of Rudjub of the year three hundred and seventy four, he had completed the reduction of the city and territory of Bassorah; and, in the early part of three hundred and seventy-six, he proceeded SHURF-UD-DOULAH.

A. H. 376. A. D. 986. against Baghdâd. From that metropolis, confiding to the force of fraternal affection, his brother Sumsaum-ud-doulah, the Ameir-ul-ûmra of the Khelaufut, hastened to put himself in his power; and being immediately made a prisoner, was conveyed to lament his credulity in a Persian fortress. Shurf-ud-doulah then obtruded himself into the exercise of his brother's power; which he continued to enjoy to the period of his death in the three hundred and seventy-ninth of the Hidjerah.

Khelaussut-ul-akhbaur.

SUMSAUM-UD-DOULAH Abû Kalinjar Merzebaun, the son of Ezzed-ud-doulah.

This prince, of whom we have already spoken, had exercised the authority of Ameir-ul-ûmra at Baghdâd for a period of four years subsequent to the death of his father, when his person was seized by Shurf-ud-doulah, in the manner to which we have just adverted. But on intelligence that his brother was withdrawn from the cares and troubles of life, he was immediately set at large from captivity, through the interference of a body of Turkish soldiers. A numerous army soon flocked to his standard; and the alarm spreading to Baghdâd, the third brother, Bahâ-ud-doulah, advanced from that metropolis to counteract his further designs. After some indecisive conflicts, an accommodation was at last brought about between the two chiefs; by which it was arranged that Farss and Erjaun, should be subject to the authority of Sumsaum-ud-doulah, while the remainder of Khozistaun, with Arabian Irâk should continue under the government of Bahâ-ud-doulah.

SUMSAUM-UD-DOULAH.

Six of the sons of Ezz-ud-doulah Bukhtiaur, who were confined in one of the fortresses in the Persian territory, being set at liberty by their guards, in the course of the three hundred and eighty-third of the Hidjerah, immediately commenced a formidable insurrection in Farss; which Abû Ally the son of Ustaud Hormûz was employed by Sumsaum-ud-doulah to suppress. Each of these six personages fell into the hands of Abû Ally, by whom they were conducted to the presence of his sovereign; who condemned two of them to die, while the remaining four were again consigned to a prison. In the mean time, the articles of the treaty with Bahâ-ud-doulah having in some instance or other been violated, the same Abû Ally was now dispatched by Sumsaum-ud-doulah towards Baghdâd; a competent force being employed to oppose that general on the part of Bahâ-ud-doulah. In the tedious

warfare which ensued, fortune appeared, in most instances, disposed to favor the standard of Abû Ally: but, at the moment when the affairs of Bahâ-ud-doulah had been driven to the very brink of destruction, intelligence arrived that his rival brother had been put to death. For the troops in Parss, dissatisfied that their pay should have been withheld from them, for a longer period than usual, once more undertook to set at large the sons of Ezz-ud-doulah Bukhtiaur; with whom they openly revolted against, and proceeded immediately to attack the person of Sumsaum-ud-doulah. At a village called Dûdmaun, about two leagues, or farsangs, from Shîrauz, they made him their prisoner; and he was then put to death by order of Abû Nasser, the son of Ezz-ud-doulah, after a reign of nine years and eight months; which would fix this event to the month of Zilhudje, of the year three hundred and eighty-seven.* A. H. 382. A. D. 997. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

BAHA-UD-DOULAH Abû Nasser Khossrou Feyrouz, the son of Ezzed-ud-doulah.

Under the Khelaufut of Ul Tâeia we have already seen, that the person who now claims our attention, succeeded to the dignity of Ameir-ul-ûmra, on the death of his brother Shurf-ud-doulah, in the three hundred and seventy-ninth of the Hidjerah; and on the present occasion, all obligations to Sumsaûm-ud-doulah being finally dissolved by the fate of that prince, Abû Ally the son of Ustaud Hormûz, with others of the native chiefs and soldiers of Deylem who served under his authority, went over without hesitation, and enrolled themselves in the service of the surviving brother, Bahâ-ud-doulah. On this important acquisition of force, the latter drew his army to Ahûauz; and having established his authority in that province, next dispatched Abû Ally into Farss, to quell the insurrection of the sons of Bukhtiaur. With his ordinary success, the son of Ustaud Hormûz triumphed over the troops of the insurgents, compelling Abû Nasser, their leader, to fly the province: and intelligence of his victory being conveyed to Bahâ-ud-doulah, that prince proceeded into Farss without further delay, and, in retaliation for what had been recently experienced in the fate of his brother, inflicted the punishment of death upon all the sons of Ezz-ud- BAHA-UD-DOULAH.

* December, A. D. 997.

A. D. 403. A. H. 1012. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

doulah who fell into his hands. Mouffek the son of Issmauil was dispatched in the mean time, in pursuit of Abû Nasser, the survivor of that unfortunate branch of the family, who had fled to Jireft on the remoter confines of Kermaun. On the approach of his pursuers, this hopeless wanderer sought to continue his flight; but one of his own followers, wearied out by this irksome state of perpetual alarm, suspense, and hostility, with a single stroke of his scimitar, brought him lifeless to the earth, and taking off his head, conveyed it immediately to Mouffek. The latter having ranged the province at will, returned to the presence of his sovereign, and was bountifully rewarded for his services.

These events appear to have given stability to the good fortune of Bahâ-ud-doulah; who continued henceforward to exercise the supreme power to the full fruition of his wishes, until, at Oujaun, in the latter Jummaudy of the four hundred and third of the Hidjerah, he was carried off by an epilepsy, in the forty third year of his age, and the 25th of his reign. In conformity to the injunctions of his will, he was buried at Nudjef, near the tomb of his father.

MAJID or MEJID-UD-DOULAH Abû Tauleb Rûstum, the son of Fakher-ud-doulah.

When, on the demise of his father, in the three hundred and eighty seventh of the Hidjerah, and in express concurrence with the sentiments of the military chiefs of his nation, he ascended the throne of his ancestors, this prince was yet a minor; and his mother Seydah, a woman of singular probity and ability, undertook the charge of government in his behalf. The ungrateful stripling had, however, no sooner attained to the age of puberty than he set himself to oppose the prudent measures of this discreet and valuable parent; and, in defiance of her counsels, committed the office of Vezzeir to the dubious fidelity, perhaps, of Abû Ally. The respectable dowager equally resenting the neglect and ingratitude of her son, privately withdrew to the fortress of Tabarek,* the scen of her husband's dissolution; but shortly afterwards embraced an opportunity of escaping thence at midnight towards Loristaun. The governor of the latter province, Budder the son of Husnûyah, hastened to give her the most honourable reception; and in due time recon-

MAJID-UD-DOULAH.

* Some miles to the northward of Rey.

ucted her at the head of a considerable force towards Rey, gave battle to Majid-ud-doulah who opposed him at the head of his troops, and having defeated and taken him prisoner, together with his obnoxious Vezzeir, finally seated the princess Seydah in paramount possession of the throne of Irâk Ajem. The son of Husnûyah then withdrew to his province, amply compensated by the marks of her bounty which she liberally bestowed upon him for his important services. A. H. 403-20. A. D. 1012-29. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

The attention of this singular queen was now directed, by an impartial administration of justice, to diffuse prosperity and happiness throughout her country. She held stated and regular communications with her ministers, and gave replies to the embassadors of foreign princes, untutored, and unassisted by any one; with no other difference than in the hangings of the apartment, which, to preserve the decorum of her sex, she on such occasions interposed to screen her person from the view of the public. When she had, however, thus continued for some time to devote herself to the welfare and happiness of her people, she at last gave way to the impulse of maternal affection, and determined to overlook the past misconduct of her son. Majid-ud-doulah was in consequence permitted to re-ascend the throne of his father: and as long as the princess Seydah survived to influence his conduct, the country continued to exhibit all the marks of a just and benevolent government, which had distinguished her own auspicious administration. But when she died, prosperity and order appear to have descended with her to her grave.

In the early part of the four hundred and twentieth of the Hidjerah, and in the confusion which succeeded to the death of the above excellent princess, Sûltan Mahmûd of Ghezneen disclosed his design of subjugating Irâk Ajem, and having entered Mazanderaun, he, from thence, detached a part of his army to take possession of Rey, directing his general to use every exertion to get the person of Majid-ud-doulah into his power alive; in which he appears to have experienced but little difficulty. When he found that the troops of Mahmûd had actually entered his territories, Majid-ud-doulah, with what, in the derangement of terror, he might conceive a stretch of singular sagacity, immediately proceeded to join them, and thus became a voluntary captive in the hands of his enemies. Sûltan Mahmûd, on this acceptable piece of intelligence, hastened in person, without delay, to Rey;

A. H. 420. A. D. 1029. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

and having summoned the credulous and miserable captive to his presence, is said to have held with him a conversation in the following strain. He first demanded if he had ever perused the Shahnamah; an ancient chronicle, or history of sovereign princes, so called, for it is not probable that the celebrated heroic poem of that name, the work of Ferdûssy was yet circulated; and having been replied to in the affirmative, the Sûltan further demanded if he had ever played at chess: and being still answered in the affirmative, he proceeded to ask if, in the history to which he had referred him, there was a single example recorded of two monarchs reigning in the same dominions; or whether on his chess-board it had ever occurred to him to see the two kings planted on the same square? "Not that I am aware of in any instance," replied Majid-ud-doulah. "Then" said Mahmûd, "what insanity "could have impelled thee, without an effort, to unite thyself to my "troops, and thus tamely abandon thy person, and liberty, to the dis-"cretion of a stranger"? After which, causing the unfortunate prince, his son, and principal adherents, to be laid in bonds, he sent him in that state to Ghezniu, from whence he never returned. The authority of Majid-ud-doulah is stated to have subsisted under various circumstances for about thirty years: but as he was for the most part inordinately devoted to his sensual pleasures, his memory cannot be entitled to any extraordinary degree of esteem.

SULTAUN-UD-DOULAH.

SULTAUN-UD-DOULAH Abû Shûja the son of Bahâ-ud-doulah, on the death of his father at Oujaun, or Erjaun, it is not exactly discriminated which, in the four hundred and third of the Hidjerah, succeeded with the unanimous concurrence of the nobles and principal individuals of the province, to the vacant throne of his predecessors; and proceeding immediately to Shirauz, dispatched Jullâl-ud-doulah, one of his brothers, to take charge of the government of Bassorah, while Abûl Fowauress, another, was employed to secure Kermaun. The latter, however, no sooner reached his province, than he threw off the authority of Sûltaun-ud-doulah, against whom he commenced immediate hostilities; which, under considerable vicissitude of fortune, he continued for a long time to maintain, until in the year four hundred and nine, their differences terminated in some species of accommodation; by which, at all events, the province of Kermaun was left as formerly

to Abûl Fowauress, with the condition that he should entertain no further designs of hostility against his brother. A. H. 411-16. A. D. 1020-25.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

In the four hundred and eleventh of the Hidjerah, Mûshurruf-ud-doulah revolted against the authority of his brother, and was supported in his views by a great part of the army: but when hostilities had continued for a period of some duration, this dispute was also destined to terminate in a treaty, by which it was agreed that Mûshurruf-ud-doulah should administer the government of Arabian Irâk as the lieutenant of Sultaun-ud-doulah; and that the latter should confine his residence to the limits of Farss and Ahûauz; it being further stipulated between the brothers, that neither of them should bestow the employment of Vezeer upon Eben Sehlan, who was considered the principal promoter of their disunion.

Sultaun-ud-doulah, nevertheless, having left Waussit on the conclusion of the treaty, and withdrawn into the territory of Ahûauz, no sooner reached Tûster, than in direct violation of his recent engagements, he conferred the Vizzaurut upon the obnoxious Eben Sehlan: whom he sent back shortly afterwards to recommence hostilities against Mûshurruf-ud-doulah. The contest thus renewed between the brothers was now protracted to the year four hundred and thirteen, when their differences were once more accommodated by a treaty; Irâk Arab being finally ceded in full sovereignty to Mûshurruf-ud-doulah, and Farss and Kermaun confirmed to Sultaun-ud-doulah. The latter survived this period for about two years; dying at Shirauz in the four hundred and fifteenth of the Hidjerah,* after a turbulent reign of something more than twelve years.

MUSHURRUF-UD-DOULAH Abû Ally Hussun, the son of Bahâ-ud-doulah, having, in the manner just related, struck from the Khotbah the name of his brother Sultaun-ud-doulah, continued with considerable success to exercise the functions of government at Baghdâd; until the former Rabbeia of the four hundred and sixteenth of the Hidjerah,† when he died after an administration, as it is alleged, of five years and twenty five days.

MUSHURRUF-UD-DOULAH.

* A. D. 1024. † May A. D. 1025.

A. H. 416-40. A. D. 1025-48. Khoiaussut-ul-akhbaur.

JULLAUL-UD-DOULAH Abû Tauher, the son of Bahâ-ud-doulah, succeeded to the dignity of Ameir-ul-ûmra at Baghdâd, on the death of his brother Mûshurruf-ud-doulah; and his power subsisted, under some diversity of circumstances, for a period of eighteen years and eleven months, during which he was engaged in contests perpetually recurring with the Turkish mercenaries; until, in Shabaun, of the year four hundred and thirty-five,* as hath been already observed under the Khelaufut of Ul Kâeim, he was finally removed by the hand of death.

JULLAUL-UD-DOULAH.

EZZ-UL-MULK Abû Kalinjar Merzebaun, the son of Sûltaun-ud-doulah, being in Ahûauz at the period of his father's death, in the four hundred and fifteenth of the Hidjerah, hastened without delay, on intelligence of that event, towards Shirauz. Becoming, however, engaged in a protracted warfare, with his uncle Abûl Fowauress, the governor of Kermaun, hostilities continued between them, with a singular fluctuation of success and discomfiture, until the death of the latter, in four hundred and nineteen, placed both the provinces of Farss and Kermaun in undisputed possession of Ezz-ul-mûlk. Subsequent to this, a tedious war of nine years broke out between him and Jullaul-ud-doulah, another of his uncles, the Ameir-ul-ûmra of the Khelaufut; until the four hundred and twenty-eighth of the Hidjerah,† when a peace was concluded between the adverse kinsmen, each of them reciprocally engaging on oath to lay aside all further contemplation of mutual hostility. On the death of Jullaul-ud-doulah, in the year four hundred and thirty five, already adverted to, the name of Ezz-ul-Mûlk, was, as far as the formality could extend, introduced into the Khotbah, and other acts of government, on his arrival at Baghdâd; but the fortune of the race of Bûyah was, by this time, rapidly declining before the powerful ascendancy of the blood of Seljûk. Abû Kalinjar continued however to uphold the sinking destinies of his family, until the four hundred and fortieth of the Hidjerah,‡ when he died, after a protracted reign of about five and twenty lunar years. In addition to his other titles this prince occasionally bore those of Emmaud-ud-dein-ûllah—*pillar of the faith of God*; and, Hussaum-ud-doulah—*sword of the state.*

EZZ-UL-MULK.

UL-MELEK-UR-RAHEIM Khossrou Feyrouz the son of Ezz-ul-mûlk, Abû Kalinjar.

* March, A. D. 1044. † A. D. 1037. ‡ A. D. 1048.

When intelligence of his father's death was communicated at Baghdâd, the dignity of Ameir-ul-ûmra became vested in this prince. His brother, Abû Munsûr Fûllaud Settoun, having however assumed the royal authority at Shirauz, an inveterate course of hostilities thereupon commenced between the rival princes; and continued until the early part of the year four hundred and forty seven; when Abû Munsûr being compelled to abandon his capital, the province of Farss was united to the territories already in possession of his more fortunate rival. But the celebrated Toghrel Beg arriving before Baghdâd on the twenty fifth of Ramzaun of the same year,* as was formerly noticed under the Kheiufut of Ul Kâeim, Mêlek-ur-ra heim was shortly afterwards delivered up to that formidable chieftain, by whom he was condemned to imprisonment in one of his fortresses, where he ultimately died. The government of Mêlek-ur-raheim is alleged, however, to have subsisted under all circumstances, for a period of seven years.

A. H. 440-48. A. D. 1048-56. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaar. UL MELEK-UR-RAHEIM.

ABU MUNSUR Fûllaud Settoun (column of steel) the son of Abû Kalinjar, having, on the death of his father in four hundred and forty, assumed at Shirauz, the sovereign authority, in addition to the war in which he was immediately engaged with Mêlek-ur-raheim, appears to have been further embarrassed by the opposition which he experienced to his authority, from another brother of the name of Abû Sauid Khossrou Shah; if, indeed, these were not one and the same person, of which there is a considerable probability, since it is immediately observed, that on the death of this Khossrou Shah, Abû Munsûr became from that period more firmly established in his power. Proceeding however, to put to death, at the instance of his mother, one of the chiefs of his court entitled Sauheb-e-audil, who had officiated as his father's prime minister, the circumstance produced in Fazzel the son of Hussun, occasionally distinguished by the appellation of Fuzzelûyah (usurper perhaps) a very powerful Ameir, and the friend of the deceased, a determination to avenge the injury; and hostilities having immediately ensued, Abû Munsûr, in the course of the year four hundred and forty eight, fell into the hands of the insurgent, and became a prisoner in one of his own castles. The successful rebel, repaired at a subsequent

ABU MUNSUR Fûllaud Settoun.

* December 17th, A. D. 1056.

A. H. 448. A. D. 1056. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

period to the camp, or court of Alep Arslan, the nephew and successor of Toghrel Beg, and obtained from that prince for himself, a patent for the government of Farss. The power of Abû Munsûr, including the period in which it was contested with his brother, subsisted for about eight years.

Abu Ally, Key Khossrou, last of the Deylemites.

Abu Ally, Key Khossrou, the son of Abû Kalinjar, appears to have been the last of the race of Bûyah, that was suffered to retain a vestige of the power of his ancestors. Some time after the fate of his brothers had been decided, he voluntarily repaired to the court of Alep Arslan, who generously bestowed upon him the town of Nûbendejaun, with part of the adjoining territory. There he continued to lead a life of enviable tranquillity and peace, until, in the four hundred and eighty seventh of the Hidjerah, he withdrew to the mansions of eternal rest. Henceforward, of this celebrated family, the name and recollection alone survived to mark the page of history, after it had flourished with considerable splendor for a period of one hundred and twenty seven lunar yearrs; calculating from the accession of Emmaud-ud-doulah the first monarch, in the three hundred and twenty first, to the imprisonment of Abû Munsûr Fûllaud Settoun, in the four hundred and forty eighth of the Hidjerah.

Of Washmagueir, and his successors in Jûrjaun.

The name of Washmagueir the son of Zebbaur, the brother of Murdawunje, and the founder of a family which, for several successions, enjoyed the principality of Jûrjaun, or Jûrjoun, on the south eastern extremity of the Caspian, has already been introduced to the attention of the reader. With his accustomed brevity, our author now proceeds to state that this personage traced his origin to Erghesh, who was prince, or governor of Guilan, in the remote age of Key Khossrou; for whom, if he was not the Cyrus of the Greeks, we shall find some difficulty in discovering a parallel in the records of European history. It was observed on a former occasion, that about the three hundred and thirty second of the Hidjerah,* the same Washmagueir appeared in the court of Ameir Nouh, the son of Nasser the Samaunian, and that he was enabled through the assistance of that prince, in the course of the following year, to make himself master of the city of Jûrjaun, and the territory usually annexed to it.

* A. D. 943-4.

On the death of Washmagueir, in the three hundred and fifty-sixth of the Hidjerah,* he was succeeded by his son Beisettoun; of whom we find nothing recorded further, than that when the hand of time had completed the page of his destiny, about the year three hundred and sixty-six,† his brother Kâbûs, entitled Shums-ul-maula (the sun of sublimity) encircled his brows with the diadem of sovereign authority; and furnished to the inhabitants of Jûrjaun an auspicious presage of a just and equitable reign. A. H. 356-71. A. D. 967-82. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur. BEISETTOUN.

In benevolence of disposition and manners, in the graces of the understanding, and elevation of mind, SHUMS-UL-MAULA-KABUS, the son of Washmagueir, is said to have been distinguished far beyond his contemporaries, in his thoughts and actions as averse to the conception or commission of all that was base and unworthy, as he was renowned through the world for his singular eloquence, and the masterly compositions of his pen. These were so remarkable for their peculiar beauty, as to have drawn from Sâheb-e-Ebbaud, the accomplished vezzeir of Fakher-ud-doulah, an acknowledgement, that he could discriminate them from those of any other, by the perusal of a single line. SHUMS-UL-MAULA KABUS.

He was, however, in the course of the year three hundred and seventy one,‡ the sixth of his government, in consequence of the assistance which he had afforded to Fakher-ud-doulah, compelled to abandon his country to the troops of Mûeyed-ud-doulah the Deylemite, as noticed in a former page, and to retire into Khorassaun. In that province, under every vicissitude of fortune, he continued to reside for no less a period than eighteen years; during which, his native benevolence, and greatness of mind, never once forsook him; as was universally experienced by the best and most distinguished persons within the limits of that extensive territory.

The injury which he had experienced in the loss of his country, in consequence of his attachment to Fakher-ud-doulah, might have justified the expectation, that when that prince was restored to power, on the death of his brother, he should have been also reinstated in the possession of his paternal inheritance. The services of Kâbûs were, nevertheless, either forgotten, or totally disregarded; and the territory

* A. D. 967. † A. D. 976. ‡ A. D. 981-2.

A. H. 388. A. D. 998. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

of Jûrjaun was added without ceremony by Fakher-ud-doulah, to his other dominions. The authority of Kâbûs was however, on the death of that prince, openly proclaimed in Mazanderaun, through the influence and exertions of Espahbed Sheheryaur, one of the native chiefs, who caused his name to be inserted in the Khotbah and coinage of the country, in the three hundred and eighty eighth of the Hidjerah.* Shums-ul-maula Kâbûs hastened immediately from Neyshapûr to avail himself of this unexpected turn of fortune, and was quietly established on the throne of Mazanderaun. His power henceforward daily acquired additional splendor, until, in the process of time, the provinces of Tebrestaun, and Guilan, were united to his other possessions; his son Menûtcheher being appointed to the government of the latter, and one of his principal followers to that of the former.

But with all the eminent endowments of mind which he is acknowledged to have possessed, there were some necessary qualifications, in which this prince appears to have been very conspicuously deficient. His deportment towards his nobles and military chiefs was morose and unaccommodating to an extreme degree; and his administration of justice was sanguinary beyond example. In short, he knew no punishment but the avenging steel of the executioner, no prison but the narrow chamber of the tomb. His government became, therefore, in the sequel, intolerable both to the Ameirs of his court, and to the principal inhabitants of Jûrjaun, and a conspiracy was at last formed to divest him of his authority. At a period when he was encamped, without suspicion, in sight of the last mentioned city, the conspirators under cover of the night, suddenly surrounded his tent; but as some of the principal officers persisted in opposing their designs, and in defending the person of their sovereign, the rebels hastened to take possession of the capital; and having seized and secured it for themselves, dispatched a deputation to invite Menûtcheher from Guilan, to usurp the throne of his father. In the mean time, immediately abandoning all concern with human grandeur, Shums-ul-maula, accompanied by a band of faithful domestics, retired towards Bostaum.

When Menûtcheher, on the invitation of the insurgents, repaired to Jûrjaun, they announced to him on his arrival, that if he concurred

* A. D. 998.

with them in the removal of his father, they were unanimously disposed to submit to his authority; if not, they communicated their determination to bestow their allegiance upon some other person, and to banish him from among them, with as little repugnance, as they had done his father before him. Perceiving no other alternative, the young prince for the present acceded to their views, and was upon this immediately invested with the government. A short time afterwards he proceeded however to Bostaum, and there, at his father's feet, offered to sacrifice his life in avenging him on the traitors who had driven him from his throne. Kâbûs withstood this proof of filial affection, declaring that his concern with power was irrevocably at an end; that his career was here destined to terminate, and that his son might therefore now consider that the government was justly devolved to himself. It was accordingly, some how or other, arranged that the dethroned monarch should be confined at large to the fortress of Khiassek, or perhaps Kaschek, there to spend his days in the exercise of his devotions; and to that fortress he was in consequence conducted by one of the chiefs, who undertook the charge of his person.

A. H. 403-20. A. D. 1012-29. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

On his way to the place of his confinement, it is said that the monarch had the curiosity to demand of his conductor, the motives which had actuated the recent revolt. The reply was, that perceiving his sanguinary executions carried beyond all bounds of reason and moderation, this chief and five others had combined to precipitate him from a throne which he had stained with so much blood. On which Kâbûs observed, that herein he laboured under the grossest of errors, since for his own part he had no hesitation in ascribing his misfortunes to too scrupulous an aversion to the effusion of blood; for had he taken the precaution to anticipate their treasons, by putting this same chief and his five accomplices, under the sword of the executioner, the sad reverse which he now experienced had never befallen him. A short time after the unfortunate monarch had been securely lodged in the fortress of Khiassek, the authors of his disgrace, suspecting that he might still attempt to avenge his injuries, employed some of their emissaries to dispatch him; and he was accordingly compelled to receive from their hands the cup of martyrdom.

A. H. 403-20. A. D. 1012-29. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

MENUTCHEHER the son of Kâbûs assumed the government of Jûrjan, in the manner we have already noticed, on the final renunciation of his father, about the four hundred and third of the Hidjerah: and he received soon afterwards, together with the title of Fulluk-ul-maula, firmament of sublimity, from the Khalif Ul Kâder, letters patent investing him with all the possessions of his predecessors. The benevolent genius of Fulluk-ul-Maula impelled him moreover to cultivate the friendship of the powerful Sûltan Mahmûd of Gheznîn, to whom, by the introduction of his name and titles into the Khotbah and Sikkah of his country, he pledged his obedience; and this he sought further to confirm, by soliciting an alliance, which he obtained with one of the princesses of the Sûltan's family. When he had by these means put his affairs in a prosperous and steady train, the attention of Menûtcheher was for some time employed, in bringing to punishment the murderers of his father; the greater part of whom, by various devices, he ultimately succeeded in putting out of the way; after which he continued to reign, as long as he lived, in the full enjoyment of all his wishes. It is to be observed that although our author concludes his cursory memoir of the family of Washmagueir,* in the manner just submitted to the reader, there are other historians who introduce a brother, of the name of Darab the son of Kâbus, as having succeeded to the territory of Jûrjaun on the death of Fulluk-ul-maula, though not suffered to retain his authority. With these, at all events, ceased altogether the power of the family, after it had subsisted about ninety lunar years.

MENUTCHEHER the son of Kâbûs.

*The reader is requested to observe that gu before i or ei, is to be pronounced invariably as in *guinea*.

CHAP. VII.

THE concurrence of historians has allotted to Sebekteggin, or Sebektekein, or Subactagi, as he has been indifferently denominated, an origin of no higher distinction than that of having been enrolled among the slaves of Aleptekein,* Alputtekein, or again *Abistagi*, the first sovereign of Ghezniân; who had himself arisen, as formerly noticed, under the power of the Samanides, from a state of the lowest servitude, first to the government of Khorassaun, and ultimately to sovereign power. SEBEKTEGGIN was however early distinguished beyond his associates for his consumate prudence and extraordinary valour, and displayed upon his brow many auspicious prognostications of that exalted destiny, to which he was born to attain. Accordingly, on the death of Aleptekein, in the three hundred and sixty-fifth of the Hidjerah, the military chiefs, and principal inhabitants of Ghezniân, or Ghezni, united in conferring upon this able chieftain, the vacant government, together with the daughter of their departed sovereign.

A. H. 365. A. D. 976. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

SEBEKTEGGIN IId monarch of Ghezniu.

Neither in any instance did Sebekteggin deceive the hopes of those, by whom he had been thus elevated to royalty. During a reign, distinguished for moderation and justice, he is equally extolled for his exertions to restrain the outrages of the oppressor, and for the most liberal proofs of bounty and humanity, which he exhibited to cherish and secure the attachment of his people, of every class and description.

In the three hundred and sixty-seventh of the Hidjerah he was employed in reducing the city of Bost on one side, and that of Kosdaur on the other side of his dominions; after which, he led his troops into the territories on the Indus, where he exterminated vast multitudes of the unoffending natives, uninstructed in the vaunted truths of Isslâur;

* From analogy, the author is disposed to prefer the former of these appellations; since we do not say Alparslan, but Alep Arslan—*the great lion*. The *be* and *te* in some manuscripts, taken for *be* and *sein*, may have produced Abistagi or Abistakein.

A. H. 367-87. A. D. 978-97. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

and where, having subjugated extensive districts, he constructed on the temples of idolatry, numerous mosques, and edifices dedicated to the service of religion; and then returned, triumphant and loaded with spoil, to his capital of Gheznîn.

Subsequent to this he marched, as was formerly related, into Mawur-un-neher, on the application of Ameir Nouh the Samaunian, monarch of Bokhâra; and proceeding thence into Khorassaun, finally restored the authority of his ally, re-established tranquillity and good order to the countries of his government, and receiving from the gratitude of the Samaunian for himself the title of Nasser-ud-dein, and for his son Mahmûd, together with the government of Khorassaun, that of Seyf-ud-doulah, he returned, successful in all his enterprizes, once more to his capital.

Although the death of Sebekteggin was, on a former occasion, stated to have taken place at Gheznîn, we are now apprized, in conformity with other authorities, that this event occurred at Bâlkh, in the month of Shabaun,* of the three hundred and eighty-seventh of the Hidjerah; that of his friend Ameir Nouh having taken place the preceding month of Rudjub.

Before we dismiss our short memorial of the reign of Sebekteggin, we cannot withhold ourselves, although at the hazard of its having already appeared before the public from a far abler pen, from translating from the first part of Ferishtah's history, the following pleasing little incident.

In the early part of his career in the service of Aleptekein, the whole of his property being comprized in the horse on which he rode, Sebekteggin usually passed the day in ranging the plains of Neyshapûr in quest of game. One day, while engaged in this his ordinary occupation, he unexpectedly came in view of a deer and her fawn, which were browsing, unconscious of harm and danger, on the extensive heath. Setting spurs to his horse, Sebekteggin succeeded in seizing the fawn, and having bound its legs, and secured it across the pummel of his saddle, took his way towards the city. When he had proceeded some distance on his return, happening to look behind him, he perceived that the dam

* August, A. D. 987.

of his harmless little captive still continued to follow, exhibiting very evident marks of the most violent perturbation, and affliction. This spectacle wrought so powerfully on the compassionate feelings of Sebekteggin, that he determined without hesitation to set his prisoner at large; and he accordingly restored it to the fond caresses of its dam. Manifestly delighted with the recovery of its offspring, the tender mother bounded towards its native heaths; occasionally turning back, as if to contemplate with gratitude, as it withdrew, the person of its compassionate benefactor. That very night the prophet appeared to Sebekteggin in a dream, and addressed him, as he imagined, in the following terms. "Sebekteggin! the compassionate disposition evinced in thy "behaviour this day towards a harmless and inoffensive animal, has been "marked with approbation in the presence of the most high; in testi- "mony of which, a warrant of sovereign power has been registered in "thy name, in the tribunals of the eternal God—be it thy care, in thy "conduct towards thy fellow creatures, to persevere in the same laud- "able demeanor—Let no opportunity escape thee to exercise the pro- "pensities of a benevolent heart; the very essence of happiness, both "in thy present state, and in that which will be thy portion hereafter." A. H. 387. A. D. 997. Ferishtah. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Issmauil the son of Sebekteggin, third of the monarchs of Gheznin.

In conformity with the arrangements of his father's will, this prince had proceeded immediately to invest himself with the sovereign power; and to render his accession popular, by a most lavish distribution of favors and rewards to the troops, and to the household of the deceased monarch. But his elder brother Mahmûd, at Neyshapûr the capital of his government, was no sooner apprized of these circumstances, than he hastened to dispatch to Issmauil a letter, conceived in the following terms. "Of all mankind, in a brother's estimation, thou bear- "est the first and highest place—of wealth and empire he does not there- "fore regret thee the possession, to the utmost extent of all that thou "canst possibly aspire to. But to the stability and permanence of "states, some knowledge in the arts of government, some maturity of "years and experience are indispensably requisite; and were it possi- "ble to contemplate in thy character any of these necessary qualifi- "cations, thou shouldst find in me the most willing and obsequious "of subjects. Under other circumstances it becomes, however, advisable Issmauil IIId of the Ghaznevides, or monarchs of Ghaznin.

A. H. 387. A. D. 998. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

"that thou shouldst immediately proceed to make with me, as the law "prescribes an impartial and equitable distribution of our father's effects "and treasures; and that thou shouldst put me in possession of the me- "tropolis of Ghezniîn; while, on my part, I am ready to resign to thee "the government of Bâlkh, with the command of the armies in Khor- "assaun."

To this overture, on the part of his brother, Ameir Issmauil appears to have paid no other attention, than by preparing for immediate hostilities. Mahmûd led his troops in consequence towards Ghezniîn, and was joined on his approach by his brother Nasser, and by an uncle of the name of Naratchik or Boghratchik; Ameir Issmauil advancing towards the same quarter, from the side of Bâlkh. While the armies were thus reciprocally approaching, several attempts were, however, made on the part of Mahmûd to dissuade his brother from proceeding to extremities, and to prevail upon him to accede to some plan of accommodation; but in vain. He had resolved on trying the issue of battle: and in this, after a conflict of some duration, and obstinacy, he was finally defeated, and compelled to shut himself up in the castle of Ghezniîn. Sûltan Mahmûd brought him at last to submit to terms; and having taken from him the keys of his father's treasury, and in every department of the government established agents under his own authority, drew off his army towards Bâlkh. It will be sufficient further to remark, that Issmauil was some time afterwards confined, with every reasonable comfort and indulgence of life, to a fortress in the province of Jûrjaun; where he died at a period long subsequent to his degradation.

SULTAN MAHMUD, IVth of the monarchs of Ghezniîn.

Sûltan MAHMUD Ghauzzy, the son of Sebekteggin, fourth of the monarchs of Ghezniîn.

Having succeeded, on his arrival at Bâlkh from his expedition to secure the throne of his father, in purging the plains of Khorassaun from the impurities of adverse faction, Sûltan Mahmûd received from the Khalif Ul Kâder together with a Khelaut, or dress of honor, of singular magnificence, the titles of Yemein-ud-doulah, and Amein-ul-millut, purporting to be the *right hand of the state*, and *protector* or *arbitrator of the faith* of Mahommed. About the same period he concluded a treaty with Eylek Khaun the monarch of Kashghâr, who

had subjugated Mawur-un-neher, the territory on the Oxus, and from whom he received a daughter in marriage. A. H. 382. A. D. 993. Ferishtah.

Mahmûd, by the victory at Peishawir, on the eighth of Mohurrim* of the three hundred and ninety-second of the Hidjerah, over Jeypal prince of Lahour and the Punjaub, having made that monarch his prisoner, together with fifteen of his sons and other relatives, and killed five thousand of his followers, secured a triumphant conclusion to his *first* Indian expedition. The booty which fell into his hands was very considerable; and among other articles, were sixteen jewelled necklaces, by the Hindûs denominated *Maula*, one of which alone belonging to the Râjah himself, was estimated at the value of one hundred and eighty thousand dinaurs; equivalent, at the lowest calculation, to eighty two thousand five hundred pounds sterling. On this occasion, Mahmûd is represented to have extended his ravages to Bahtindah or Batneir; and to have enlarged his royal prisoner, on the promise of a stipulated tribute. But it being a maxim among these absurd idolaters, that the monarch who had twice fallen into the hands of the Mosslems, was rendered unworthy of the sovereign authority; that his errors, crimes, or misfortunes, could be no otherwise expunged than by the all-powerful operation of fire; and Jeypal having become now twice a prisoner to the implacable adversaries of the gods of his country, that prince straightway resigned his authority to his son Anundpal; and on the burning pile offered himself a sacrifice to avert the calamities which might further impend, from his afflicted people. On his return from this expedition Mahmûd either received, or assumed the title of Ghauzzy, or victor in the cause of the faith.

On this occasion we have been insensibly engaged, and perhaps unnecessarily, in extracting from Ferishtah, more in detail than is strictly consistent with our design, the narrative of Mahmûd's proceedings; which the reader will doubtless find already executed with far superior skill, by the abler pen of colonel Scott;† and more recently by the learned author of the Indian antiquities. Henceforward the relation will, as far as possible, be confined to the succincter statements furnished in the Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

* Nov. 26th, A. D. 1001.

† With some degree of mortification I must here acknowledge, that this respectable writer's translation of Ferishtah has never yet fallen to my lot to peruse.

A. H. 394-6. A.D.1004-6. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

In three hundred and ninety-four, Mahmûd's further designs against the Indian territory were suspended, by an expedition in which he was engaged against Kholf the son of Ahmed, the prince of Seiestaun, and Neimrouz; who had unfortunately suffered some proofs to transpire, of a disposition hostile to the interest of this powerful and haughty conqueror. Defeated in battle, the sovereign of Seisetaun shut himself up in the fortress of Tauk, of which name we find a place on the Heirmund. Here he was immediately invested by Mahmûd, and he finally capitulated, throwing himself on the mercy of his besieger; whose vanity he flattered by the title of Sûltan, with which, in the moment of prostration, he had saluted him; and by which the conqueror was so much gratified, that he restored to the suppliant his government of Seiestaun, adding to his own name the title thus seasonably applied to him, by the subjugated prince. Recurring however shortly afterwards to hostilities, and claiming the protection of Eylek Khaun of Kashghâr, Kholf the son of Ahmed again excited the displeasure of Mahmûd; and becoming once more his prisoner, was now confined to the castle of Jûrjaún, where he ultimately died.

Resuming his hostile designs against the princes of India, Mahmûd in the course of three hundred and ninety six, subdued the cities of Behautiah and Mûltaun. But, while he was engaged on this occasion in the neighborhood of the latter city, his father in law, Eylek Khaun, took advantage of his absence to violate his engagements, and to invade the important province of Khorassaun; of which, his lieutenant general Sebaush, or Sebaushitekein, was employed to take possession, while Jauffertekein, another of his captains, was nominated to the government of Bâlkh. On intelligence of the approach of these intruders, Arslan Hauzeb, who presided at Herât under the authority of Mahmûd, had abandoned that city, and hastened to Gheznîn; from whence he dispatched to apprize his sovereign, of the unprovoked infraction of treaty by which he had been driven from his province. Sûltan Mahmûd quitted Mûltaun without delay, and with the rapidity of lightning returned to his capital. From thence he shortly afterwards led his troops towards Bâlkh; Sebaushi, and Jauffertekein withdrawing at his approach, like the feeblest winged insects before the violence of the whirlwind.

Eylek Khaun demanding upon this, the assistance of Kudder Khaun, monarch of Khoten, that prince, at the head of fifty thousand of his bravest warriors, hastened to join him; and the two monarchs now proceeded in conjunction, to give battle to Mahmûd; who lay encamped with a powerful army, and a body of trained elephants, at the distance of about four leagues, or farsangs from Bâlkh. When the adverse hosts drew out in the presence of each other, and the battle had already commenced, Mahmûd, on his part, prostrated himself in prayer; and fervently besought the aid of that Omnipotent being, whose eternal nature is equally exempt from want and decay; but when, by certain auspicious indications, he thought he could discern that his vows were accepted, he immediately mounted his elephant, which he now urged straight forward against the centre of Eylek Khaun's troops. The elephant seizing the standard-bearer of the enemy, instantly threw him into the air, and proceeded with equal fury to trample under foot all others who came in his way. The soldiers of Mahmûd became so animated by the example of their sovereign, that all at once assailing the adverse line, they bore down all further opposition, and obtained a decisive and signal victory; Eylek Khaun and his ally the monarch of Khoten, escaping with the utmost difficulty across the Jeyhûn. This event appears ro have taken place in the three hundred and ninety-seventh of the Hidjerah.

A. H. 397-9. A. D. 1007-9. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

In the course of the same year, Sûltan Mahmûd proceeded again at the head of his troops towards the territory of the Indus, in order to chastise the defection of Nowausah Shah; who after embracing Isslâm, had at the same time apostatized from his religion, and rebelled against the authority of his sovereign. The rebel fled however at the very rumour of Mahmûd's approach; and the latter without further trouble took the direction of his capital.

In the three huudred and ninety ninth of the Hidjerah, Sûltan Mahmûd appears to have been for the fourth time engaged in hostilities against the native princes of India; being on this occasion opposed by Pâl the son of Anundpal, who surpassed them all in the abundance of his wealth, and the number of his forces. According to Ferishtah, he was met on the plains of Peishawir by Anundpal, at the head of a countless multitude assembled from all parts of Hindûstaun. For the

A. H. 399. A. D. 1009. Ferishtah.

space of forty days the armies remained stationary in the presence of each other without an action; the Hindûs continually strengthened by fresh reinforcements, while Mahmûd, with more than ordinary vigilance, covered both his flanks with intrenchments, lest in the impending conflict, the enemy's wings might penetrate in those points. His front was at the same time left open, apparently for the purpose of engaging without embarrassment, when he found his opportunity. When he had at last determined on giving battle, Mahmûd detached from his main body a thousand archers, with instructions to attack the enemy: and these having for sometime hotly occupied the attention of the Hindûs, drew them by degrees towards the encampment of the Mosslems; who proceeded in fair and compact array to oppose the troops of Anundpal, now become the assailants. In spite of the circumspection of Mahmûd, and in the heat of the action, a body of one thousand Kahkares, or Guikkers, bare headed and bare footed, variously and strangely armed, passed the intrenchments on both his flanks; and falling in, with astonishing fury among the cavalry, proceeded with the desperation of savages, and with their swords and knives, to cut down and maim both the horse and his rider, until, almost in the twinkling of an eye, between three and four thousand men had fallen victims to the rage of these infuriated maniacs. Such was the impression of this desperate effort, that Mahmûd was actually about to draw aside from his encampment, and to discontinue the conflict until the day following; when, most fortunately for the disciples of Isslâm, the elephant which carried Anundpal, the generalissimo of the idolaters, taking fright at the explosion, says Ferishtah, of the cannon and musquetry, but most probably at that of some rockets, suddenly recoiled from the action; and this being perceived by the troops engaged on each side of him, the alarm immediately spread that the Râjâh was flying; on which the Hindûs at once broke, and dispersed in every direction. They were, for two days and as many nights, pursued without intermission by Abdullah Tâey at the head of five thousand Arab horse, and by Arslan Hauzeb with ten thousand Turks and Afghans, by whom twenty thousand of the fugitives were put to the sword; while thirty chain of elephants, and a prodigious booty were captured, and brought to the camp of the victorious Mahmûd.

The Sûltan now presented his army before the fortress of Bheimnugher, Nuggerkûte or Naugracut, anciently so denominated; and here described to have been a strong castle erected on the summit of a mountain, by Rajah Bheim one of the ancient monarchs of the country; which was used by the Hindûs as a secure repository for their most sacred images, and by the surrounding Rajahs for their treasure and jewels. It was however at this period totally destitute of armed defenders, and left entirely to the care of the Brahmins, and other attendants, ministering in the worship of their idols. As might have been expected, the minds of these unwarlike and peaceful inhabitants of a fortress, of which however the foundations might be said to be laid in the heavens, immediately gave way to the impressions of terror and alarm, and the cries of quarter and mercy resounded from the affrighted garrison to the skies. On the third day the gates of this impregnable retreat were thrown open to Mahmûd, the unarmed and defenceless inhabitants falling at his feet. The victorious monarch, accompanied by his household, and the principal members of his court, immediately entered the place, and proceeded to survey and take possession of its inestimable deposit; consisting, as we are told, of seven hundred thousand dinaurs of gold,* in specie, of seven hundred Munns† in gold and silver plate, of two hundred Munns in pure gold unwrought, of two thousand Munns in unwrought silver, and of twenty Munns in diamonds, pearls, rubies, and coral, formed into various ornaments for the person; all of which had remained here untouched, ever since the time of the above mentioned Rajah Bheim, the founder.

A. H. 399. A. D. 1009. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

On his return to Ghezniˆn, Mahmûd in a suite of pavilions which he pitched without the city, exhibited to the multitude, which thronged from thence and the neighboring towns, on tables of gold and silver, the spoils of Hindûstaun accumulated in the recent expedition; accompanying the glorious and splendid spectacle, which continued for three days successively, with a sumptuous repast, and a liberal distribution to the indigent, and to the votaries of religion, of every class and description.

* 320833l. 6s. 8d.

† In different parts of India the Munn or Maund, is variously estimated from a quarter of a hundred, to forty pounds weight.

A.H. 400-1. A.D. 1010-11. During the year four hundred, Sûltan Mahmûd resumed his operations against the Indian territory; and on his return to Ghêznîn in the course of the same year, he is said to have been followed by the most suppliant solicitations for peace, from the paramount sovereign of the Hindû princes, probably the Râjah Anundpal already mentioned; who engaged, if his entreaties were complied with, to furnish the Sûltan's arsenal with a supply of fifty elephsnts, and to remit in money and precious commodities an annual tribute to the royal treasury of Ghezanîn. On these terms Mahmûd appears to have consented to an accommodation; and a commercial intercourse is said to have been now opened or renewed between the subjects of the adverse powers.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

The following year, the four hundred and first of the Hidjerah, Mahmûd conducted his troops into the territory of Ghûr, or Ghour; and being opposed, with considerable obstinacy, by Mahommed the son of Sûri, the independent prince of the country, at the head of ten thousand horse, the latter was defeated by a very ordinary stratagem; being enticed from his intrenchments by a feigned retreat, and becoming the prisoner of his invader. He eluded however the protracted miseries of captivity by chewing the signet of his ring, which had in some way or other been impregnated with poison for such an emergency. The territory of Ghûr was hereupon united to the dominions already subjugated to the exchequer of Mahmûd.

About the period under consideration, Shah Nessaur the prince of Gherjistaun, which although probability be against us, we are disposed to identify with the province of Georgia, resisting the authority of Mahmûd, ultimately became his prisoner. On this occasion we are informed, that *Neyshaur* was the title bestowed by the people of Gherjistaun upon their sovereigns, in the same manner as those of *Rây* and *Khaun* are assigned to the monarchs who rule over them, by the Hindûs and Tataurs. In the time of Nouh the son of Munsûr the Samaunian, the Nessaur of Gherjistaun was a person of the name of Abû Nasser; who was induced by a natural indolence of disposition, and an unbounded attachment to letters, and the society of learned men, to resign the burden of his government, from which he was himself desirous of being relieved, to his son Mahommed. When the power of Sûltan Mahmûd, however, attained its ascendancy, one of his agents, Aukkeby,

the author of the Tarikh Yemeiny, was employed to demand the submission of the prince of Gherjistaun to the authority of his master: and this being complied with, without apparent difficulty, the son of Abû Nasser, who bore the title of Shah Nessaur; accompanied the agent to tender his submission in the presence of Mahmûd; and after residing some time at the court of that monarch, was permitted to return in safety to his native country. But suffering himself to be misled by the seductions of a mischievous ambition, the young man now suddenly evinced a disposition to be refractory, and to violate his engagements with his formidable superior: on which Altûntaush the Haujeb, or chamberlain, and Arslan Hauzeb or Jauzeb, as the name is indifferently written, were dispatched by Mahmûd to enforce obedience. On the arrival of these commanders before the capital of Gherjistaun, Nessaur Abû Nasser immediately threw himself on the mercy of Altûntaush, and was conveyed by that general towards Herât. Shah Nessaur had shut himself up in one of the strong holds of the country, but conceived it prudent at the expiration of a very little time, also to capitulate, and put himself into the hands of the generals of Mahmûd. He was immediately dispatched to Ghezniu, to the presence of that monarch, by whom after he had experienced the discipline of his whip, he was confined for life to one of his castles; the agents of the government being, at the same time, instructed to supply him with every thing that could contribute either to his comfort or enjoyment. Sûltan Mahmûd then sent for Nessaur Abû Nasser from Herât, and treating him with considerable kindness, purchased from him the whole of his inheritance, for a sum of money actually paid him on the spot.

A. H. 401-5. A. D. 1011-14. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

In the course of the year four hundred and five, Mahmûd was engaged in an expedition towards the remoter extremity of India, bordering on Tûrkestaun, or Tartary, according to Ferishtah; where he is said to have fought with, and defeated the sovereign of the country, and to have reduced the city of Nardein, of which the author does not attempt to fix the position. He proceeds however to state, that in the course of the same year, receiving information, that there existed a species of elephants to which they gave the appellation of elephants of the Mosslems, or Mûssulman elephants, at a place called either Manilsher, or Mabilsher, or Maylsher, it is impossible to determine which, unless it

A. H. 407-16. A. D. 1016-25. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

were indeed the celebrated sanctuary of Tahnaser,' Mahmûd led his troops into the country; and having defeated and expelled the lawful prince, a profligate and inveterate infidel, returned in triumph with an incalculable booty to his metropolis of Ghezniu.

Abûl Abbas Mâmûn the son of Mâmûn, prince of Khaurezm, had married one of the daughters of Sûltan Mahmûd; and being put to death in the four hundred and seventh of the Hidjerah, by Benaltekein, and a conspiracy of his factious nobles, Mahmûd hastened on intelligence of the treason, to avenge the injuries of his son in law; defeated, and inflicted condign punishment upon Benaltekein and his accomplices; and bestowed the government of the country, with the capital of Oor or Urkunje, and the title of Khaurezm-Shah, upon Altûntaush, one of his favorite and most distinguished generals.

In the four hundred and ninth of the Hidjerah, our author fixes the expedition to Kanouje, stated to be at the distance of three months journey from Ghezniu; the same that was undertaken by Sûltan Mahmûd, according to Ferishtah, by the route of Kashmeir; and the sequel of which has been given in detail by that author, as is already sufficiently known. The spoil in gold and silver, and jewels, and other precious materials, accumulated by Mahmûd in this expedition, is said to have been of a magnitude to surpass the arithmetical skill of his accountants to estimate; and the multitude of captives was such that though the value of a slave was set at no more than ten dirhems, or about four shillings and seven pence English, they could find no purchaser even at that price.

In the four hundred and sixteenth of the Hidjerah, Mahmûd was engaged in his last exterminating enterprize against the unfortunate Hindûs; the expedition to Sûmnaut, at the extremity of the peninsula of Gûjerât. On this expedition, according to Ferishtah, he set out from Ghezniu, on the tenth day of Shabaun, of the year four hundred and fifteen, or about the 16th of October, A. D. 1024, and he arrived at Mûltaun in the middle of the following month of Ramzaun,* at the head of a powerful army; and accompanied by thirty thousand cavalry, who volunteered their services from all parts of the Asiatic continent.

*Nov. 20th, 1024.

From Mûltaun, he appears to have prosecuted his march, skirting the desert to, Ajmeir, and from thence by Neherwâla, the Puttun or ancient capital of Gûjerât, to the object of his zeal and avarice. A. H. 416-17. A. D. 1025-27. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Sûmnaut, according to our author, was the name of a celebrated idol, which was worshiped by the infidels of the country; but a couplet of Fereid-ud-dein Attaur is recited a little further on, asserting that the the great idol discovered by the armies of Mahmûd at Sûmnaut, bore the appellation of Laut. We know, however, that the pilgrimages of the Hindûs are to this day principally directed to Dûarkanaut, the spot of Krishna's evanition, according to the Mahâbauret, to Jugganaut, and to Ramnaut, or Ramnâd; the latter at the southern extremity of the peninsula of India, not far from the bridge of Râma. In the mean time we are informed that to Sûmnaut, the lord Sûm, or Sûma, the Hindû mythologists have assigned the province of adjudging to departed souls, according to the doctrines of transmigration, the bodies appropriated for their future habitation; and in the belief of the Hindûs, the ebb and flow of the ocean is nothing more than a mark of its adoration towards their favorite idol.

On the authority of the Rouzut-us-suffâ he proceeds to describe, that the temple, or edifice which contained the image of Sûmnaut, was decorated by six and thirty pillars, inlaid with precious stones of the most beautiful and costly description; that the image itself was of polished stone, or marble, about the height of five cubits, three above the flooring of the temple, and two concealed beneath it. I am aware that in these dimensions I have differed from the most respectable authorities; but, both in the copy of the Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur and of the Ferishtah in my possession, the statement is precisely as I have given it. At all events three guz, or cubits of two and twenty inches, above the floor, would give to the image the stature of an ordinary sized man.

The circumstance of its being smitten on the nose by the mace of Mahmûd, and of the immense treasure concealed in its belly, is already known. We shall here just mention that he rejected a prodigious ransom to spare it, alleging that of two appellations, rather than the idol broker, he chose to be called *Mahmûd the idol breaker*: and to reward his zeal, the precious contents discovered in the hollow of the idol, surpassed an hundred fold the sum which had been offered by the Brahmins for

A. H. 416-18. A. D. 1025-27. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

its redemption. Of its unfortunate and unoffending votaries more than fifty thousand were put to the sword by the troops of Mâhmûd; and the treasure withdrawn from the interior of the temple, from the the hollow of the image perhaps, is alone estimated at the sum of twenty millions of dinaurs of gold;* in which proportion we are told to calculate the further spoil, which fell into the hands of the plunderers of this celebrated sanctuary.

When he was about to quit Sûmnaut on his return to Ghezniu, Mahmûd desired his ministers and principal officers to select from among themselves some particular individual, on whom he might confer the government of the recent conquests: but it being represented to him, that, since it was not his design to revisit the country, it would be more advisable to place it in the hands of a native, he proceeded to deliberate on the subject, with such of the inhabitants as he permitted to approach his person. By these he was informed that among the princes who had ruled the country, whether in purity of origin or lustre of descent, none were on a par with the race of Dabsheleim, or Dabsheleima. Of this race they said that there fortunately then existed a young person, whose attention had been hitherto entirely devoted, in the garb and profession of a Brahmin, to the duties of religion; and on this person, if the Sûltan conferred the sovereignty of that part of Gûjeraut, they conceived that it would not be unworthily bestowed. Others however contended that the individual proposed was a man of unaccommodating and austere habits, who had been compelled by necessity alone to make choice of the life of a recluse; and they recommended, on the contrary, the sovereign of a neighboring territory, who to the same lustre of descent, added a superior prudence, and maturity of years, as an object far more worthy of the Sûltan's preference, and of the government of their country.

To this Mahmûd observed, that if the person they proposed had, in any instance, evinced a disposition to cultivate his friendship, it might then indeed be expected that such a request in his favor, would be attended with little difficulty in the compliance; but to confer a territory of that magnitude upon one who was already in possession of one of the

* At the lowest computation, of nine shillings and two pence to the dinaur, this would amount to the sum of 2,166,666l. 13s. 4d.

most powerful states in India, and who had, moreover, never afforded the slightest demonstration of attachment, to merit such a proof of confidence and regard, appeared to him rather wide of the dictates of sober discretion. Then sending for the recluse he immediately invested him with the government of the province. The descendant of Dabsheleim in accepting of his tributary sovereignty, embraced the opportunity of representing to the Sûltan his apprehensions lest the neighboring Râjah, who although of the same lineage, was his mortal enemy, apprized of the departure of his benefactor, should direct the whole of his force to the destruction of his relative. Under this persuasion, and with the knowledge that he must be left entirely unprepared for resistance, he found it expedient to disclose to the Sûltan the nature of his apprehensions; in the hope that, in addition to the favors with which he had been already loaded, the troops of his victorious ally would be further employed to secure him against the hostile designs of the dreaded rival. Mahmûd informed him in reply, that in his expedition to so remote a region, he had been originally actuated by no other motive than the glory and advancement of his faith; and that, as three years had already elapsed since his departure from Ghezniân, it would make no material difference to him, if six months were added to the period of his absence. He proceeded accordingly to invade the territory of the obnoxious Dabsheleimian; whom he in a very short time subdued, and delivered a prisoner into the hands of the new-made sovereign. The latter now stated to Mahmûd that, by the religion which he professed, it was not permitted to put a sovereign prince to death; but that when a rival monarch fell into the power of his adversary, it was the practice to lodge him in a dark chamber, excavated under the throne of his conqueror, with no other opening to it, than was sufficient for the introduction of what was necessary for the support of existence: and in this state he was condemned to remain, until the hand of death should determine the survivor. His power being however as yet but too imperfectly established to admit of his pursuing the ordinary course, he proceeded further to request that Sûltan Mahmûd would take the captive prince with him to Ghezniân; adding, that he relied upon the generosity of his benefactor to send him back to Gûjerât when his authority should be sufficiently confirmed, and when it would be prudent on his part to require it.

A. H. 416-18. A. D. 1025-27. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

A. H. 418-20. A. D. 1027-29. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Having complied with the solicitation of his tributary in every instance, Sûltan Mahmûd, after enduring unparalleled hardships in his progress through the deserts leading to Sind, which it would be unnecessary to detail, at last succeeded in regaining his capital, in the first, or second Rebbeia, of the four hundred and eighteenth of the Hidjerah:* after an absence, according to this statement, of two years and six months.

Some years subsequent to this period, when he considered himself securely established in his power, the anchorite king of Gûjerât dispatched his agents, with magnificent presents to Sûltan Mahmûd and the members of his court, and a request that his captive rival might be now delivered up to his disposal. Mahmûd at first exhibited some repugnance to comply with the request; but yielding to the suggestions of his ministers, he ultimately determined to send away the captive, who was accordingly delivered to the agents employed to take charge of him. When the escort which conveyed the prisoner, was known to have reached the confines of his country, the Dabsheleima on the throne, having given directions to compleat the vault of wretchedness intended for the reception of his rival, hastened in conformity to the further usage of the country to meet him; in order that the unfortunate captive might be subjected to the customary degrading ceremony, of running on foot at the stirrup of his more fortunate rival, and with the royal bason and ewer on his head, all the way to the palace gate of the capital. Having proceeded with these views to some distance on his excursion, accompanied by a numerous retinue, the royal Dabsheleima engaged in the diversion of the chace; and having continued it with great eagerness and activity until late at noon, the monarch and his retinue were dispersed in different directions, to screen themselves from the rays of a meridian sun. Dabsheleima laid himself at the foot of a tree, and covering his face with a handkerchief, resigned himself to rest. The handkerchief which he had thrown over his face, happened unfortunately to be of a scarlet colour; and attracting the attention of a vulture, which was hovering round, the ravenous bird took it for the flesh of some slaughtered animal, and immediately pouncing, struck its talons through

* April or May, A. D. 1027.

the covering into the unwary prince's eye; the loss of which was the inevitable consequence. Among the genuine Hindûs it was, it seems, another maxim at this period, that any species of personal blemish was sufficient to disqualify a prince from holding his authority; and the misfortune which had happened to the sovereign, being soon circulated through the camp, produced a sudden and violent uproar among the chiefs. At such a crisis, the arrival of the captive Dabsheleimian was announced, and by a strange and unlooked for vicissitude, the destinies of the two princes underwent an immediate and total reverse. The newly arrived Dabsheleimian was saluted king by the unanimous voice of the people; and the anchorite was condemned in his stead, to bear the bason and ewer by the side of his horse, to the darksome and wretched abode prepared for his adversary. Thus, says Ferishtah, unfolding another example of the decrees of an inscrutable providence, which, while it precipitates one individual from the splendor of a throne, rescues another from the belly of the whale.

A. H. 418-20. A. D. 1027-29. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

While Mahmûd was at Bâlkh, some time after his return from his zealous expedition to Sûmnaut, he received from the Khaleifah Ul Kâder, together with four standards, denoting his supremacy over the four great countries of Hindûstaun, Khorassaun, Khaurezm, and Neimrouz, a flattering letter, bestowing upon him the additional title of Kehyf-ud-doulah & Isslâm—asylum of the state and of the true faith. These were accompanied by similar distinctions for his three sons; Mûssâoud being dignified with the title of Shahaub-ud-doulah and Jummaul-ul-millut—bright star of the state, and beauty of the faith; Yussuf, with that of Ezzed-ud-doulah and Mûeyed-ul-millut—arm, or support of the state and establisher of the faith; and Ameir Mahommed, with that of Jullaul-ud-doulah and Jummaul-ul-millut—glory of the state, and embellishment of the faith; at the same time, pledging his approbation of either of the three princes, on whom the father might think fit to devolve the succession to his throne.

Ferishtah.

The troops of Mahmûd on their return from Gûjeraut had suffered considerable annoyance from the natives of Mount Jehûd; he determined therefore, some time in the year four hundred and eighteen, to chastize the insolence of these unsubjugated barbarians. Once more, and for the last time, he accordingly led his army towards Mûltaun.

A. H. 418-21. A. D. 1027-30. Ferishtah. When he reached that city, he gave instructions for the immediate equipment on the river* of an armament of fourteen hundred war boats, each furnished with three rostra, or beaks of iron; one on the prow, and one on each beam, so constructed as to pierce or demolish any adverse vessel that might come in contact. The boats were further armed with twenty soldiers each, with bows and arrows, and fireworks of naphtha: and thus equipped, the armament was dispatched along the river for the extermination of the *Jautts*, which is the appellation here bestowed upon the mountain tribes above alluded to. The latter, aware of the armament preparing against them, and having conveyed their wives and children to a place of security, among the islands in the Indus, thus disincumbered, lay ready with four thousand, some say eight thousand boats, strongly armed, to receive the attack. In the action which however took place, the boats of the Jautts coming in contact with the iron beaks of those of Mahmûd, the shock of which they were unprepared to resist, were immediately pierced, and sunk to the bottom with all on board; such as escaped by swimming, being put to the sword by the conquerors, and the whole of their families ultimately falling into the hands of their ruthless exterminators.

In the course of the year four hundred and twenty, Sûltan Mahmûd, as we have already seen, took possession of the teritory of Rey, and that part of the province of Irâk Ajem, from the imbecile and effeminate Majid-ud-doulah the Deylemite; and bestowing the government upon his son Mûssâoud, returned soon afterwards to Ghezniîn; where, having laboured for some time under a consumptive complaint, accompanied by a disorder in the loins, (*merz-e-sill ba sû-ul-keina*) he ultimately expired, on Thursday the twenty-third of the latter Rebbeia of the four hundred and twenty first of the Hidjerah;† the sixty-third year of his age, and, calculating from the surrender of Ghezniîn and the captivity of his brother, the thirty-fourth of his reign.

Mahmûd is represented to have been possessed of some of the most exalted and splendid qualities that could dignify and adorn the human character; and yet his merits appear to be resolvable, for the most part,

* Perhaps the stream formed near that place by the junction of the *Behât*, *Tchûnaub*, and *Rauvi*.

† The 29th of April, A. D. 1030.

into a bigoted and sanguinary zeal for the advancement of Isslâmism, and for the subversion of idolatry and infidelity. His splendid qualities were, moreover, deplorably tarnished by an insatiable spirit of avarice, to which, in its most degrading complexion, he has been stigmatized as a devoted and abject slave. From this odious stigma, Ferishtah has however sought to vindicate his favorite hero, ascribing it in a great measure, to the prevalence of an unjust prejudice, which derived its origin from the well known story of Ferdûssy; to whom, for his celebrated poem of the Shahnâmah, the labour of thirty years, he assigned the comparatively paltry sum of sixty thousand dirhems only,* amounting to about five-pence half-penny the couplet; the poet having entertained the unreasonable expectation of sixty thousand dinaurs or pieces of gold. Another cause to which he ascribes the prevailing prejudice, was an arrangement, by which, towards the close of his reign, he contrived to disencumber his wealthier subjects of their superfluous property. That he loved gold, the author nevertheless admits, and that he accordingly disdained no method by which it could be accumulated: but it was for the purpose of enabling him to prosecute his magnificent plans of conquest and aggrandizement; and that there exists ample proof that the number of wits, men of genius and learning, poets, and warriors, who subsisted on his bounty, has seldom fallen to the lot of any monarch of former ages, and is as seldom likely to happen in any age to come. All this it is to be acknowledged, could not be provided for, without a liberal disbursement of treasure; neither is it to be forgotten that his admiration of men of science has never been questioned; that their merits never failed to be rewarded by his bounty; and that exclusive of occasional proofs of liberality, a fixed sum of four hundred thousand dirhems† was annually applied to the patronage and encouragement of learning, and learned men.

A. H. 421, A. D. 1030. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur, and Feirshtah.

Long previous to his death, Mahmûd had declared his son Mahommed, successor to the major part of his dominions, immediately to the prejudice of his elder brother Mûssâoud; discarding from his recollection, how little disposed he found *himself* to submit to a similar arrangement by his father. He took, however, an opportunity of demanding of

* About 1375l. † About 9166l. 13s. 4d.

A. H. 421. A. D. 1030. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Mûssâoud, for whom he probably conceived that he had adequately provided in the province of Irâk Ajem, in what manner he proposed to conduct himself, with respect to his brother? Mûssâoud replied without either reserve or hesitation, to the no small confusion and equal indignation of Mahmûd, that in this he should be exactly governed by the example of his father. To explain this, it may be necessary to remark that, at the commencement of his reign, on surrendering his power with the castle of Ghezniîn into the hands of Mahmûd, his brother Issmauil had been compelled to attend him into Khorassaun; and the Sûltan had the curiosity to ask the captive prince one day, what sort of treatment he might have calculated to experience, had the issue of their contest been the reverse of what had happened? with equal candour and simplicity of heart, Issmauil replied, that had fortune decided in his favor, it was in his contemplation to confine his brother within the walls of some castle, where he should be provided with all he might require, either for the comfort or enjoyment of life, short of his personal liberty. A short time afterwards, availing himself of some pretence or other to seize the person of Issmauil, Mahmûd caused him to be delivered to the governor of Jûrjaun; with instructions to lodge him in one of the castles of his province, and to supply him, at the same time, with every thing that could contribute either to his pleasure or repose.

It is further stated, that while he continued in Irâk Ajem, Mahmûd endeavored, by repeated importunity, to prevail upon Mûssâoud to swear that he would not engage in hostilities against his brother, without producing the slightest impression; Mûssâoud as constantly evading his importunities by the declaration, that if Mahommed would personally repair to the spot, and first swear to make with him, at the proper period, a just and impartial distribution of their father's treasures, he should have no difficulty in taking the oath required of him; but situated as at present, the one at Rey, and the other at the distance of Ghezniîn, he could not perceive how such a partial arrangement could be productive of any advantage or permanent result.

We shall finally remark, that Mahmûd is described to have been in person of the middle stature, of elegant proportions, and a freckled complexion, and the first of his race that assumed the title of Sûltan.

MAHOMMED the son of Mahmûd third of the race of Sebektggein, succeeded to the throne of Ghezniñ immediately on the death of his father; but his brother Mûssâoud receiving at Hamadaun, in the recently acquired territory of Irâk Ajem, intelligence of the event, marched without delay towards Khorassaun; dispatching at the same time to inform Mahommed that he harboured no design upon the countries to which he had been nominated by a father's partial selection; that the territory of Jeypal, of Tebristaun, and of Irâk Ajem, the honorable acquisitions of his own sword were amply sufficient for his moderate ambition; and all he requested was that, as the elder brother, his name should be first pronounced in the Khotbah. To this Mahommed returned an acrimonious reply; and as soon as he had completed his warlike equipments, proceeded from Gheznin, to Bikkenabad, some distance north of the metropolis; where he encamped on the first of Ramzaun* of the four hundred and twenty first of the Hidjerah.

A. H. 421. A. D. 1030. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

MAHOMMED, Vth of the monarchs of Ghezniñ.

Having continued stationary during the whole of Ramzaun, it unfortunately happened that on the festival of the new moon of Shavaul, the tiara of the ill-fated Mahommed should drop from his head in a manner that could not be easily accounted for; which being considered by the superstitious multitude as an omen inauspicious to the stability of his power, Ameir Ally Khaishawund, and Yûssuf Sebekteggin, with a number of the principal courtiers openly revolted in favor of Mûssâoud; and on the night of the third of Shâvaul,† surrounding the pavilion of Mahommed they immediately seized his person, and proceeded to confine him in the castle of Bikkenabad. The ministers and principal nobility of the late monarch then hastened to join Mûssâoud, who had as it would appear by this time advanced to Bâlkh. The conspirators, however, experienced from him a reception on which they had little calculated. Hûssung Meykaul, the prime minister of the departed Mahmûd, against whom Mûssaoud had long cherished an irreconcilable animosity, was put to death. Ally Khaishawund shared the same fate; and Yûssuf Sebekteggin was immured for life in a prison. Mûssâoud shortly afterwards repaired to Gheznîn, where he took care to secure himself against all further attempts on the part of his brother

* August 31st, A. D. 1030. † October 2nd, A. D. 1030.

A. H. 421-24. A. D. 1030-33. Mahommed, by the usual application of the instrument of cautery, to destroy the organs of vision.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Sûltan Nasser-ud-dein MUSSAOUD, son of Mahmûd, fourth of the race of Sebekteggin, and sixth of the monarchs of Gheznîn.

Having successfully vindicated the claims of an elder brother to the throne of his father, Mûssâoud consigned the office of Vezzeir to Ahmed the son of Hussun Meymundi. In the four hundred and twenty second of the Hidjerah, he devolved the government of Irâk Ajem upon Abû Sohel Hamdûni, delegating that of Isfahaun, however, by a particular patent, to the separate superintendance of Allâ-ud-doulah Jauffer the son of Kâkûiah,* the maternal couzin german, of the weak and imbecile Majid-ud-doulah the Deylemite. Allâ-ud-doulah accordingly proceeded for some time to conduct the government of that part of Irâk Ajem, as the lieutenant of Mûssâoud; but ultimately aspiring at independence, he openly abjured the supremacy of that prince: and it was under these circumstances that the celebrated Abû Ally ben Seina (Avicenna) became the prime minister of Alla-ud-doulah.

MUSSAOUD VIth of the monarchs of Gheznin.

In the course of four hundred and twenty three an expedition was undertaken from Khaurezm, by Altûn Taush Haujeb, under the instructions of Mûssaoud, to avenge the injuries which he had sustained from Ally Tekein the governor of Samarkand. The Khaurezmian being however desperately wounded, in the territory beyond the Oxus, in an action which took place with the troops of Ally Tekein, the combatants appear to have separated by mutual consent, which was followed by an accommodation; and Altûn Taush shortly afterwards dying of his wounds was succeeded in the government of Khaurezm by a son of the name of Perûn—or Harûn, according to Ferishtah. That admired and estimable minister Ahmed the son of Hussun Meymundi also dying in the four hundred and twenty fourth of the Hidjerah, Ahmed the son of Mahommed, the son of Abdussummud, became vezzeir to Sultan Mûssâoud. In the mean time, as will be particularly described in its proper place, the race of Seljûk having passed the river Jeyhûn to the westward, selected for their abode the territory dependent upon the cities of Nissa and Abiwerd; and in a few years succeeded in extending their encroachments through a considerable part of Khorassaun.

* *Uncle*, so called in the language of the Deylemites.

Contrary to the representations of his ministers, who urged the serious expediency of checking at the outset, the usurpations of these formidable adventurers, Sûltan Mûssâoud determined in the four hundred and twenty sixth of the Hidjerah, on an expedition into India. Finding however on his return from this expedition in four hundred and twenty eight, that they had obtained a most dangerous ascendancy, he perceived ample reason to regret, that he had for a moment delayed to oppose them. It now therefore became the object of his most serious attention to retrieve the fatal oversight; and he employed his utmost exertions and activity to prepare for hostilities against them. But in the war which ensued, after a series of conflicts, in which his personal valour was conspicuously signalized, being ultimately defeated by those enterprizing and warlike Tartars, Sûltan Mûssaoud was compelled to return with disgrace to his capital; where on the pretence of misconduct, or failure of duty in this unfortunate war, he discharged his vengeance on some of his most distinguished generals and ministers, whom he condemned to suffer by the sword of the executioner. After this he dispatched his son Modûd with a fresh armament towards Bâlkh; while he hastened, in his own person, towards Hindûstaun, accompanied by his brother the blind Mahommed, and the three sons of that prince, Ahmed, Abdurraihman, and Abdurraiheim; proposing to pass the cold season in that country, and on the return of spring to resume his operations against the sons of Seljûk. In crossing the Indus, however, leaving his baggage and equipage on the western side of the river, in order to follow him at convenience, Noushtekein with a body of the imperial slaves, seized the opportunity to plunder the treasure, and to raise the blind Mahommed once more, to the dangerous and precarious possession of a disputed throne. Sûltan Mûssâoud fled for safety to a rebbaut, or walled enclosure, in the neighborhood; but, being immediately pursued and discovered in his retreat, the unfortunate monarch was conducted by his enemies to the presence of his brother, by whom, with all attached to his person, he was confined to the fortress of Kûrri. The blind Mahommed, in the mean time, devolving the royal authority to his son Ahmed, the latter repaired shortly afterwards to the place of the deposed Mûssâoud's confinement, accompanied by the sons of Yûssuf Sebekteggin, and Ally Khaishaw-

A. H. 426-28. A. D. 1034-37. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

A. H. 433-41. A. D. 1041-49. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

und, and there put a period to his existence, in the four hundred and thirty third of the Hidjerah; the twelfth of his turbulent and unpropitious reign. From the ingratitude evinced in the perfidious conduct of his subjects, however frequently exemplified in the annals of human depravity, it would scarcely be conceived that the unfortunate Mûssâoud greatly surpassed in affibility of manners, and liberality of disposition; and that he uniformly studied to secure the attachment of all, and of men of letters in particular, by the most conspicuous proofs of his bounty and beneficence.

Sûltan Abûl Futtah MOUDUD the son of Mûssâoud, fifth of the race of Sebekteggin, and seventh of the monarchs of Gheznîn.

As soon as intelligence was conveyed to him of the disastrous termination of his father's life, Sûltan Moudûd broke up his camp from before Bâlkh, and directed his march for Gheznîn; Mahommed on his part hastening with his three sons from the vicinity of the Indus towards the same object. In a battle which took place, shortly afterwards, in the desert of *Deynûr*, victory declared however for Moudûd; the blind king with his sons, and those of Noushtekein, and Ally Khaishawund, and Sûliman the son of Yûssuf Sebekteggin, falling into the hands of the conqueror, and being the source of all these convulsions, were the whole of them immediately put to death; with the exception of Abdurraiheim the son of Mahommed, who was exempted from the fate of his fellow captives, in consideration of his humanity, in protecting the late Sultan Mûssâoud from the violence of his brother Abdurraihman, when this latter had presumed with unmanly insult to tear the diadem, or royal cincture, from the head of that unfortunate monarch, after he had been betrayed into the hands of his enemies.

MOUDUD, VIIth of the monarchs of Gheznin.

Sûltan Moudûd now entered Gheznîn in triumph; and having securely seated himself on the throne of his family, bestowed the office of prime minister on Abû Nasser Ahmed the son of Mahommed, son of Abdussummud. In the four hundred and thirty-fifth of the Hidjerah, he made an attempt to check the progressive aggrandizement in Khorassaun, of the Seljûcides; but the army which he employed for that purpose was driven back with disgrace and loss, by the superior valour and good fortune of Alep Arslan. Six years afterwards, namely, in the four hundred and forty first of the Hidjerah, having left

Ghezniˆn, at the head of an immense force, in order to vindicate his rights against the race of Seljûk, Moudûd was, however, on his first stage, in the castle of Saunkûte on the way towards Kabûl, according to Ferishtah, attacked by a fit of the cholic, by which he was compelled to relinquish his scheme of revenge, and to return to his capital; where, on the twenty-fourth of the month of Rudjub* of the same year, he was finally removed from this scene of pride and absurdity, to a state of permanent repose and bliss, after a reign of seven years.

A. H. 441-43, A. D. 1049-52.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Abû Jauffer Mussaoud the second, the son of Moudûd, sixth of the race of Sebekteggîn, and eighth of the monarchs of Gheznîn.

This prince being yet an infant of four years of age, was deposed in a very few days after his nominal accession, by the members of his father's court, who conspired to promote the advancement of his uncle.

Mussaoud IId and VIIIth of the monarchs of Gheznin.

Abûl Hussun Ally, the son of Mûssâoud I. seventh of the race of Sebekteggin, and ninth of the monarchs of Gheznîn.

Seated on the throne of Gheznîn, with the concurrence of the leading nobility and Ameirs, on the first day of Shabaun† of the four hundred and forty first of the Hidjerah, this prince immediately espoused the widow of Sultan Moudûd, who appears to have been the daughter of Tchegher Beg the brother of the celebrated Toghrel Beg. But Abdurrashid the son of Mahmûd Ghauzzy, who, after being confined by Sultan Moudûd to one of the fortresses between Bost and Aushferra, had been nominated by that monarch on his death bed, to succeed him, obtaining his release from imprisonment, through the exertions of Abdurrezauk the son of Ahmed Meymundi, and advancing in the latter part of the four hundred and forty third of the Hidjerah,‡ towards Gheznîn; Sûltan Ally, on intelligence of his approach, abandoned his power without an effort, after having enjoyed it for a period of about two years.

Ally, IXth of the monarchs of Gheznin.

Abdurrashid the son of Mahmûd Ghauzzy, eighth of the race of Sebekteggin, and tenth of the monarchs of Gheznîn.

On the premature flight of Sûltan Ally, the throne af Gheznîn was quietly taken possession of by Abdurrashid; and the abdicated monarch being soon overtaken by his adversaries, was immured from the eyes

* December 21st, A. D. 1049. † December 28th, 1049.

‡ March or April, 1052.

A. H. 443. A. D. 1052. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

of the public in the fortress of Deidy. The power of his successor, was not however destined to experience any considerable duration. Toghrel Haujeb, a Turkish chief, educated under the protection of Sûltan Moudûd the son of Mûssâoud, had been entrusted by that monarch with the government of Seiestâun; and about this period declaring his independence, proceeded towards Gheznîn. Abdurrashid retired into the citadel as soon as the insurgent was known to have approached within five farsangs* of the metropolis; of which, the ursurper soon becoming master, the castle made no extraordinary resistance. Abdurrashid with all the surviving sons of Sûltan Mahmûd, nine in number, now fell into the hands of Toghrel, by whom they were every one of them immediately put to death. The usurper then forcibly espoused the daughter of Mûssâoud, and the sister of his benefactor; and assuming the royal authority, together with the eternal execration of mankind has been branded to posterity by the title of Toghrel the traitor—*Toghrel-Kauffer-Niaummet.*

ABDURRASHID, Xth of the monarchs of Gheznîn.

Noushtekein Haujeb Kherkheiz, one of the principal Ameirs of Gheznin, who held at this period the government of that part of Hindûstaun extending to the frontiers of Dehly, which had reluctantly submitted to the yoke of the Mahommedans, received intelligence of the usurpation with equal horror, and displeasure; and he determined without delay to subdue and chastize the author of it. He wrote, however, in the first instance to upbraid the daughter of Mûssâoud, and the nobles of Gheznîn, with their ignominious acquiescence in the proceedings of the traitor. Several of the chiefs, who still privately cherished the design of vengeance against the usurper, spurred on by the just reproaches conveyed in the letters from Noushtekein, immediately formed a conspiracy to destroy the ungrateful rebel: and accordingly, when he had been suffered to indulge himself in his dream of sovereign power for a period of forty days, and while he was giving audience to his court, seated on the throne of the warlike and victorious Mahmûd, that public opportunity was selected by the conspirators for the execution of their vengeance; the odious usurper being suddenly attacked,

* Seventeen English miles, and 120 yards, at 6000 yards to the farsang, or three miles, a quarter, and 280 yards.

and hewed to pieces on the spot. The reign of Abdurrashid appears to have terminated in less than a twelve month. A. H. 444-50. A. D. 1053-58.

FURRUKHZAUD the son of Mûssâoud, ninth of the race of Sebekteggin, and eleventh of the monarchs of Ghezniân. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Soon after the accomplishment of this deserved and signal act of vengeance, Noushtekein Kherkheiz arrived at Ghezniân; and discovering on inquiry that there still survived in the castle, three of the race of Sebekteggin, Furrûkhzaud, Ibrauhim, and Shuja, the nobles concurred with him in allotting the throne to the former; who was accordingly brought from his prison, and invested with the authority of his ancestors. FURRUKHZAUD, XIth of the monarchs of Ghezniân.

Early in the reign of this prince, encouraged by the revolutions which appeared to convulse the monarchy of Ghezniân, Ameir Dâoud, or David, of the race of Seljûk, hastened towards that capital, to take advantage of the supposed prevailing troubles. He was, however, gallantly opposed in the field by Noushtekein with the troops of Furrûkhzaud; and totally defeated with infinite loss of baggage and equipment, in a conflict which endured from sun rise to the close of day, and in which the adverse squadrons appeared to aim at nothing less than mutual extermination. The troops of Furrûkhzaud, with their triumphant general, returned with glory to the metropolis. Ferishtah.

This victory having produced sufficient stability to the power of Furrûkhzaud, that prince with a victorious army and formidable equipments, now proceeded towards the province of Khorassaun; while on the part of the house of Seljûk, Kêllisaurek, one of their most distinguished generals, with a numerous force, hastened to oppose his march. Another dreadful conflict ensued, which like many that preceded it, might easily have surpassed the eloquence of the historian to describe; but which, however, again terminated in favor of the arms of Furrûkhzaud; Kellisaurek, or Kallisaurek, and several others of the Seljukian commanders becoming his prisoners. Intelligence of this last defeat of his troops being conveyed to Tchegher, sometimes called Jauffer Beg, a third army was immediately dispatched by that prince, to retrieve these accumulated misfortunes, under the orders of his own son, the renowned and warlike Alep Arslan. Victory now changed sides; the brave and able Noushtekein Kherkheiz was defeated by that illus-

A. H. 450. A. D. 1058. Ferishtah. trious prince, and many of the Gheznian Ameirs were destined in their turn to experience the evils of captivity. Having thus reestablished the superiority of his arms, Alep Arslan appears to have forborne the prosecution of his victorious career, and to have returned in all the pomp of triumph to the presence of his father. In the mean time, to evince his respect for the character of his illustrious adversary, Furrûkhzaud determined on the immediate and gratuitous enlargement of Kellisaurek, and his associates in captivity, whom he accordingly dismissed with splendid Khelauts. This act of liberality produced a corresponding sentiment on the part of the Seljûkians, by whom the whole of the Gheznian prisoners were, in a similar manner, immediately restored to liberty and their friends.

About a twelve-month previous to his death, Furrûkhzaud, who is differently represented in the Rouzut-ussuffâ, and the Tarikhgûzeidah, by the former as the son of Mûssâoud, and by the latter as that of Abdurrashîd, was exposed to considerable danger from the treachery of his slaves; who formed a conspiracy to destroy him while in his bath. The assassins had succeeded in forcing their way to his person, and were hastening to the execution of their nefarious design, when the defenceless monarch, by a fortunate exertion, possessed himself of one of their scimitars; with which he contrived to protect himself until his attendants, becoming apprized of the danger, rushed into the apartment, and put the conspirators to the sword. This attempt produced such an effect upon the mind of the prince, that he ever afterwards evinced a contemptuous indifference for the things of this world, as in constant expectation of the period at which he was to leave it. After a reign of six years, he died of a cholic, or complaint in the bowels, in the very flower of life, and in the four hundred and fiftieth year of the Hidjerah.

Abûl Mûzuffer Ibrauhim the son of Mûssâoud, tenth of the race of Sebekteggin, and twelfth of the monarchs of Gheznîn.

Ibrauhim, XIIth of the Gheznuvides. Succeeding to the diadem of his ancestors on the demise of his brother, this prince, in the early part of his reign, entered into a treaty of peace with the house of Seljûk; which must at this period have been represented by the able and warlike Alep Arslan, and not by his son Melek Shâh, as described by Ferishtah, who did not succeed to the

dominions of his father, as will be seen hereafter, until the four hundred and sixty-fifth of the Hidjerah. A. H. 450-508. A. D. 1058-1114.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Of the two expeditions successfully conducted into Hindûstaun by Sûltan Ibrauhim, it would be here unnecessary to enter into the narrative. The curious reader will doubtless find them sufficiently detailed in the translation of Ferishtah by colonel Scott; at all events, all that can be requisite to be apprized of on the subject, may be seen with advantage from the elaborate pen of Mr. Maurice, in his more recent history of that harrassed, and most interesting country. We shall be contented with stating that he bears with historians in general, the character of a just and pious prince, uniformly distinguished for the most liberal and diffusive charity; and that he died in the four hundred and ninety second of the Hidjerah,* after a protracted reign, of two and forty lunar years.

Mussaoud the third, the son of Ibrauhim, eleventh of the race of Sebekteggin, and thirteenth of the monarchs of Ghezniîn.

Ferishtah.

Surpassing in the benevolence of his manners and in the liberality of his disposition, this prince early signalized his love of justice by abolishing the arbitrary contributions levied upon the people by his predecessors, and by confirming to the relatives of his blood, and to the Ameirs of his court, the possessions allotted to them by Sûltan Ibrauhim: and he contrived to secure himself against the hostile enterprizes of the house of Seljûk, by marrying the princess Mehed-e-Irâk, (the cradle of Irâk) the daughter of Melek Shah, and sister of Sûltan Sunjur.

Mussaoud, IIId and XIIIth of the monarchs of Ghezniu.

In the reign of Mûssâoud the third, being advanced to the dignity of lieûtenant general of Hindûstaun, (to be understood in this place, however, and indeed for the most part where it occurs in the history of the Ghezuvides, as comprehending little more than the countries of the Punjaub) Haujeb Toghatekein, led a body of troops from Lâhour across the Ganges; and pushing his conquests beyond those of any former general of Isslâm, the victorious Mahmûd alone excepted, and renewing the cruel scenes of pillage and desolation, extended through the country by that remorseless conqueror, he was suffered to return in triumph to the capital of his government.

After a reign of sixteen years unmolested by untoward events, or by turbulence in any shape, Sûltan Mûssâoud became, in the five hun-

* A. D. 1098.

A. H. 508-12. A. D. 1114-18. dred and eighth of the Hidjerah, an inmate of the abodes of eternal rest.

Ferishtah. It is affirmed on the authority of the Tarikh gûzeidah, that on the death of Mûssâoûd, his son Kummaul-ud-doulah Sheïrzaud ascended the throne of Gheznîn; but that he was cut off, at the expiration of a twelvemonth, that is to say, some time in the five hundred and ninth of the Hidjerah, by his brother Arslan Shah; although the narrative of other historians has introduced the reign of the latter, without intermediation, next after that of Mûssâoud.

ARSLAN SHAH son of Mûssâoud, twelfth of the race of Sebekteggin, and fourteenth of the monarchs of Gheznîn.

It appears, at all events, that having, by some measure of violence, usurped the diadem of Gheznin, Arslan Shah proceeded to seize, and imprison, all of his surviving brothers that he could lay hands on; but one of these, Behram Shah, escaping for protection to the court of his uncle, Sûltan Sunjur the son of Melek Shah, who at this period presided over Khorassaun, as the lieutenant of his brother Mahommed, that prince accompanied the illustrious exile, at the head of a powerful army, towards Gheznin; defeated and expelled the usurper, and succeeded in seating Behram Shah on the throne of Mahmûd. Arslan Shah availing himself however of the return of Sûltan Sunjur into Khorassaun, immediately recoiled upon his brother; whom he compelled a second time to throw himself upon the protection of his uncle. Every expedient was now resorted to, on the part of Arslan Shah, to divert that prince from espousing the cause of his brother; and among others, his mother, the Mehed-e-Irâk, formerly adverted to, was entrusted with the sum of two hundred thousand dinaurs* in order to purchase the forbearance of Sûltan Sunjur. The latter disdained however all proposals to abandon the support of his nephew; and again advancing towards Gheznîn, within a league of that metropolis gave battle to Arslan Shah with his usual good fortune; the latter being again totally defeated, in a great measure, through the distinguished gallantry of Abûl Fazzel prince of Seiestaun, who had accompanied Sûltan Sunjur on this last expedition. Arslan Shah made the best of his way into the territory beyond the Indus; while his victorious antagonist

ARSLAN SHAH XIVth of the monarchs of Gheznin.

* 91,666l. 13s. 4d.

proceeded to take possession of Gheznin; and having remained at that place for a period of forty days, he once more committed the government to Behram Shah, and returned into Khorassaun. A. H. 508-12. A. D. 1114-18. Ferishtah.

On information that the Seljûkian was again withdrawn into his own province, Arslan Shah, assembling a fresh army among the troops of the Punjaub, and of the other provinces of Hindûstaun which had been subjugated to the authority of the race of Sebekteggin, advanced towards Gheznin, for the third time, to contend with his brother, for the throne of Mahmûd. Behram Shah who felt himself still unequal to such a contest on the strength of his own resources, found it expedient on this occasion to retire to the fortress of Bâmian. The power of his uncle was, however, again successfully exerted in his behalf; the usurper Arslan Shah was expelled for the last time from Gheznin, and sought an asylum among the Afghan tribes; but being pursued by the troops of Sûltan Sunjur, he was immediately taken and delivered up to his brother, by whom the views of an aspiring and turbulent ambition were now finally terminated by the all-subduing stroke of death. This event is said to have taken place in the five hundred and twelfth of the Hidjerah, when he had, at intervals, possessed the sovereign power, for a period of about three years. We find it further stated that, during the turbulent and unsettled government of Arslan Shah, the greater part of the city of Ghezniîn was consumed, by lightning from heaven.

Sûltan Alla-ud-doulah BEHRAM SHAH the son of Mussâoud, thirteenth of the race of Sebekteggin, and fifteenth of the monarchs of Gheznîn.

Without entering into the details of Ferishtah it will be sufficient for our purpose to relate, that on his permanent accession to the throne of his ancestors, Behram Shah evinced not less by his love of justice, and his attachment to the society of the learned, than by the splendour and magnificence of his actions, that he was worthy of his exalted destiny. To him was dedicated the first translation, from Arabic into Persian, of the Kaleila Dûmna, the fables of Beidpâi, an Indian sage, originally so called. A translation from the language of India, into Pehlvy, the ancient idiom of the Persians, had been of old, and with much labour and difficulty, executed by the enlightened Bûzûrtche- BEHRAM SHAH, XVth of the monarchs of Gheznin.

A. H. 512-47. A. D. 1118-52. Ferishtah.

mêher, the minister of Noushirvaun; and from Pehlvy into Arabic by Eben-ul-Mokennia in the time of Hârûn rashid. This latter was probably the copy now translated under the patronage of Behram Shah. From the more abstruse and obscure stile in which it still stood, it was finally rendered into more familiar and intelligible Persian, rejecting the Arabic measures, or verse, altogether, and denominated the ANWAR SOHEYLY—the lights of the star Canopus—in the time of Sûltan Hûsseyne Mirza of the house of Seffy, by Mûlla Hûsseyne Wauzz the Kaushefite. The Mekhzin-ul-essraur, or magazine of mysteries, of Nizammy, was another work composed under the patronage of Behram Shah.

Sultan Behram Shah is stated to have been engaged in several expeditions to the territory beyond the Indus, principally directed to chastize the refractory proceedings of Mahommed Bahlim; who had been constituted lieutenant general of Lâhour, under the authority of Arslan Shah, and who had presumed to display the standard of hostility against that of his ultimately triumphant brother. On the twenty seventh of Ramzaun, of the five hundred and twelfth of the Hidjerah, he fell however into the hands of the royal armies; but after a short detention in imprisonment, his offence was overlooked, and he was restored to his post, of lieutenant general of the Mûssulman conquests in Hindûstaun.

Availing himself, however, of the Sûltan's return to Ghezniîn, Mahommed Bahlim proceeded, among the mountains of Sewaulik, to erect the fortress of Nagûr; where, as in an impregnable asylum, he secured his family and most valuable effects. Then raising a numerous force of Arabs, Persians, Khiljian Turks and Afghans, and with their assistance, obtaining repeated advantages over the surrounding infidel states, he became by degrees so elated with his good fortune, that he raised his views at last to the aim of independent conquest, and sovereign power. This occasioned the second expedition of Behram Shah. In the neighborhood of Mûltaun, that monarch was again met by the ungrateful rebel, accompanied by his ten sons; and was opposed with an obstinacy which, in the language of the orientals, had been seldom exhibited to the vaulted expanse of heaven. The just punishment of ingratitude was, however, at last, once more signally exemplified in the total defeat of Bahlim; who, with the whole of his ten sons, plunging in the precipitation of their flight, into a marsh-pit, or quagmire, they were, with all

that accompanied them, entirely swallowed up, not a vestige of the horse or his rider being ever discovered. Having thus successfully vindicated his authority, Behram Shah, leaving the territory of the Punjaub to the care of Salaur Hûsseyne, returned to enjoy the fruits of his victory, in the bosom of his capital. A. H. 545-47. A. D. 1150-52. Ferishtah.

Unfortunately conceiving, towards the close of his reign, some circumstance of displeasure against Kûtbuddein Mahommed Ghoury, who appears to have been his son in law, the Sûltan caused him to be put to death. On which, to avenge the injury, Seyf-ud-dein Sûry the brother of the deceased, immediately marched an army to the attack of Gheznin; while Behram Shah considering himself, it seems, unequal to the defence of his capital, abandoned it to the invader, and withdrew to Kermaun; not the well known province of that name, but a city standing mid-way between Ghezniîn and the Indian territory, in possession of the Afghans; who, from its situation among the hills, and the nature of the country unfavorable to the operations of cavalry, had made it their principal abode. Seyf-ud-dein entered Ghezniîn without resistance, and relying on the tractable temper of the inhabitants, ventured to send back his brother Allâ-ud-dein, with most of his experienced commanders, and the greater part of his army, to their native country. But although he continued to conduct himself with uniform moderation towards the citizens, and no sort of disposition to oppress or ill-treat them, had been in any instance evinced on the part of his followers, the people of Gheznin, with every outward demonstration of attachment to the government of Seyf-ud-dein, still cherished a desire for the return of their legitimate sovereign; with whom it was not difficult, privately, to open a correspondence.

Accordingly when winter set in, and the drifting snows had completely intercepted the communication through the mountains of Ghour, Behram Shah at the head of a considerable body of Afghans, and Khiljies, and other uncivilized tribes of the desert, appeared in the neighborhood of Gheznin. When there remained, however, a distance of not more than two or three farsangs between him and his capital, Seyf-ud-dein received intelligence of his approach; and, confiding to their hollow professions of attachment, entered into consultation with the men of Gheznin, whether he should abide the issue of a conflict

A. H. 545-47. A. D. 1150-52. Ferishtah.

with his adversary, or withdraw towards Ghour. The people of Ghezneen, stedfast to their hypocritical design, and forgetful of their obligation as honest counsellors, at the moment they were determined to betray him, urged the unwary prince by every consideration to give battle to the Shah. Seyf-ud-dein, adds Ferishtah, like Moutummen,* betrayed by those whose counsels were actuated by an attachment to the interests of the enemy, quitted Gheznin accordingly; and at the head of the inhabitants, accompanied by a slender guard of Ghourians, drew out to oppose the further advance of Sûltan Behram. But before he had been yet permitted to put forth those proofs of military skill and exertion, which might have been apprehended from his former fame, the men of Ghezneen seized his person, and perfidiously delivered him up to his mortal enemy.

Thus unexpectedly betrayed, Seyf-ud-dein was now mounted, by the instructions of Sûltan Behram, with his face blackened, on a halfstarved and disabled bullock; and in that state he was paraded through the streets of Gheznin, exposed to the mockery and derision of the women and children, and of the white-beards of the whole city; who followed in the train, to insult and upbraid him with their abusive and opprobrious clamours. He was then put to death with every species of ignominy and torture, that the most inveterate cruelty could put in practice, and his head was ultimately taken off and transmitted to Sûltan Sunjur; while Seyud Mudjid-ud-dein who had officiated as prime minister, was either impaled, or suspended to a gibbet.

Burning with indignation, at the horrible intelligence which reached him of his brother's fate, Allâ-ud-dein Hûsseyne Sûry determined on immediate vengeance; and, for that purpose marched shortly afterwards, with an army long inured to the conflicts of death, towards Ghezneen: while Behram Shâh, on his part, on information of his approach, assembled his troops, and proceeded from his capital with equal resolution and diligence, to give him battle. He dispatched, however, in the first instance, an agent to Allâ-ud-dein, to warn him of the fearful consequences of his rash, and unprofitable design; to admonish him, before it was yet too late, to recede from his vindictive projects; for

* Adverting to the transactions in which that prince was engaged with his brother Ameen

that the hardy warriors, the iron-bodied elephants, which he had prepared to crush him, were thousands in number—To beware therefore, by committing his fate to a conflict so dreadful, of bringing, at one blow, inevitable destruction upon his whole race. By Allâ-ud-dein it was announced to him, in reply, that the recent act of barbarous cruelty of which he was the author, was a manifest presage, on the contrary, of the impending downfal of the Ghezniân monarchy; that when the monarch of a civilized nation led his armies against the territory of a neighboring state, though the consequences might be often destructive to many valuable and innocent individuals, yet, they were never accompanied by those circumstances of barbarous cruelty and insult, which had disgraced his conduct towards the unfortunate Seyf-ud-dein. "Doubt not" concluded the Ghourian, "that providence, in its just "retribution, and as a conspicuous and fearful example to the world, "will crown my hopes of revenge with victory. Let not Behram Shâh "repose too securely on the vaunted strength of his elephants—For "though he have his elephants, have I not my warlike, and invinci-"ble Khermeils"? adverting to two brothers of that name, the elder and the younger, distinguished, among the Ameirs of Allâ-ud-dein's army, for their martial prowess and superior strength. A. H. 545-47. A. D. 1150-52. Ferishtah.

The annunciation of this reply is said, at all events, to have communicated an unfavorable impression to the mind of Behram Shah, although he contrived to conceal his uneasiness from the observation of his followers; and the armies continuing to approach, a battle became at length, no longer avoidable. In the course of the action, the elder, or greater Khermeil rushed into the conflict, with the impetuous fury of the animal he was about to assail, and singling out one of the Shâh's largest and noblest elephants, buried his dagger in its bowels; the animal sunk down upon its assailant, and both immediately perished together. The younger Khermeil, more fortunate, killed his elephant, and escaped without injury.

In effect the other elephants are stated upon this, like a herd of oxen or buffaloes, to have fled terror-stricken through the field; and Allâ-ud-dein Hûsseyne, with his Ameirs, in a determined and violent effort directed towards the person of Behram Shah, already half subdued by superstitious terrors; gave to the Gheznians a dreadful experience of their

A. H. 547. A. D. 1152. Ferishtah. agility and adroitness in the work of death. Doulut Shah the son of Behram Shah, the lieutenant general of his father's armies, a brave and skilful soldier, had long since fallen in the conflict; and the wretched parent bereaved of heart and hand, now fled from the field of battle, directing his flight towards the Indus: but unable to survive the loss of his son, in addition to his other misfortunes, he became soon afterwards the victim of his sorrows. He died, after a diversified reign of five and thirty years, in the five hundred and forty seventh of the Hidjerah.

KHOSSROU SHAH the son of Behram Shah, fourteenth of the race of Sebekteggin, and sixteenth of the monarchs of Gheznin.

Notwithstanding the above relation it is now asserted, as given on the testimony of the best established history, that Behram Shah dying at Ghezniîn, his son Khôssrou Shâh was raised, by the united concurrence of the nobles, to the throne of his ancestors. But intelligence, at the same period, successively arriving of the approach of Allâ-ud-dein Hûsseyne, the new monarch with his court and the whole of his family, immediately withdrew beyond the Indus, and fixed his residence at LAHOUR. The Ghourian then entered Gheznîn, causing it to be publicly announced, to the forsaken and unfortunate inhabitants, that they were by no means to consider themselves therefore exempted from the destiny of a city captured by assault—The accumulated horrors of pillage, massacre, and desolation. For the space of seven days, accordingly, nothing was omitted on the part of the revengeful conqueror, to make that unhappy city experience through all its quarters, every circumstance of outrage, that could be dictated by the most furious and malignant passions. The Ghourian had been moreover apprized, that when Seyf-ud-dein was so ignominiously exposed through their streets, the women of Gheznîn had been particularly active in railing at, and insulting the unfortunate captive, to the sound of their cymbals and tabrets; he therefore condemned great numbers of them to atone with their lives for that imprudent exhibition of female malignity. Having rendered himself memorable by this conspicuous example of vengeance, Allâ-ud-dein quitted Ghezni, and withdrew towards his native country; marking his route by burning and demolishing every structure, within his reach, that might in any shape have belonged to the race of Sebek-

KHOSSROU SHAH, XVIth of the monarchs of Gheznîn.

teggin; whence he derived the appellation of Allâ-ud-dein jahaun-souz—the conflagrator. In retaliation for the death of Seyud Mudjid-ud-dein his brother's minister, he caused a number of the Seyuds of Ghezneen to be conducted to Feyrouzkoh, each with a bag of earth suspended to his neck; where on their arrival they were all beheaded, and the earth of which they had been the bearers, being mixed up into mortar with their blood, was applied to construct the towers of the castle of that place. A. H. 547-8. A. D. 1152-53. Ferishtah.

Relying on the assistance of Sûltan Sunjur the Seljukian, Khossrou Shah hastened, on the departure of Allâ-ud-dein, at the head of a powerful army from Lâhour for the purpose of recovering his capital. Sûltan Sunjur having been, however, about this period, defeated and taken by the Ghozzian Tûrkmauns, and the latter advancing with considerable expedition towards Ghezneen, Khossrou Shah declined a contest with those barbarians, and returned to Lahour. The Ghozzians continued in possession of Ghezneen for two* years afterwards, when it was wrested from them by some of the Ghourian princes; from whom at the expiration of a further interval, not exactly stated, it was again taken by Khossrou Mêlek, of whom hereafter.

From other authorities it would however, it seems, appear that when Khossrou Shah fled into the territory eastward of the Indus, from the dreaded vengeance of Allâ-ud-dein jahansouz, the Ghourian proceeded to add to his other conquests those of Tikken, or perhaps Bikkenabad, Gurrumseyr, and Kandahaur; which leaving to the management of his nephew Sûltan Gheyauth-ud-dein Mahommed, he withdrew as formerly into Ghoûr. But Khossrou Shah returning with a formidable army from the Punjaub, for the purpose of repossessing himself of Ghezneen, he received from Allâ-ud-dein overtures towards a treaty of peace; in which it was proposed that the city and castle of Bikkenabad should be ceded to the Ghourian, and that the Shah should be satisfied with the restoration of his capital. These terms being peremptorily rejected by Khossrou, Allâ-ud-dein is stated to have conveyed to him a stanza of four lines to the following effect. "That vengeance of which "the foundation was laid by thy father—hath already wrought suffi-

*The manuscript in my possession shews ten years.

A. H. 555-80. A. D. 1160-84. Ferishtah.

"cient mischief among the nations of the earth—Beware! lest for the "single paltry district of Bikkenabad, thou give the entire of the "empire of Mahmûd to the winds of heaven." Khossrou had been encouraged to reject these proposals by his reliance on the support of Sûltan Sunjur, as above related; but becoming unexpectedly apprized of the irretrievable misfortune which had befallen that prince, he was again compelled to retire to Lahour; where, after a precarious and turbulent reign of seven years, he ultimately died, in the five hundred and fifty-fifth* of the Hidjerah.

KHOSSROU MELEK the son of Khossrou Shah fifteenth of the race of Sebekteggin, seventeenth and last of the monarchs of Ghezniân.

KHOSSROU MELEK, XVIIth and last of the monarchs of Gheznin.

Succeeding to the sovereign power on the death of his father at Lahour, this prince is represented to have signally augmented the splendor of that metropolis, by several memorable proofs of a just and benevolent spirit. For some time he contrived to secure to his authority, the whole of the countries which had been subjugated eastward of the Indus, by his predecessors, the Sûltans Ibrauhim, and Behram Shah. But Shahaub-ud-dein Mahommed the Ghourian, the nephew of Alla-ud-dein, not satisfied with his acquisition of the metropolis of his ancestors, now extended his ambitious views to bereave him of his re-remaining dominions in Hindûstaun. Having previously reduced Paishawer, the country of the Afghans, Mûltaun, and Sind, he at length appeared, in the five hundred and seventy sixth of the Hidjerah,† under the walls of Lahour. Unable to contend with the invader in the field of battle, Khossrou Mêlek withdrew into the city; but by the delivery of his infant son Mêlek Shâh as an hostage, together with his best and finest elephants, into the hands of his besieger, he succeeded in redeeming himself from present subjugation; the Ghourian consenting to return this time to Ghezniân short of his object.

Four years afterwards however, namely, in the five hundred and eightieth of the Hidjerah,‡ Sûltan Shahaub-ud-dein resumed his hostile designs, and appeared a second time before the walls of Lahour, Khossrou Mêlek securing himself, as formerly, within the fortifications of the town. But as the reduction of this celebrated city appears to

*A. D. 1160. †A. D. 1180. ‡A. D. 1184.

have been an enterprize still beyond his means to accomplish, the Ghourian was compelled once more to abandon it; and he proceeded to erect the fortress of Siaulkote, about sixty miles to the northward of Lahour, and twenty to the eastward of Rotas on the Behât; possibly to over-awe the capital of the Punjaub, and to secure his own access whenever he found it convenient to resume his project. Then confiding the defence of the new fortress to one of his bravest officers, he returned to Ghezniân. Siaulkote was invested, immediately on the departure of Shahaub-ud-dein, by Khossrou Mêlek assisted by a body of Goggers, Kahkares, or Gickers, but without success. A. H. 580-82. A. D. 1184-86. Ferishtah.

In the mean time convinced, by repeated failure, that all attempts to reduce Lahour by open force would be in vain, Shahaub-ud-dein determined at last on having recourse to stratagem, for the attainment of his ends. For this purpose, affecting to have laid aside all further views of his hostility towards Khossrou Mêlek, he proceeded in the five hundred and eighty second of the Hidjerah,* to equip his hostage Mêlek Shâh, now about ten years of age, with all things suitable to his birth, and dismissed him to pay a visit to his father at Lahour, in charge of certain of his officers, in whose discretion he could with confidence repose. These he privately instructed to excite and encourage in the young prince a propensity for drinking; to employ every device in their power to retard his journey; and for that purpose to make as many halts as possible during their progress. Delighted beyond measure at the intelligence which was conveyed to him, of the approaching interview with his long absent child, Khossrou Mêlek in the contemplation of that single object, abandoned his usual circumspection; and reposing a blind confidence in the pacific and friendly views of the Ghourian, entirely resigned himself to a scene of mirth and festivity. "In that throne and state," observes the author, quoting a saying of the Persians, "there must arise confusion and sorrow—where "the foresight of the prince is inferior to that of the shepherd for his "flock." Thus while the young Mêlek Shâh was prosecuting his journey, Shahaub-ud-dein suddenly quitted Ghezniân at the head of twenty thousand cavalry lightly equipped, and furnished with one or

*A. D. 1186.

A. H. 582. A. D. 1186. Ferishtah.

two spare horses each for expedition; and proceeding by a circuitous route and forced marches, appeared unexpectedly in sight of Lahour; when, early one morning, the wretched Khossrou Mêlek awoke from his delirium of security, to behold the opposite banks of the Rauvy swarming with the menacing squadrons of the adversary. The unhappy monarch deprived of all resource, in terms sufficiently abject, besought the mercy, and proceeded to the presence of his betrayer: and thus, about the five hundred and eighty second of the Hidjerah, without the slightest resistance, without a single struggle, the city of Lahour, however strongly fortified, submitted to Shahaub-ud-dein; and the empire of Sebekteggin, after it had subsisted altogether for a period of two hundred and seventeen lunar, or two hundred and eleven solar years, was finally transferred to the dinasty of the Ghourians.

At the hazard of its being already before the public from the delineation of a far abler pen, this sketch of the subversion of the empire of Ghezniⁿ, or Ghezny, has been almost literally translated from Ferishtah; that which we derive from the author of the Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur, being too meagre and defective to be presented, with any justice, to the English reader.

Of the Fatimite Khalifs of Egypt.

Our abridgement must now be employed to furnish some account of the *Issmauilian*, or *Fatimite* sovereigns, whose authority extended for a considerable period over Egypt, and the region of Africa immediately west of that celebrated province.

A. H. 296. A. D. 908. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

The first of this race who assumed the sovereign power, is stated to have been Abûl Kaussem Mahommed the son of Abdullah, who bore the title of Mehedy, represented by some of the Issmauilian Schismatics, as well as by many of the more orthodox Sûnnihs, as a descendant from Issmauil the eldest son of Jauffer-us-saudek, the *sixth* Imaum. The race of Abbas have however stigmatized with malediction this assumed extraction of Mehedy; and other Mosslems appear to have considered him as of the stock of Abdullah, the son of Sâlem the Bassorite. The Issmauilians, nevertheless, persist in maintaining that the Mehedy of history, and of tradition, strictly refers to the subject of this article; and moreover appeal to a prediction of the Arabian prophet importing "that, at the close of the third century, (of the Hid-"jerah) a sun, or great luminary, should arise in the western parts of

Mahommed Ul Mehedy, Ist of that race.

the world;" alleging that the *sun* in this prediction figuratively applies to Mahommed the son of Abdullah, the Fatimite. Be that however as it may, this Abûl Kaussem MAHOMMED Mehedy revolting in Africa, under the reign of the Khalif Mûktedder, in the two hundred and ninety-sixth of the Hidjerah, subdued to his power the greater part of the territory on the southern shore of the Mediterranean, westward of Egypt: and having reigned with considerable splendor for a period of six and twenty years, he died in the three hundred and twenty second of the Hidjerah,* at the age of sixty two.

A. H. 296-341. A. D. 908-53. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

UL KAEIM B'imr Illah AHMED the son of Mahommed, second of the Issmauilian Khalifs.

This prince was the legitimate successor to his father's power: but towards the close of his reign, a school master of the name of Abû Yezzeid revolting against his authority, and being joined by a multitude of the turbulent and disaffected, he was defeated in battle, and compelled to shut himself up in the fortress of Mehêdiah, on the sea coast eastward of Kairwan. There he was besieged by the insurgents, and in that situation, dying in the course of the three hundred and thirty fourth of the Hidjerah,† after a reign of twelve years, he left a will by which his surviving son was nominated to succeed.

UL KAEIM IId of the Khalifs of Egypt.

Ul Munsûr-be-kûwut-Ullah ISSMAUIL the son of Ul Kâeim, third of the Issmauilian Khalifs.

Artfully concealing the death of his father this prince, on succeeding to the sovereign authority, with equal gallantry and skill attacked and defeated his besiegers; and detaching some of his bravest soldiers in pursuit of Abû Yezzeid, the rebel was soon taken and brought to his presence. The punishment allotted to the unfortunate pedagogue was rather a singular one; he was confined to an iron cage, with an ape for his companion; and having been in that manner exposed for several days, he was ultimately consigned to the sword of the executioner.

UL MUNSUR IIId of the Khalifs of Egypt.

Ul Munsûr, in the three hundred and forty first of the Hidjerah, quitted this abode of pride and folly at the age of thirty nine, and after an apparently successful reign of seven years.

* A. D. 934. † A. D. 945.

A. H. 341-61. A. D. 953-72. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Ul-Mûezz-ûd-dein Ullah ABU TEMEIM the son of Munsûr, fourth of the Issmauilian Khalifs, assumed the sovereign authority in the month of Shavaul* of the three hundred and forty first of the Hidjerah, and became a monarch of great power and renown; having in the process of time subjugated to his dominion many of the African provinces, westward of Egypt, which had hitherto successfully resisted the arms of his predecessors.

On the death of Kâfûr Ekhshid who held the government of Egypt, under the authority of the house of Abbas, the province being about the same period afflicted by a dreadful famine, Ul Mûezz-ud-dein availed himself of the opportunity to dispatch one of his generals of the name of Jauher Khaûdem, at the head of a great army, and accompanied with an abundant supply of provisions, to take possession of the country. This able commander, who was not improbably an eunuch, accomplished the reduction of that important province some time in the three hundred and fifty seventh of the Hidjerah,† (while the Khalif Mûteia swayed the sceptre of the Abbassides;) and pitching his tents in the centre of the Egyptian metropolis, proceeded to distribute to the famished inhabitants the abundant stores which he had brought for their relief. In the course of the same year, and in conformity with the instructions of his master, he laid the foundation of a new city, described to be situated midway between Fostaut, and Misser, and Eyne-us-shums, and to which, in honor of his sovereign, he gave the name of Kaherah Mûezziah; the same that under the more corrupt appellation of Cairo, and under multiplied vicissitudes, has continued to this day the metropolis of the province. The talents of Jauher were next employed in the reduction of Alexandria, and finally of Syria, and even Hejauz; each of which provinces he is said to have added to the dominions of the Issmauilian, gracing the Khotbah and Sikkah throughout the whole, with the name of Ul Mûezz-ud-dein-Ullah.

UL MUEZZUD DEIN, IVth of the Khalifs of Egypt.

Some years afterwards, namely, in the three hundred and sixty-first of the Hidjerah, Mûezz-ud-dein quitted his former residence in Africa, and removed to the new city of Kaherah, which he now declared the metropolis of his dominions; and having reigned with distinguished

* February, A. D. 953. † A. D. 968.

justice, for a period of three and twenty years, and five months, he there terminated his mortal career, on Friday the nineteenth of the latter Rebbeia, of the three hundred and sixty fifth of the Hidjerah. A. H. 365-98. A. D. 975-98. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Ul Azziz B'Illah Abû Munsûr NEZZAUR the son of Ul Mûezz-ud-dein, fifth of the Issmauilian Khalifs.

This prince succeeded to the throne of the Egyptian Khalifs immediately on the death of his father; and it is stated as a singular circumstance, that among those who pledged allegiance to him on the occasion, were his own uncle Heyder, Abûl Feraut the uncle of his father, and an uncle of his grandfather; which, it seems, occurred to no other monarch in Islâm, but himself and Hârûnrashid. He proved a mild, benevolent, and virtuous prince; and having reigned in great prosperity and splendor for the space of one and twenty years, he died in Ramzaun of the three hundred and eighty sixth of the Hidjerah,* the forty second of his age. UL AZZIZ, Vth of the Khalifs of Egypt.

Ul Hâkem bimmer-Ullah Abû Ally MUNSUR the son of Ul Azziz, sixth of the Issmauilian Khalifs, was born at Cairo, and the first of his race who was a native of that city. During the reign of Ul Hâkem, we are informed that a person professing to be a descendant from Hashaum the son of Abdulmêlek headed an insnrrection against the authority of the Issmauilians; but falling, after repeated conflicts, into the hands of the ruling power, he was by the direction of Ul Hâkem, mounted on a camel, with his legs bound, and a red cap on his head; while a monkey seated behind him, kept ever and anon, striking him on the neck and shoulders with his paws. When the people proceeded however at the close of the ceremony, to dismount him from the back of the camel, it was found that, either through shame or apprehension, the unfortunate culprit was become a lifeless corpse. UL HAKEM VIth of the Khalis of Egypt.

About the twelfth year of the reign of Ul Hâkem, such is described to have been the profound tranquillity which prevailed throughout Egypt, that he forbad the gates of Cairo to be shut at night, as had been previously the practice in times of the greatest security; while the inhabitants were directed to continue their shops and warehouses open,

* December 25th, A. D. 975. † September, A. D. 996.

A. H. 398. A. D. 1008. Khoiaussut-ul-akhbaur.

as in the day time, keeping lighted flambeaus at the head of every street; and in these circumstances the citizens continued to croud the market places throughout the night, while the monarch with his courtiers paraded the streets, accessible to the conversation of all who might be disposed to address him. On the authority of the Tarikh gûzeidah it is however stated that in every period of his government, it was the practice of Ul Hâkem to traverse the streets of his capital in the manner just described; that on such occasions he usually appeared riding on an ass, without the slightest circumstance of pomp or ceremony; professing that, like Moses on mount Sinaj, he was going to perform his devotions in the presence of God. And finally that such was the zeal with which he exerted himself to enforce the rigid observance of the law, that he caused all the gardens and vineyards, in the vicinity of Cairo to be destroyed, when he found that the people were not to be otherwise restrained from the use of wine, and inebriating liquors. Another point which he moreover appears to have been singularly studious to accomplish, was to check that unrestrained intercourse between women, which he might have conceived eminently prejudicial to female purity, and domestic happiness, as conducted in the East; and for this purpose he prohibited throughout his capital the making of women's shoes, or buskins.

At the same time, while he scrutinized with such rigid severity the irregularities of the public, he is accused of being perfectly indulgent towards the private vices and debaucheries of his own family, and domestics, which he appears to have thought it but little expedient to investigate. Hence, when he had continued to conduct his government in this manner for about seven years, the inhabitants of Cairo proceeded to dress up the effigies of a woman, which, with a paper in its hand they contrived to plant in the way of Ul Hâkem, in his usual progress through the streets. Observing the scroll, the monarch hastened to seize and perusê it, and was not a little enraged to find that it contained a severe and abusive libel on himself and his predecessors: and in the paroxysm of his fury he gave orders for a general pillage of his own capital, which terminated in the immediate destruction of one half of that unfortunate city.

Towards the conclusion of his reign, conceiving, however, a suspicion that a libidinous intercourse was carrying on between his own sister, and the general of his army, Ul Hâkem sought an opportunity of putting them both to death. But the general becoming apprized of his design, determined to avert the danger by entering into an immediate conspiracy against the life of its author; which, in the course of the four hundred and eleventh of the Hidjerah, he carried into successful execution. A. H. 411. A. D. 1020. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

According to the statements of the Rouzut-us-suffa, the destruction of Ul Hâkem was accomplished in the following manner. It was usual with him, it seems, to ride out every evening on his ass, to make a circuit of the neighboring range of hills which overlooks the city of Cairo; and professing to have attained to singular skill in astrology, he had been frequently known to assert, that if, by a particular night which he named, no mischief occurred to assail him, he had precisely calculated that he was destined to outlive the age of four-score. On the evening which had been thus previously indicated, he was proceeding to take his usual ride, when his mother interposed with the most anxious intreaties that, for that night, he would not leave his palace. For a short time the prince gave way to the importunities of maternal affection; but urged by an impulse which he could neither resist, nor account for, he became afterwards impatient; and he declared to his mother, that if she did not permit him to proceed on his usual excursion, he was verily persuaded that his soul would immediately quit her frail enclosure. On this he left the palace, with the determination not unfrequent with resolute minds, to brave his destiny. On his arrival at the foot of the hill, the conspirators who lay in ambush for his life, rushed upon, and easily dispatched him, in the sixty first year of his age, the twenty-fifth of his reign.

Ul-Zauhir-ud-deyn-ullah Abûl Hussun Ally the son of Ul Hâkem, seventh of the Issmauilian Khalifs.

Having succeeded, with the concurrence of the distinguished classes of the inhabitants of Ul Kaherah, to the throne of Egypt on the assassination of his father, Ul Zauhir availed himself of the earliest opportunity, after the effectual establishment of his power, to dispatch his Ul Zauhir VIIth of the Khalifs of Egypt.

A. H. 471-84. A. D. 1029-94. libidinous aunt, with her suspected paramour, to the abode where all things are forgotten.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur. After an apparently prosperous reign of sixteen years, Ul Zauhir died, of a dropsical complaint, at the premature age of three and thirty, in the four hundred and twenty seventh of the Hidjerah;* leaving, like his grandsire Ul Azziz, a character distinguished for every virtue that could secure for his memory the love and veneration of mankind.

Ul Mustanser B'Illah Abû Temeim Saud the son of Ul Zauhir, eighth of the Issmauilian Khalifs, succeeded to the authority of his ancestors, when a minor of seven years of age.

Of the numerous events, which must have distinguished the unusually protracted reign of this prince, there are but two which seem to have fixed the attention of our abbreviator; the first, the appearance in Egypt, in the four hundred and forty-sixth of the Hidjerah,† the nineteenth of Mûstanser, of a star of extraordinary magnitude and brilliancy, which continued for a long time to diffuse its beams with surprising lustre over the city of Kaherah. This portended, or at all events, was followed, by a dreadful scarcity; during which vast numbers of the inhabitants daily perished from hunger and want of food. The next was a tremendous earthquake which, on the twelfth day of Rudjub of the year four hundred and sixty,‡ shook the city of Kaherah, and the whole land of Egypt, with such singular and astonishing violence, that the very fish in the waters of the Nile became sensible of its effects. The mind of Mûstanser was at the same time so powerfully wrought upon by the awful concussion, that, in order to allay the disquietude which had seized the hearts of his subjects, he found it expedient to make a distribution of his property among the poor, to an incalculable amount.

Ul Mustanser, VIIIth of the Khalifs of Egypt.

The death of Ul Mûstanser took place in the four hundred and eighty seventh§ of the Hidjerah, when he had swayed the sceptre of Egypt for a period of sixty lunar years; a duration which does not appear to have been allotted to the reign of any of the monarchs of Islâm, either before or after him.

Mûstanser had originally vested the succession in his eldest son Nezzaur, with the title of Mûstaufa-ud-dein Ullah; but unhappily

* A. D. 1036. † A. D. 1054. ‡ Sixteenth of May, A. D. 1068.
§ A. D. 1094.

taking offence at some circumstance in the conduct of that prince, he subsequently ordained that he should have no sort of concern with the Khelaufut; which he then transferred to the younger brother Ul Mûstaully B'illah Ahmed. Hence arose, on the death of Mûstanser, an inveterate Schism among the Issmauilians; one party adhering, in conformity with the fundamental principle of the Sect* to the original choice, and contending for the Imaumut of Nezzaur, for whom they accordingly claimed the allegiance of the people. Of this was the celebrated Hussun, or Hassan Sâbah; while the other party contended more successfully for the claims of Ahmed.

A. H. 487-95, A. D. 1094-1101. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Ul Mustaully B'Illah Abûl Kaussem Ahmed the son of Ul Mûstanser, ninth of the Issmauilian Khalifs.

As soon as he conceived himself in secure possession of the throne, the first views of this prince were directed to obviate the claims of his brother; who declining the contest, fled for the present to Alexandria. The governor of that city, a slave of his father's, gave him however the most distinguished reception, and immediately acknowledged him as the legitimate successor to the dominions of his family. But a powerful force being employed to support the authority of Ul Mûstaully, the governor of Alexandria was taken in battle, and put to death; and Nezzaur becoming also the prisoner of the victorious party, was conveyed with his two sons to the metropolis, and confined by his more fortunate brother to the castle of Cairo, where he died.

Ul Mustaully, IXth of the Khalifs of Egypt.

Ul Mûstaully now continued to sway the sceptre of Egypt without a competitor, until the four hundred and ninety-fifth of the Hidjerah,† when at the early age of eight and twenty, he also died, after a reign of seven years and two months.

Ul Amyr B'Ehkaum Ullah Abû Ally Munsur the son of Ul Mûstaully, tenth of the Issmauilian Khalifs, succeeded to the throne of Egypt, being at this period only five years of age. The government was however administered in his behalf, with sufficient ability, by Fazzel, the son of the Ameir-ul-Jeyûsh, or lieutenant general of the

Ul Amyr, Xth of the Khalifs of Egypt.

* The permanent right of primogeniture, as violated in the instance of their Imaum Issmauil.

† A. D. 1101.

A. H. 495-524. A. D. 1101-30.

forces; perhaps the same formerly mentioned as the destroyer of Ul Hâkem.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

During the reign of Ul Amyr, Hussun Sâbah and the Nezzaurians were become extremely formidable by the seizure of the fortresses of Rûdbaur, and the territory of the Kohestaun; but much more so by the atrocious methods, which they pursued to avenge themselves on their enemies. Among the victims, and perhaps one of the earliest, that perished by the knives of these dangerous and sanguinary fanatics, was Ul Amyr himself; who expired on the fourth of Zilkaudah, of the five hundred and twenty fourth of the Hidjerah,* in consequence of a mortal wound inflicted on his person, by one of the zealots attached to that detested schism; in the thirty fifth year of his age, and the twenty ninth of his reign.

Ul Hafez, XIth of the Khalifs of Egypt.

Ul Hafez-ud-dein-Ullah Abû Meymûn Abdul Hamid, the son of Mûstanser, eleventh of the Issmauilian Khalifs, assumed, on the death of his nephew, the sovereign power; the principal nobility entirely concurring in his elevation. His first Vezzeir, Ahmed the son of Fazzel, being early assassinated, by one of the disciples of Hussun Sâbah, a second was appointed to succeed him, and shared the same fate. On this, Ul Hâfez resolved to confer the Vizzaurut on his own son Hussun. The thirst after human blood, which polluted the mind of this prince was however so excessive, (not less than forty of the most distinguished Ameirs having been put to death by him, in the course of a single night) that his father, becoming terrified as to the consequences of a disposition so sanguinary, laid a design to destroy him: but the plot being discovered to Hussun, he contrived to cut off the whole of those employed to carry it into execution. The surviving Ameirs, with a considerable part of the army, now united in declaring to Ul Hâfez, that if the prince was not immediately delivered up to them, their vengeance would be directed against himself. And thus compelled to devise some further and more effectual expedient to appease their indignation, the monarch discovered at last an instrument for his purpose, in a jewish physcian; who administered to the obnoxious prince, a draught which soon dispatched him to the sepulchre of his fathers.

*Seventh of October, A. D. 1130.

Ul Hâfez, after a reign of twenty years, and at the advanced age of eighty, died in the latter Jummaudy, of the five hundred and forty-fourth of the Hidjerah.* A. H. 544-55. A. D. 1149-60.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Ul Zauffer B'illah Abû Munsûr Mahommed the son of Ul Hâfez, twelfth of the Issmauilian Khalifs, with the united concurrence of the Egyptian Ameirs, immediately succeeded to the throne of his fathers; but forming a licentious attachment for the son of his Vezzeir Abbas, a youth of the name of Nasser, his time became devoted to the society of this minion of his pleasures. Proceeding however at last, to endow him with some very considerable territorial acquisition, the citizens of Cairo, who contemplated with disgust the ignominious intercourse between the monarch and his favorite, sarcastically observed, that the dower of Nasser was surely estimated at a price too low! which exciting the honorable indignation of the Vezzeir, he determined to expunge the stigma with the blood of his unworthy sovereign. For this purpose, having concealed a party for the execution of his design, he invited the unsuspecting monarch to an entertainment at his palace; where, in the five hundred and forty ninth of the Hidjerah† after a reign of something more than five years, they introduced him, with their swords and poniards, to the final repast of death.

Ul Zauffer, XIIth of the Khalifs of Egypt.

Ul Faeiz Be-Nussyr Ullah Abûl Kaussem Eissa, the son of Ul Zauffer, thirteenth of the Issmauilian Khalifs.

This prince, notwithstanding the adverse circumstances which might appear to oppose his elevation, succeeded in establishing himself on the throne of Egypt, immediately on the assassination of his father; and having bestowed the appointment of Vezzeir on Mêlek Sâlah, his views were early directed to seize the person of the late minister. Abbas contrived however to withdraw from the country, with an immense property; but falling into the hands of a body of Franks, at this period in possession of Palestine, he was by them plundered of all he had, and bound hand and foot left to perish in the desert.

Ul Faeiz, XIIIth of the Khalifs of Egypt.

Ul Faeiz was summoned to his account, in the month of Suffur, of the year five hundred and fifty-five,‡ at the early age of twenty-one, and after a reign of six years and two months.

* October, A. D. 1149. † A. D. 1154. ‡ February, A. D. 1160.

A. H. 555-64. A. D. 1160-69. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

During the government of this monarch, it is briefly stated, that the territory of Africa on the shore of the Mediteranean, westward of Egypt, hence called Mughreb, and the inhabitants Mughrebins, was subjugated, by a person of the name of Abdul Moumen.

Ul Auzzed, or Audhed-ud-dein Ullah Abû Abdullah Mahommed, the son of Ul Fâeiz, fourteenth and last of the Issmauilian, or Fâtimite Khalifs of Egypt.

Succeeding on the demise of his father, to a power now rapidly verging to decline, this prince bears, with the oriental narrator, the character of having been eminently distinguished for the benevolence of his manners, and the unbounded liberality of his disposition. But the Egyptian territory being exposed during his reign to a formidable invasion of the Franks, (under Amaury king of Jerusalem,* the son of Melisenda and Fulk count of Anjou) and the hearts of the natives being entirely subdued by terror, he sought for an accommodation with the invaders; who consented to withdraw from the country on the payment of one million of dinaurs,† and their agents had accordingly repaired to Cairo to receive the money. The appearance of these obnoxious strangers produced, however, among the haughty Mussulman inhabitants an agitation so violent, that they immediately wrote, with the concurrence of Ul Auzzed, to demand the assistance of Nûr-ud-dein Mahmûd, at this time ruler of Syria and Damascus, and in close affinity with the Khalifs of the house of Abbas. A body of *eighty thousand* horse, under Assud-ud-dein Sheirkoh‡ or *Shiracouh*, was dispatched by that prince with all possible expedition, to the relief of the Egyptians; and the Franks, *like foxes to their hiding places*, hastily fled, on intelligence of the approach of the Syrian general.

Ul Auzzed last of the Khalifs of Egypt.

Assud-ud-dein entered Kâherah on this occasion, in the latter Rebeia of the five hundred and sixty fourth of the Hidjerah,§ and he was immediately invested with the dignity of the Vizzaurut: but dying at the expiration of sixty five days, that important charge was entrusted by Ul Auzzed, to the talents of the celebrated Sullah or Salah-ud-dein Yûssuf, the son of Ayûb, and nephew of the deceased general. At no

* Vide Gibbon's decline and fall.—Vol. XI. page 227, octavo edition.

† 458,333l. 6s. 8d. at the lowest calculation. ‡ Mountain lion. § January, A. D. 1169.

very distant period of time, Salah-ud-dein contrived to render himself entire master of the government; and he proceeded without further ceremony to take from the officers of Ul Auzzed's court every remaining vestige of authority. The circumstance being, however, communicated to Nûr-ud-dein at Damascus, that prince immediately dispatched to demand that the Khotbah and coinage of Egypt, should be graced with the name and titles of Mûstunzy of the house of Abbas, the reigning Khalif of Baghdâd. To this, after some demur, and the message had been again repeated by the Sûltan of Damascus, Salah-ud-dein, by the advice of his principal officers, at last consented; and the name of Mûstunzy was announced, in the usual forms, from the pulpits of the Egyptian capital, in the month of Mohurrim of the five hundred and sixty seventh of the Hidjerah.* A. H. 564-67. A. D. 1169-71. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

In the mean time, the unfortunate Ul Auzzed lay stretched on the bed of sickness; and in the course of the same week, unconscious of the degradation, hastened to explore the regions of a better world. And thus terminated the power of the Issmauilian, or Fâtimite Khâlifs, after it had subsisted for about two hundred and seventy one lunar years: the territory of Egypt continuing from this time, for a period of some duration, under the authority of Salah-ud-dein, and his descendants.

We cannot perhaps close this chapter to greater advantage, than by subjoining the author's sketch of the history of Hussun Sâbah, the first Shaikh-ul Jubbul, or old man of the mountain, and of his successors; whose dominion was long established in the fortresses of Rûdbaur, and in the Kohestaun, or mountainous territory between Irâk Ajem, and the province of Khorassaun.

On this subject the writer commences his narrative by informing us, that Khaujah Nizam-ul-mûlk of Tûsse, at a subsequent period the distinguished minister of Alep Arslan, has stated in his Wessayâï, or book of precepts, that he, and Hukkeim Omar Kheyaum, and the profligate Ben Sâbah, pursued their studies at the same time, under Imaum Mouffek the Neyshapûrite; and that on breaking up from the seminary, where they received their instructions, it was their practice to retire together to a private spot, in order to rehearse, and digest Origin of Hussun Sabah.

* September A. D. 1171.

A. H, 420-64. A. D. 1029-71. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

the lessons which had been last communicated to them. Omar Kheyaum was a Neyshapûrian by birth. The father of Hussun Sabah, Ally by name, a man of principles notoriously flagitious, professed himself to be an Arab by extraction, of the race of Sabah the Homeirite, or Homyarite; although the people of Khorassaun, and the inhabitants of Tûsse more particularly, represented this as a gross fabrication; maintaining, on the contrary, that his ancestors were nothing more than ordinary, or obscure peasants in the neighborhood of that city.

Be this however as it may, Hussun Sabah took the opportunity of remarking to his fellow students, one day, that it was the prevailing opinion, that certain favorite individuals among the pupils of Imaum Mouffek, were destined to arrive at the noblest gradations of human prosperity. Of one thing at least he expressed the most perfect conviction—that if this distinguished lot was reserved for any, it was for either of them three. He then demanded what engagements they stood disposed to enter into, with such a propect before them? His associates both replied that they were willing to accede to any terms, that he might think it convenient to suggest. On which Hussun distinctly proposed, on the same grounds as if they were proceeding on some commercial speculation, that so far from applying the advantages of his good fortune, to his own personal enjoyment, the successful individual should be engaged to share them, with scrupulous impartiality, with his two less fortunate associates. And to this effect a reciprocal agreement was accordingly drawn up between them, and executed on the spot.

In the reign of Alep Arslan of the race of Seljûk, the same Nizâmul-mûlk, as will be seen in its proper place, was advanced to the dignity of the Vizzaurut; and his friend Hukkeim Omar, repairing to court, experienced from his old acquaintance all that could be expected from a conscientious regard to the stipulations between them; the fortunate Vezzeir telling him, that in conformity to their engagement, he had not failed to consider the appointment to which he had succeeded, as an advantage in which they were reciprocally entitled to share; but, in order that he might have an opportunity of bringing his merits under the observation of his sovereign, that it behoved him, in some shape or other, to enrol himself in the service of the state: and nothing should be wanting on his part, at a proper interval, to secure his advancement

to some distinguished post of confidence and respectability. With abundant benedictions on his head, and every expression of applause for his faithful and honorable adherence to his engagements, Hukkeim Omar declined all participation in the splendid destiny of his powerful friend; professing, that the summit of his ambition was to be allowed, in some retired spot, to prosecute his philosophical studies under the influence of his protection. As there was some reason to believe that these professions were sincere, the benevolent and distinguished minister acquiesced in his resolution; and assigning for his subsitstance an annual pension on the revenues of Neyshapûr, of twelve hundred meskals* of gold, dismissed him highly gratified with his lot.

A. H. 420-64. A. D. 1029-71. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Hussun Sabah did not, on the other hand, present himself to claim the recollection of his early friend, until the succeeding reign of Mêlek Shah; when he experienced from Nizam-ul-mûlk a reception not less cordial, than the other associates of his studies; being distinguished by that minister with every proof of confidence and liberality, that he thought suitable to his merit, or to the claims of their long established friendship. The man was, however, not of a disposition to be easily satisfied. He embraced an opportunity of intimating to his friend, one day, that although he must acknowledge the extreme liberality with which he had treated him, yet that this was not exactly commensurate with the tenor of their engagements. Nizam-ul-Mûlk readily assented to the justice of the remark; freely adding, that he was not only entitled reciprocally to share in the dignity and lustre of office, but in the claims of inheritance, and every other advantage however derived. The minister proceeded accordingly to introduce him to the presence of his sovereign, and contrived moreover to give so flattering a description of his talents and abilities, that he was speedily admitted to a considerable share of the royal confidence. But, the unprincipled profligate no sooner found access to the conversation of the monarch, than he perverted the advantage to the basest purposes of ingratitude. For coming to the knowledge of some trifling default, or inaccuracy, in the accounts of the exchequer, of which his friend was at the head,

* A meskal, or methkal, was both the name of a gold coin; and of the weight of a dram and a half. The shekel of the Jews might be the origin.

A. H. 464. A. D. 1071. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

he contrived by insidious and artful statements that it should be reported to Mêlek Shah; and that he should himself be examined on the subject of the accusation. During this, by a representation full of perversion of facts, and ambiguities skilfully disguised, he succeeded in producing a degree of conviction of the guilt of his minister, in the mind of that prince: although far greater deficiencies were to be found in the accounts of former ministers, in a tenth part of the period for which Nizam-ul-mûlk now demanded a scrutiny. Providence interposed, however, to frustrate his base designs; for although he succeeded in bringing the charge under investigation, the extreme malignity of his motives, and his violation of the most sacred engagements were so obvious, that at the moment he was called upon to specify the fallacious circumstances in his friend's accounts, he was so overwhelmed with contempt and shame, that he found it impossible to remain any longer in the court of Mêlek Shah.

Such at any rate is the statement furnished on the relation of Nizâm-ul-mûlk himself: the author proceeds further to describe, that about the period at which he was thus compelled to withdraw from the court of Mêlek Shah, under circumstances so dishonorable, and which fell out, it would appear, in the four hundred and sixty fourth of the Hidjerah, Hussun Sabah, or Sabaukh, as it is sometimes perhaps erroneously written, repaired to the city of Rey: where falling in with Abdulmêlek the son of Attaush, who was employed in disseminating the doctrines of the Issmauilians, he apostatised from the sect of orthodox Imaumites, to embrace the system of those odious schismatics. From Rey he went to Isfahaun, and there, still pursued by his apprehensions of the resentment of Mêlek Shah and his Vezzeir, he concealed himself for some time, under the protection of a certain Reiss Abûl Fazzel; possibly one of the principal magistrates. Here, in the course of conversation he could not forbear observing, that with two associates, of minds congenial with his own, and on whose fidelity he could rely, he conceived it would be no difficult matter to subvert the power of *that Turk*, alluding to Mêlek Shah, *and his low born minister*. The Reiss, who entertained, it seems, no contemptible notions of his own sagacity, ascribed these expressions to approaching insanity in the mind of his guest; and took care, under that impression, to introduce at his

meals, that species of diet which was supposed to have the effect of composing, or fortifying the brain. Hussun by the strength of his understanding soon penetrated the thoughts of his protector, and quitting his roof, immediately sought another asylum. At a subsequent period when he had made himself master of the fortress of Almowut, Abûl Fazzel paid a visit to his old acquaintance, by whom he was accosted in these terms. "With the proof before thine eyes how soon, after se- "curing associates worthy of my confidence, I have succeeded in my "object, art thou now convinced whether my brain, or thine own, was "in a state of derangement?" A. H. 464-83. A. D. 1071-90. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

In the mean time, Hussun Sabah, about the four hundred and seventy first of the Hidjerah,* proceeded to try his fortune among his fellow schismatics in Egypt; where he experienced from Mûstanser, the Fatimite Khalif, a very hospitable and liberal reception. When he had, however, resided in that country about a year and a half, a serious misunderstanding arose between him and the Ameir-ul-Jeyûsh, or lieutenant general of the forces, originating in the following circumstance. Mûstanser, as we have recently had occcasion to remark, had thought fit to exclude his eldest son Nezzaur from his claim to the succession, and to transfer it to the younger brother, Ahmed; and the lieutenant general had, on this point, concurred with the views of his sovereign. But adhering to the fundamental principle of the sect, which invariably asserts the predominant right of primogeniture, Hussun Sabah proceeded to agitate the people in favor of the Imaumut of Nezzaur; and persisting in his designs, in defiance of the Ameir-ul-Jeyûsh, who now governed all things at discretion, that minister caused it to be announced to him, that his residence in Egypt would for the future be entirely dispensed with; or might perhaps, be found extremely inconvenient to him.

This intimation it was not difficult to comprehend; and he accordingly hastened into Syria, and from thence, leading a precarious and wandering life, ultimately into Persian Irâk. He continued, however, with unremitting activity to disseminate the doctrines of the Issmauilians, dispersing his emissaries among the castles of Rûdbaur, and through the territory of the Kohestaun. But his exertions appear to have been more particularly directed to gain over to his principles the garrison of

* A. D. 1078.

A. H. 483. A. D. 1090. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

the impregnable fortress of Almowut, situated in the mountainous tract between Kazvein and the Caspian. His doctrines spread with considerable rapidity, being embraced by great numbers of the people; and when the period approached, at which he conceived that he might venture to unmask his ambitious designs, we are told that he took up his residence in a town which lay within a convenient distance of the fortress, on which he appears to have early fixed his attention. Here he affected to devote himself, for some time, to a life of abstinence and religious seclusion; until indeed he saw that the greater part of the inhabitants of Almowut had been brought to include themselves among the proselytes of Issmauilism; and they were prevailed upon, one night, in the four hundred and eighty third of the Hidjerah, to introduce him privately into their inaccessible abode.

The government of Almowut was, at this period, held under the authority of Mêlek Shâh, by a certain Siddy Mehedy; but the influence of this officer falling into total neglect, on the introduction of Hussun Sabah, the latter proposed one day to give him three thousand dinaurs* for as much ground within the fortress, as he could encompass with a bullock's hide. Mehêdy acceded without difficulty to the proposal; and the artful adventurer cutting his ox-hide into narrow slips, included within them the entire circumference of the works; and giving to the dupe of his artifices a draft for the money, on Reiss Mûzuffer, one of his disciples who was governor of Guirdkôh and Damaghaun, and who discharged it without demur, he dismissed him from the fort without further ceremony.

The impregnable fortress, of which he thus obtained possession, is stated to have borne, at some remote period, the name of *Alah-ûmût*, signifying, in the language of the country, "the eagles nest;" the letters of which, in their numerical application, will be found to furnish the precise date at which Hussun Sâbah became master of the place. Thus, Alef-1. Laum-30. Hai-5. Alef-1. Meim-40. Wau-6. Tai-400. making, when added together, the sum total of 483.†

* 1375l. 0s. 0d.

† From his subsequent abode in this inaccessible retreat, he probably acquired the appellation of Shaikh-ul-Jubbul—or *old man of the mountain*.

Having in this manner provided a secure retreat against the contingencies of fortune, Hussun Sabah, either by force or favor, succeeded soon afterwards in extending his authority over the whole territory of Rûdbaur; an event which encouraged him to dispatch Hûsseyne Kaubty or Kâyny, one of his principal adherents, to effect the conversion of the natives of the Kohestaun, who were in a little time also brought to submit to the power of the adventurer. In the mean time one of the generals of Mêlek Shâh, to whom the territory of Rûdbaur had been assigned in feoff, felt himself called upon to make some degree of exertion for the recovery of Almowut; and having repeatedly laid waste the circumjacent country, he succeeded at last in reducing the garrison and inhabitants to the verge of despair. But Hussun continued to support the resolution of his disciples, by assurances of aid from their Imaum; alluding to Mûstanser, the Issmauilian Khalif of Egypt.

A. H. 483-5. A. D. 1090-2. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Very opportunely for the views of Hussun Sabah, the person from whom he had suffered such serious annoyance, happened to die at this crisis, and to relieve him for some time from his embarrassments. But, in the beginning of four hundred and eighty-five,* he was again considerably straitened by the exertions of Ameir Arslantaush Haujeb; another of the generals of Mêlek Shah, who was directed by his sovereign to resume the blockade of Almowut. Under these circumstances, being joined by a considerable reinforcement dispatched to his assistance by Dehdaur Abû Ally, one of his proselytes at Kazvein, Hussun boldly sallied out in the night, and surprising the camp of his besiegers, compelled them to a precipitate flight; the fugitives communicating no slight symptoms of disorder and dismay to the army of Mêlek Shah, to which they fled for protection. The views of that prince seemed, however, more particularly directed to the reduction of the Kohestaun, where Hûsseyne Kâyny had been singularly successful in disseminating the principles of fanaticism and revolt; and a considerable force had been accordingly sent to that quarter, under an able chief of the name of Kuzzul Saurek.† On the approach of the troops of Mêlek

* March, A. D. 1092.

† There is a singular coincidence between these appellations, and those bestowed upon the chiefs of the American aborigines. Arslantaush signifies perhaps, "the rock lion;" and Kuzzul Saurek, possibly, the "red robber."

A. H. 485. A. D. 1092. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Shah, Hûsseyne Kâyny with his followers, shut himself up in the fortress, or castle of Moumenabad, which was immediately invested by Kuzzul Saurek. Just however as the place was on the point of reduction, the report arrived that Nizam-ul-mûlk, the Vezzeir, had been assassinated by one of the fanatic disciples of Hussun Sabah; and the death of Mêlek Shah, which followed soon after that event, produced an immediate dispersion of the army employed before Moumenabad. The affairs of the schismatics now advanced with uncontrouled rapidity; and the unprincipled zealots of the sect dispersing themselves through the east, were enabled to plant their daggers in the bosoms of many of the noblest and wisest individuals, who had ventured to oppose the progress of their detestable doctrines. The success of the Issmauilians was further promoted by the contest which ensued between the Sûltans Burguiauruk, or Burguiaurug, and Mahommed the sons of Mêlek Shah; during which the disciples of Hussun Sabah were permitted to reduce the fortresses of Guirdkôh, and Laumseir.

Sûltan Mahommed becoming, however, on the death of Burguiauruk, sole master of his father's dominions, Ahmed the son of Nizam-ul-mûlk was employed for some time to besiege Almowut: and early in the five hundred and eleventh of the Hidjerah, a great force under Ataubek Noushtekein Sheirgueir encamped in the neighborhood of that fortress. For near twelve months, that chief continued to maintain with the troops of Hussun Sabah, a course of unremitting and obstinate hostilities; but as success was beginning to dawn upon the ensigns of the besiegers, the death of Sûltan Mahommed was announced in the army of the Ataubek, and occasioned as formerly their immediate flight, or dispersion.

Under Sûltan Sunjur, who next succeeded to the throne of the race of Seljûk repeated expeditions continued to be set on foot against the Issmauilian chief, with similar success; hostilities being thus occasionally suspended, and resumed, between the advocates of the orthodox belief, and these stigmatized and odious zealots, for a period of considerable duration. At length Hussun Sabah had recourse to the following device, in order to terrify his adversaries into forbearance. He seduced one of the domestics of Sûltan Sunjur to lodge a knife, or dagger, in the floor one night, close to the Sûltan's bed. In the morning, when he awoke, the monarch beheld the murderous weapon with equal surprize

and dismay, but forbore to communicate the circumstance to any body whatever. A few days afterwards, an agent from Hussun Sabah arrived at court with the following verbal message from his master. "If "his designs towards Sûltan Sunjur had not been friendly, the knife "which had been seen planted in the floor, might with equal facility "have been sheathed in his bosom". The mind of Sûltan Sunjur was so powerfully wrought upon by the message, and the circumstance by which it had been preceded, that he immediately determined to conclude a treaty with the Schismatics, on their engaging not to construct any new fortresses, in addition to those already in their possession; not to make any further purchases of arms, or equipments for war; and that they would, for the future, desist from making proselytes to their fanatical doctrines. Hence, the power of Hussun Sabah might with reason be affirmed to derive its most important source of augmentation.

A. H. 485-518. A.D. 1092-1124. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

While these events were passing, Hûsseyne Kâyny, one of the ablest and most active promoters of the schism, was privately assassinated; and as the act was by many persons laid to the charge of Ustaud Hûsseyne, one of the sons of Hussun Sabah, he was condemned by the impartial justice of his father to atone with his life for the murder; while another son falling under an accusation of drunkenness, for a crime so comparatively trivial, was condemned to suffer a similar extremity of punishment: by these examples of severity towards his own blood, it being, as it is alleged, the object of Hussun to attest to the world, that his views in disseminating the doctrines of Issmauilism, were not influenced by any desire to create a splendid establishment for his posterity, but to secure an imperishable reward in a future and better world.

In the latter Rebbeia of the year five hundred and eighteen, this artful schismatic was seized by his mortal illness; during which he appointed one of his disciples, of the name of Guia Bûzûrg Omeyd, to be the successor to his power, with the Dehdaur Abû Ally, formerly mentioned, as his minister of state; expressly charging them, at the same time, in matters of particular moment, in no shape to deviate from the counsels of Hussun Kessrauny, another zealous votary of the sect: and on the twenty-sixth of the same month,* he hastened to take possession of the abode, which was doubtless prepared for his reception in the other world. On authority, said to be entitled to the utmost con-

*Tenth of June, A. D. 1124.

A. H. 518-57. A. D. 1124-62. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

fidence, it is lastly alleged, that during a period of five and thirty years, in which he resided in the fortress of Almowut, Hussun Sâbah never once appeared without the walls of his impregnable retreat, nor even on the terrace of his own dwelling, on more than two particular occasions; his time being entirely devoted to the arrangements of his government, and to record the precepts, which he conceived calculated to promote the adoption of that code of faith, which he had undertaken to establish.

GUIA BUZURG OMEYD, second chief of the Issmauilians of Almowut.

BUZURG OMEYD IId chief of Almowut.

On succeeding to the authority of Hussun Sabah, this person is stated to have persevered in all respects, in promoting the odious system established by his predecessor; while he speciously professed to be no otherwise employed, than to advance the interests of the true faith. He was repeatedly engaged in hostilities with the princes of the race of Seljûk, in which for the most part, his arms were triumphant. The sanguinary zealots trained up in the principles of the sect, now carried their system of assassination to an extent that became truly alarming; many of the most dignified and elevated individuals perishing under the knife of these detestable fanatics, and among others was the Khâlif Mûstershid of the house of Abbas, as formerly noticed. After all this, and having sustained his power for a period of fourteen years two months and twenty days, Guia Bûzûrg Omeyd was suffered to expire, by a tranquil death, on the twenty-sixth of the latter Jummaudy, of the five hundred and thirty-second of the Hidjerah.*

MAHOMMED IIId of the chiefs of Almowut.

MAHOMMED, the son of Guia Bûzûrg Omeyd, third chief of the Issmauilians of Almowut, succeeded, in conformity to the will of his father, to the government of these odious fanatics; and like his father, by his words and actions evinced the most determined zeal for the principles of the sect. Many distinguished persons also perished under the dagger of the assasin, during the period of his power, including among others the Khâlif Ul rashid B'Illah of the house of Abbas. Notwithstanding these multiplied enormities he continued to reign for a period of four and twenty years, eight months, snd eight days, and terminated his life in peace, on the third of the former Rebbeia of the five hundred and fifty seventh of the Hidjerah.†

* Ninth of March, A. D. 1138. † Nineteenth of February, A. D. 1162.

Hussun the son of Mahommed, entitled Alla-zekre-hû-us-salaum, (on whose memory be peace) fourth of the chiefs of Almowut. A. H. 557-59. A. D. 1162-64.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

This person professing to be a descendant of Mûstanser the Fatimite, openly laid claim to the honors of the Imaumut; but as the arguments of the fanatics in support of such descent, appeared equally remote from every sentiment of reason and common sense, the author has avowedly withheld his pen from enlargingon the subject.

Be that however as it may, he had no sooner acceded to sovereign power, than his utmost zeal and exertion appear to have been directed to subvert the whole system of Isslàmism, as established by its celebrated founder. Acts the most obviously repugnant to the precepts of the sacred code, if not openly encouraged, were suffered to pass with impunity, and without interdiction; and while the most daring proofs of impiety and infidelity continued to be sanctioned with daily increasing contumaciousness by his own example, he proceeded at last, in the five hundred and fifty ninth of the Hidjerah, to convoke at Almowut an assembly of the principal inhabitants of Rûdbaur; for the purpose of making a public avowal of his apostacy, and of his subsitution of his own impious opinions, for the sacred precepts of the Korân. Having, with this design, caused a mumber, or tribunal, to be erected in his capital, with its fore-part towards the Keblah, or sanctuary at Mekkah, and four large standards, each of a different colour, to be planted at the four corners respectively, he on the seventeenth* of the month of Ramzaun, ascended this tribunal; and from thence addressed his followers in a strain of incoherent absurdity, which our author further disdains to repeat. After this, mixing with the assembly he invited them without further scruple to violate their fast; and proceeded to set them the example, by a liberal indulgence in the article of wine, and by other flagrant violations of the most sacred ordinances of the law of Mahommed. He impiously concluded by announcing to his people, that the seventeenth of Ramzaun was to be observed as a perpetual festival, by the name of the Eid-e-Keyaum, or feast of the resurrection, or perhaps of emancipation; and hence the Issmauilians have been ever since branded with the appellation of Mûllauhedah—infidels and atheists.

Hussun, IVth of the chiefs of Almowut.

* Seventh of August, A. D. 1164.

A. H. 561-607. A.D.1166-1210 Kholaussut-ul-akûbaur.

In fine when the crimes and licentious enormities of this same Allâ zekre-hû-ussalaum, had transcended all ordinary bounds of moderation, Hussun the son of Naumwur, an orthodox Mûssulman, although the brother of one of his wives, determined on his destruction; and in the five hundred and sixty first* of the Hidjerah, while on a visit to the fortress of Laumseir, embraced an opportunity of terminating with his knife, the odious existence of this flagitious miscreant, after a reign of four years.

MAHOMMED, the second, Vth of the chiefs of Almowut.

MAHOMMED the son of Alla-zekre-hû-ussalaum, fifth of the chiefs of Almowut, immediately succeeded to his father; whose death at a proper opportunity, he did not fail to avenge on Hussun the son of Naumwur. In his zeal for the propagation of error and infidelity, and in his perseverance in asserting his claims to the Khelaufut and Imaumut, or temporal and spiritual supremacy, he even surpassed his predecessors; and during the protracted period of six and forty years, in which he continued to direct their destiny, the enthusiasts devoted to his will, shed the blood of many a distinguished believer, and carried confusion and alarm to some of the remotest corners of the earth. He was, however, at last taken to the abode of eternal punishment, in the six hundred and seventh of the Hidjerah.†

JULLAUL-UD-DEIN, VIth of the chiefs of Almowut.

JULLAUL-UD-DEIN HUSSUN the son of Mahommed, sixth of the chiefs of Almowut.

Invested with the sovereign authority on the demise of his father, this prince, in spite of the pernicious example of his predecessors, applied himself, with unremitting ardor and activity, to restore and re-establish in his dominions the long proscribed system of Isslâm, and to evince his abhorrence of the profligate principles of atheism and false belief. With these views, his followers were prohibited, under the severest penalties, against the commission of any act offensive to the laws of the Korân; he re-instated through his whole territory the call to prayer by Mûezzins, the prescribed course of supplication on ordinary days, and the more solemn celebration of divine worship by the assembled community, on fridays: and lastly, in every town throughout Rûdbaur, he laid the foundation of a bath for ablution, and of a mosque for the adoration of the supreme being.

*A. D. 1166. †A. D. 1210.

Having furnished these preliminary proofs of sincere conversion to the principles of MAHOMMEDISM, he dispatched his agents to the court of the Khalif Ul Nausser, to Sûltan Mahommed king of Khaurezm, and to other princes of Isslâm, in order to attest the purity of his belief; and these sovereigns with their ministers, persuaded of the truth of his professions, hastened to throw open to him the usual channels of intercourse, which had possibly been long closed against the schismatics. The oracles of the law, and the ministers of religion, proceeded also to issue their Fetvaes, or precepts, to verify the orthodoxy of his principles; conferring upon him, at the same time, the title of *Jullaul-ud-dein Hussun, Nou-Mûssulmân*—Hussun, the glory of the faith, the new (born) believer. Thus stimulated in his zeal, Jullaul-ud-dein, in the presence of the most distinguished lawyers and theologians, and other leading citizens of Kazvein, proceeded to burn the whole of the manuscripts of Hussun Sabah, either relating to, or explaining the doctrines of the Issmauilians. In addition to these multiplied testimonies of his unfeigned attachment to the laws of the Korân, his mother becoming desirous of visiting the sanctuary of Mekkah, he, after the example of other monarchs of Isslâm, caused her to be accompanied by a standard, of beautiful workmanship and costly materials, to be deposited in the temple of the Kaaubah; to which, during her journey, a precedence was expressly assigned by the Khalif Ul Nausser, before those of all the other princes, transmitted for a similar purpose. This latter circumstance is at the same time, stated to have given to Sûltan Mahommed the Khaurezmian, such mortal offence, that it is supposed to have been one of the principal causes of that irreconcileable animosity, which soon afterwards broke out between him and that Khalif.

A. H. 607-18. A. D. 1210-21. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Jullaul-ud-dein Hussun had reigned with considerable reputation, for eleven years and a half, when he was attacked and carried to his grave, by a dysentery; during the sacred month of Ramzaun* of the six hundred and eighteenth of the Hidjerah.

ALA-UD-DEIN MAHOMMED the son of Hussun, seventh of the chiefs of Almowut.

October, A. D. 1221.

A. H. 618-53. A. D. 1221-55.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

On his elevation to the authority of his predecessors, this prince had only attained to the ninth year of his age; and he appears to have devoted the dawn of youth, to the execution of great numbers of his people, whom he caused to be put to death, on a suspicion of having administered poison to his father. Instead however of emulating the example set before him, in the conduct of the deceased monarch, this ill-fated youth relapsed into the absurd and profligate system of his forefathers: the schismatics revived their impious and iniquitous practices; the law of glory, the institutes of the Korân so designated by Mahommedans, was once more abolished in Rûdbaur; and the noxious speculations of infidelity and atheism, were suffered to resume their sway.

Alâ-ud-dein had, at all events, assumed into his own hands, and exercised the functions of government for a long series of years, when he took it into his head, without surgical assistance, to open a vein in his arm; which he suffered to bleed with so much greater profusion than was consistent with either prudence or necessity, that his brain became seriously affected. Hence, when any person ventured to speak to him regarding the affairs of his government, in a manner that did not exactly correspond with his own distorted views, he immediately put him to death: from which it necessarily resulted, that the true state of his country was at length entirely withheld from his knowledge. And serious disputes arising moreover, towards the close of his reign, between him and his son Rokken-ud-dein, the latter, fearful of an attempt against his own, had recourse to the treachery of a certain Hussun Mazanderauny, to take away the life of his father.

ALA-UD-DEIN, VIIth of the chiefs of Almowut.

We are further informed that, in the Rouzut-us-suffa, the matter is more circumstantially related in the following terms. For this same Hussun Mazanderauny, a Mahommedan by religion, though far advanced in years, Allâ-ud-dein had, it seems, formed a species of attachment, of which our author alleges he should be ashamed that his pen should furnish the description; so that when it was ultimately determined on, the man, at the instance of Rokken-ud-dein might, with less scruple, have undertaken the destruction of the capricious profligate. At any rate, one evening while his object, after drinking rather freely, lay asleep in a shed of mats and rafters adjoining to a sheep-cot,

he embraced his opportunity, and possibly through the slight enclosure, discharged an arrow, which lodged in the throat of the unhappy chief, and killed him on the spot. A. H. 653-54. A. D. 1255-56. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

This circumstance is stated to have occurred, in the month of Shavaul, of the six hundred and fifty third of the Hidjerah,* when Allâ-ud-dein had held the government of Almowut, for a period of five and thirty years.

ROKKEN-UD-DEIN HUR, or KHUR SHAH the son of Allâ-ud-dein, eighth and *last* of the Issmauilian chiefs of Almowut.

Having succeeded to authority on the murder of his father, Rokken-ud-dein, in order to avert from himself the suspicion of having been an accomplice in the foul parricide, took care, at an early period, to dispatch the instrument of his guilt to the silent chambers of the grave. His career was, however, destined to experience but a short duration. ROKKEN-UD-DEIN, VIIIth and last of the chiefs of Almowut.

It has been stated on a former occasion, that in the early part of the six hundred and fifty-fourth of the Hidjerah,* Hûlaukû Khaun had crossed the Jeyhûn. On intelligence of this event, Khûr Shah was persuaded by the advice of Yessûr Nûyan the Moghûl governor of Hamadaun, to send his brother Shâhinshâh to the presence of that powerful monarch. On his arrival in the camp of the Eyle, or Aeil Khaun, the title usually conferred by historians on the stern Hûlaukû, Shahin-shah was directed by that prince to announce to his brother, that he had struck the pen of oblivion through the register of his father's crimes, and those of his misguided adherents; but it was expected that he should immediately demolish his castle, and hasten to make his appearance in person, in the presence of him, who had manifested so conspicuous a proof of his clemency and forbearance. With this injunction, so far as to level part of the parapets, or battlements of Meymûndezh, where he then resided, Khûr Shah evinced a disposition to comply; but he was too powerfully restrained by his apprehensions, from committing his person to the camp of the invader. In consequence of this, Hûlaukû, on the seventeenth of Shavaul of the year just mentioned,† encamped before Meymûndezh; of which he immediately commenced the siege. On the twenty fifth of the

* November, A. D. 1255. † The spring of A. D. 1256.

A. H. 654. A D. 1256. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

same month, he made a general attack upon the place, which appears to have been successfully resisted by the garrison: but the wretched Issmauilian, was so completely vanquished by his fears, that he sent out his son and brother, the following day, in the most abject terms to supplicate for mercy. On the twenty-ninth, he descended in person, from his otherwise impregnable retreat, and by an immense offering, in specie and valuables, endeavored to disarm, or soften the resentment of the Eylekhaun. That inflexible conqueror committed him, however, to the custody of those whose vigilance he was not likely to deceive; while numerous detachments of the army were employed to reduce and dismantle the remaining fortresses of the country. In the space of a short time, upwards of forty places, of various strength and importance, were accordingly compelled to submit to the discretion of the Tartar tribes, and immediately levelled with the ground. The garrisons of Almowut, Laumseir or Laumsher, and Guirdkôh, continued however, to resist the authority of Hûlaukû for some time longer; but the two former places ultimately submitting, were, like the preceding captures laid in ruins, leaving the fortress of Guirdkôh to contend alone, against the fearful power of the conqueror. On the testimony of the Tarikh gûzeidah, the author here states that the castle of Almowut was erected by Hussun the son of Zaid, or Zeid, the Fatimite prince of Tebrestaun, in the time of the Khâlif Mûtewukkel, (between the 233d and the 247th of the Hidjerah;) it is, however, said to have stood for a period of four hundred and two years, which would place its construction some what later; namely in the 252d of the Hidjerah, and in the Khelaufut of Ul Mûstâyne.

It will be found further related in the Rouzut-us-suffà, that when Khûr Shah had continued to attend the presence of Hûlaukû for some days, he ventured to request that he might be conveyed to the court of Mangû Kaaun; the third successor of Tchengueiz, and paramount sovereign of the Tartar race. Apparently under some degree of surprise at such an arrogant, or absurd request, Hûlaukû determined notwithstanding to comply with it; and having appointed a guard of Moghûls to attend him on his journey, he dispatched him without delay for Tûrkestaun. The Issmauilian was scarcely across the Amûyah,

* Eighteenth of November, A. D. 1256.

or lower Oxus, before he involved himself in a squabble with his guards, the soldiers of Hûllaukû, not improbably with the design of accomplishing his escape: he was, however, at length conveyed in safety to the city of Kârakûm. But, instead of being permitted to proceed to the presence of the great Kaaun, the will of that monarch was there announced to him through an agent, in the following terms; that having refused to deliver up the fortress of Guirdkôh to the troops of his brother, notwithstanding his affected professions of allegiance, it behoved him to return without delay to his own country; and that when he had atoned for his error, by laying his castle in ruins, he might then be permitted to approach the foot of the throne. The unhappy schismatic was accordingly conducted back again to the banks of the Oxus; in the waters of which he was now destined to terminate his life and misfortunes, by the hands of his guards.

A. H. 654. A. D. 1256. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

In the mean time, on the departure of Khûr Shah for the interior of Tartary, Hûlaukû had proceeded to put to death every individual whom he could discover, of the stock of Guia Bûzûrg Ommeyd; and by extirpating every vestige of these impious schismatics, he thus finally relieved the hearts of all genuine Mosslems, and of many others but remotely connected with them, from the apprehensions under which they had been so long condemned to labour, of the knives of these fanatical zealots; when, reckoning from the seizure of Almowut by Hussun Sâbah, in the four hundred and eighty third of the Hidjerah, their power had been suffered to exist, for a period of one hundred and seventy one unar years.

CHAP. VIII.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

IN tracing the origin of the house of SELJUK, our author, on the testimony of those most experienced in discriminating the truths of history, and of the traditions of remoter antiquity, proceeds to relate, that Vekauk, or Dekauk, the immediate ancestor of the family, was an Ameir, or officer of some rank, in the service of Yeghû, or Beghû, the monarch of the Turkish tribes of the Khozzer or Khozzez plains, or steppes, so often mentioned in the preceding pages, not less distinguished for his extraordinary understanding and singular valour, than for his magnificent and splendid spirit; whence he received from the general voice of the people among whom he lived, the appellation of Temmir Yâligh —solid in judgment. On the death of this respectable chief, his son Seljûk, then arrived at years of discretion, was taken into particular favor by the Tartar sovereign, who conferred upon him the title of Besaushy, or leader of his armies; and who otherwise advanced him in rank and power to that degree, that on some occasion during a visit to the most sacred part of his master's palace, he presumed to arrogate a superiority over the royal children, and the princesses of the Haram. Such arrogance produced, accordingly, in one of the wives of the Khaugan, so much dissatisfaction, that the whole of her influence with her husband, was immediately exerted to destroy the credit of his favorite general. Seljûk, however, soon observing, that the monarch, by some means or other, had conceived a prejudice to his disadvantage, embraced an early opportunity of withdrawing, with the whole of his family and followers, to the territory of Samarkand.

On his arrival in the vicinity of Jûnd, on the Seyhûn or Jaxartes, his bosom becoming suddenly irradiated by the splendid truth of the unity of the divine being, he in a short time afterwards, together with all his family and dependants, embraced Isslâm; and he employed himself, with exemplary attention, to study the pages of the Korân, and the

institutes of that profession of faith which was propagated by the seal of the prophecy. His followers continued at the same time to increase in numbers and reputation, until at length his residence became the asylum of the princes, and most distinguished inhabitants of the surrounding regions; so that having finally triumphed over the arms of Eylek Khaun, he proceeded to fix his abode in the neighborhood of Bokhâra. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

With other blessings heaven had at different times made Seljûk the father of four sons; Meykâeil, Issrâeil, Mûssa, and Yeghû. Of these the eldest, Meykâeil, had in the flower of life perished by an arrow shot, leaving two infant children, Toghrel Beg Mahommed, and Tchegher Beg Dâoud; and these two grandsons, on whose education he bestowed considerable attention, he declared to be his heirs.

After the death of their grandfather, the two brothers exhibited such distinguished proofs of sagacity and intelligence, that they soon outstripped all rivalry; and the wars which, with occasional intermissions of truce, they maintained with the princes of Transoxiana, extended the renown of their magnificence, and martial prowess, to the remotest limits of the East. Among other monarchs to whom the voice of fame had circulated the renown of the sons of Seljûk, was Sûltan Mahmûd of Gheznein, who expressed his desire that one of the illustrious fraternity might visit his court; on which Issrâeil the son of Seljûk, the uncle of the young prince, proceeded to the presence of Mahmûd, from whom he experienced a distinguished and honorable reception. On this occasion, placing the illustrious stranger on the throne beside himself, Mahmûd is said, in the course of conference, to have demanded, in the event that an emergency might arise in which he should require it, what number of cavalry they were able to send to his assistance? Issrâeil, who had a couple of arrows in the quiver suspended to his shoulder, laid one of them before the monarch, and told him that if he transmitted that arrow to the residence of his tribe, his orders would be attended by one hundred thousand horse. The Sûltan again demanded what, if more were required? "this" replied the son of Seljûk, placing the second arrow in the hands of Mahmûd, "will bring fifty thousand more to thy support;" and the Sûltan demanding a third time what, if still more were necessary to assure his safety, the Seljûkian laid the quiver before him, and assured him that

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

if he sent that article of his equipment into Tûrkestaun, little less than two hundred thousand horse would speed to his assistance. Upon this, becoming suddenly jealous of the multitudinous force of the Seljûkians, in the very midst of the festivities with which he had hitherto entertained him, he condemned his unoffending guest to imprisonment in the fortress of Kalinjaur; where he continued to the day of his death.

The statement however, that Sûltan Mahmûd suffered the race of Seljûk to cross the Jeyhûn, and assigned them a place of residence in Khorassaun, in order to obtain possession of their property, is denied on the authority of the Rouzut-us-suffâ; the fact being, as formerly alleged, that the two warlike brothers did not pass the Oxus until the subsequent reign of Mûssâoud: when they chose for their abode the territory adjacent to the cities of Nissa and Abiwerd, dispatching to the same Mûssâoud assurances of their allegiance, and entire submission to his authority. The intrusive establishment of these formidable strangers in the province of Khorassaun, was however consonant neither with the policy nor inclinations of Sultan Mûssâoud; and he accordingly intimated in a letter which he dispatched in answer to these assurances, that it might perhaps better suit the circumstances of the race of Seljûk, not to place themselves within the range of his pen. In other words, that they would do well to remove from the territories subject to his authority. This reply determined the two chiefs to enter upon immediate hostilities with Mûssâoud; and on the pertext of providing the necessary resources they proceeded without further scruple to invade the property of the unprotected inhabitants. The armies of Mûssâoud were repeatedly employed to oppose the adventurers, but were compelled in almost every conflict, to yield to the superior prowess of the two brothers. So that in a period comparatively short, the whole of Khorassaun being subjugated to his power, Toghrel Beg, in the beginning of the month of Mohurrim of the 429th of the Hidjerah,* and in the ancient city of Neyshapûr, the then capital of the province, publicly assumed the sovereign dignity, introducing his own name and titles into the coinage and Khotbah of the country.

Sûltan Rokken-ud-dein Toghrel Beg Mahommed son of Meykâeil, 1st monarch of the Seljucides or race of Seljûk.

* October A. D. 1037.

Having thus encircled his brows with the tiara of sovereign power, Toghrel Beg applied himself with laudable assiduity to regulate the affairs of his new government. His brother, Tchegher Beg Dâoud, was in the mean time detached to reduce Herât, which was consigned on its subjugation by that prince, to the management of one of his uncles, while he proceeded in person to Merû; where *he* also assumed the functions of royalty, and is said to have distinguished himself by abolishing the iniquitous usages of tyranny and injustice. Sûltan Mûssâoud of Ghezneia advancing, however, in the course of the same year towards Khorassaun with a very formidable army, the brothers united their troops to oppose him, and were again victorious.

A. H. 429-53. A.D. 1037-61. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

SULTAN TOGHREL BEG, Ist monarch of the race of Seljûk.

On the death of the same Sûltan Mûssaoud, which took place as formerly described, in the four hundred and thirty third of the Hidjerah, the city of Bâlkh, and the province of Khaurezm were both united to the conquests of the grandsons of Seljûk; after which Toghrel Beg, conducting his troops into the territory of Jûrjaun and from thence to Rey, in less than a twelve month made himself master of the whole of Persian Irâk.

In the four hundred and forty seventh* of the Hidjerah, we have also already seen that Toghrel Beg proceeded to Baghdâd; where he received from the Khaleifah Ul Kâeim the title of Rokken-ud-dein, Yemein-e-Ameir-ul-mowmenein—*pillar of the true faith, and right hand of the commander of the faithful.* His name was at the same time introduced into the Khotbah in the very metropolis of Isslâm.

In the course of four hundred and fifty three,† although the circumstance was formerly stated to have occurred in the four hundred and fiftieth of the Hidjerah, Toghrel Beg was recalled from the prosecution of his conquests on the Euphrates, by the defection of his half brother, Ibrauhim Niaul; who had suddenly quitted western Irâk, and marched to take possession of Hamadaun. The Seljûkian monarch proceeded without delay into Persian Irâk; and being joined, in due time, by his nephew Alep Arslan, with a numerous and powerful army from Khorassaun, he hastened to give battle to the insurgent; who was soon afterwards totally defeated, taken prisoner, and immediately put to death,

* A. D 1055. † A.D. 1061.

A. H. 453-57. A. D. 1061-65. Toghrel Beg then dismissing his warlike nephew for Khorassaun, returned straight to Baghdad; where he succeeded in relieving the Khaleifah Ul Kâeim from the usurpation of Bessaussery, and in restoring him to his nominal power.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

In the four hundred and fifty fifth of the Hidjerah, at the age of seventy, Toghrel Beg determined to espouse the daughter of Ul Kâeim, but deferred the consummation of his union until his arrival at Rey, for which city he accordingly took his departure. On reaching that place he was, however, attacked by a violent dysentery; of which, in the month of Ramzaun,* he expired after a glorious reign of six and twenty years.

Sultan Ezzed-ud-dein Abû Shujia ALEP ARSLAN MAHOMMED, the son of Tchegher Beg, second monarch of the race of Seljûk.

On the death of his uncle, this prince repaired into Persian Irâk, and immediately succeeded to the whole of his dominions, now extending from the river Jeyhûn to the Tigris.

ALEP ARSLAN, IId monarch of the race of Seljûk.

At the commencement of his reign Alep Arslan was prevailed upon to imprison the minister of his predecessor, Abû Nasser Kendery; and ultimately to put him to death, at the instance of Nizam-ul-mûlk Hussun the son of Isshack, the Tûssite, the celebrated Vezzeir of the house of Seljûk; to whom the office of first minister of state was now committed with an almost unlimited discretion. A discretion which he exercised with a prudence that has consecrated his memory to the veneration of succeeding ages.

Among the most important of the events by which the reign of Alep Arslan was distinguished, must not be forgotten the invasion of his territories by the Greek emperor of Constantinople, (Romanus Diogenes the husband of Eudocia†) with an army estimated at three hundred thousand horse, and an equipment formidable in proportion. This powerful armament, which had advanced into Armenia, the Seljûkian monarch, relying upon his favor who dispenses all good, is stated to have opposed, and defeated, with a force which did not exceed twelve thousand men. Cæsar, on his discomfiture, was pursued by Gouher Ayein, one of the generals of his triumphant adversary, and ultimately taken

* Sept. 1063. † Vide Gibbon's Roman empire. Vol. Xth, octavo edition.

prisoner by a Maumlûk, or military slave, by whom he was securely conducted to the camp of Alep Arslan. On this subject, it is described as a remarkable circumstance, that at a muster of his troops, taken by order of the Sultan previous to the battle, the person employed in registering the names of the soldiers hesitated to take down that of the slave in question, on account of his very feeble and defective exterior; until Saud-ud-dein one of the Sultan's lieutenants called out to enrol him, observing that peradventure the Roman emperor might be destined to become his captive; little suspecting that the event which he thts unconsciously predicted, would actually come to pass. A. H. 457. A. D. 1065. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ASIATIC

Be this however as it may, when he was conducted by Gouher Ayein to the presence of his conqueror, the captive monarch is said to have prostrated himself to the earth, to have offered every apology, and in humble terms to have implored forgiveness for the aggressions of which he had been guilty. Alep Arslan is stated on the other hand, to have generously obliterated the record of his offences; to have demanded one of his daughters in marriage for his son Melek Arslan; and to have freely and honorably permitted him to return to his own dominions.

A revolt set on foot by an insurgent of the name of Jazzua, in the latter part of the four hundred and fifty seventh of the Hidjerah, demanded the presence of Alep Arslan on the confines of Khaurezm; which was perhaps the true cause that diverted him from the prosecution of his advantages against the Greek emperor. He proceeded however to attack the rebel, who opposed him at the head of thirty thousand horse; but who was defeated with great loss and entirely expelled the province, which was now conferred upon Arslan Shah, another of the sons of the Seljûkian. The victorious monarch proceeded, on his return, to visit the shrine of Ally Ruzza the eighth Imaum, at Mûshhed; and continuing his journey to Raudegan, he there encamped on one of the salubrious and agreeable spots with which that district abounds. At this place he summoned to his presence from all parts of the empire, the different governors and principal Ameirs; and when, in concurrence with his orders, a numerous and respectable assembly of his nobles had been thus formed, he caused his favorite son, Mêlek Shah, to seat himself on a throne of gold erected for the purpose; and there called upon

A. H. 457-65. A. D. 1065-76. all classes of his people to pledge their allegiance to that accomplished prince, as the immediate successor to his dominions.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Proceeding to the banks of the Oxus, towards the close of his reign, with the design of reducing the countries to the Eastward of that river, Yûssuf Kotewaul, the governor of the fortress of Berzem or Nerzem, which had recently submitted to his troops, was introduced to the presence of Alep Arslan; and as the replies which he received to certain interrogatories that he conceived it expedient to propose to the captive chief, were such as ill became his situation, the monarch gave orders that he should be put to death; but the Kotewaul, disengaging himself from his guards, suddenly drew a knife from his boot, and made directly for the Sûltan's person; the attendants rushing at the same time to seize the assassin. In this dilemma, Alep Arslan called upon them to forbear, and relying upon his known and singular skill in archery, fixed an arrow to his bow and discharged it for the person of his assailant. As providence would have it, the royal shaft which had hitherto never erred, now flew wide of its object, and the infuriated chief being thus permitted to approach the person of the Sûltan, succeeded in inflicting his mortal wound; nay further, two thousand armed attendants who guarded the entrance to the imperial pavilions, dispersed in dismay at the appearance of the murderer with the blood stained knife in his hand, and suffered him to pass without molestation; although he was ultimately dispatched by a Ferraush, or tent pitcher, who killed him with a blow of his mallet.

This renowned and warlike monarch was born on Friday the second of Mohurrim of the four hundred and twenty first of the Hidjerah;* had administered the government of Khorassaun with royal authority for two years, for his uncle Toghrel Beg; and on the death of that prince succeeded to the whole of his possessions from the Tigris to the Oxus, which he governed with absolute sway and singular ability, for a period of ten years. His death took place in the four hundred and sixty fifth of the Hidjerah† when he had attained to the age of forty four. It is moreover added, that by his dauntless intrepidity, inflexible justice, and liberality of disposition, he acquired the universal

* Ninth of January, 1030. † A. D. 1073.

respect and admiration of mankind. A formidable exterior derived from nature he contrived to render more striking by a beard of singular growth and thickness, and by wearing a tiara of extraordinary height, exhibiting from the apex of his coronet to the point of his beard, a measurement of two guzz, or something less than four feet. In short he is represented to have given to his head and neck, as far as possible, the resemblance of the royal animal whose name he bore; Alep Arslan in the Tartar language signifying the *great*, as Kuzaul Arslan does the *red* lion. The extent of his power and the splendor of his court may be further attested by the circumstance, that twelve hundred kings, princes, and the sons of princes, were known on some occasions to stand before his throne.

A. H. 465. A. D. 1073. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Sûltan Mûezz-ud-dein Abûl Futtah MELEK SHAH the son of Alep Arslan, third monarch of the race of Seljûk.

Through the dictates of his father's will, and the exertions of Nizam-ul-mûlk the celebrated Vezzeir, this prince, notwithstanding the prior claims of his elder brother, became established on the throne of Toghrel Beg; and the preference appears to have been immediately sanctioned by the authority of the Khalif Ul Kaeim, who transmitted to him the title of Jullaul-ud-doulah, Kesseim-e-Ameir-ul-moumenein—*glory of the state, associate*, or perhaps, *participating in the power of the commander of the faithful*.

MELEK SHAH, IIId of the race of Seljûk.

At the commencement of his reign he was however compelled to vindicate his rights, with the sword, against his uncle Kauerd or Kadrû, or Kâdrid, the son of Tchegher Beg; who held the government of Kermaun, and who now openly declared against his authority. The Sûltan proceeded into Irâk Ajem with the army of Khorassaun, to opppose the insurgent, and in the neighborhood of Guirje or Kerje, brought him to a decisive battle; which, after a dreadful conflict of three days and as many nights, terminated in the defeat and captivity of Kauerd. Shortly after his achievement of this important victory, the minister Nizam-ul-mûlk was urged by the principal officers of the army, with importunities for an advancement of their pay, accompanied with an intimation that if their demands were not complied with, it might have a tendency not very remote, to change the destiny of the vanquished rebel. Nizam-ul-mûlk, for the present, appeased their clamours by a

A. H. 465-71. A. D. 1073-78. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

promise that in the course of the night, their request should be communicated to the Sûltan. When he became however acquainted with these insolent menaces, on the part of his generals, Mêlek Shah contrived that very night, by a dose of poison, to remove his uncle out of the way of danger. Next day, when the mercenary chiefs renewed their clamours with the minister, he informed them, that in consequence of his uncle's having made away with himself, by means of some poison concealed in the signet of his ring, the Sûltan was so deeply affected that he had not been able to find an opportunity of laying their demands before him: a piece of intelligence which so effectually silenced them, that they ceased to trouble him further with the slightest hint on the subject of their pay.

In the four hundred and sixty seventh* of the Hidjerah, Sûliman the son of Kuttulmesh, the son of Issrâeil, of the race of Seljûk, and the founder of the Anatolian branch of this family, was employed by Mêlek Shah in the reduction of Syria; which he succeeded in accomplishing to the city of Antioch. And in the year four hundred and seventy one† by the capture of Sûliman Khaun the sovereign of that territory, the government of Transoxianâ was united to the dominions of Mêlek Shah; who conveyed his prisoner to Isfahaun, at this period apparently the metropolis of the race of Seljûk.

During this expedition it was, that the hire of the boatmen, who plied on the Oxus, was discharged on the part of Nizam-ul-mûlk by an order on the collections of Antioch; and, when the Sultan on the appeal of the people to his justice, against what appeared to them so gross an evasion of their demands, required from his minister an explanation of his conduct, the latter replied that his object was nothing further, than to make known to future generations, that his masters power extended from the Oxus to the Orontes. The reply was flattering to the ambition of this illustrious monarch, and his minister contrived to satisfy the demands of the watermen, by purchasing their notes for well-told gold. Before he quitted Tranoxianâ, on the same occasion, Mêlek Shah espoused the princess Tûrkan Khâtûn, daughter of Temghauje Khaun, the son of Boghra Khaun, monarch of Kashghâr; by whom

*A. D. 1075. †A. D. 1078.

some years afterwards, namely, on the twenty fifth of Rudjub of the four hundred and seventy ninth of the Hidjerah,* he became at the station of Senjaur in Mesopotamia the father of Sûltan Sunjur. A. H. 471-85. A. D. 1078-92. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Led by an ardent disposition to visit different nations and places of abode, Mêlek Shah is described, by the plurality of historians, to have twice surveyed the whole of his vast dominions, extending from Antioch to the city of Ouzkund, near the sources of the Seyhûn, or Jaxartes; comprizing about twelve degrees of latitude, and thirty four of longitude. In the four hundred and eighty first of the Hidjerah he performed the pilgrimage to Mekkah, marking the course of his journey by various acts of piety and beneficence; by abolishing the impositions usually exacted on the pilgrims; and by constructing on the desert a variety of caravanserâis, with numerous wells and cisterns, for the accommodation of the weary traveller.

While he was engaged in his last circuit to a distant part of his dominions, it is further stated, that his country was menaced with an invasion on the part of the emperor of Constantinople; who, if this circumstance be true, must have been Alexius I. the father of Anna Comnena the historian. The Persian monarch hastened to oppose and chastise the aggression; but while the two hostile armies lay for some time encamped at no great distance from each other, Mêlek Shah, proceeding one day slightly attended, to take the amusement of the chase, unexpectedly fell in with a patrol of the Greek emperor's troops, and became their prisoner. In this dangerous dilemma he could only charge his attendants to beware of paying him the slightest mark of respect; on the contrary to treat him exactly like one of themselves.

His master's misadventure was speedily made known to Nizam-ul-mûlk; who proceeded, as if nothing had happened, to place a guard at evening over the imperial quarters, and to circulate the report that the Sûltan was safe returned, after his usual recreation. Next day he repaired, however, to the camp of the Constantinopolitan, as if he were the bearer of an embassy from his court; and he was accordingly soon admitted to an audience with the Greek emperor, who condescended to solicit an accommodation of their differences; to which the minister

* Fourth of November, 1086.

A. H. 471-85. A. D. 1078 92. Khoolaussut-ul-akhbaur.

without much difficulty assented. On this, as if every material point had been satisfactorily adjusted, Cæsar proceeded to inform the ambassador, that several Persians who had fallen into the hands of his troops, were at that moment prisoners in his camp; to which, affecting to treat the matter with entire indifference, Nizam-ul-mûlk replied that it was a circumstance, of which, when he left the presence of his sovereign, they were not aware, and most probably that these prisoners were people of no kind of note whatever. They were now ushered in by the emperor's directions, and gratuitously delivered over to the ambassador; by whom, while under the observation of the Greeks, they were addressed in terms of asperity, and sharply reprimanded for their incaution and neglect of discipline. When they were, however, at a considerable distance on their return, Nizam-ul mûlk dismounted from his horse; and kissing the stirrup of his emancipated sovereign, with his face to the earth besought his forgiveness for any mark of disrespect, with which, under the circumstances of the moment, he had affected to treat him. The Sûltan, after loading his faithful and accomplished Vezzeir with caresses, rejoined his camp in safety without further accident.

Subsequent to this felicitous enlargement, hostilities were resumed between Mêlek Shah and the Greek emperor, who became in his turn the prisoner of his illustrious adversary; and his eyes no sooner fell upon his conqueror, than he recognized and briefly addressed him in these words: "If thou art a king thou wilt freely forgive the past; if a mer-"chant, sell me; if a butcher, put me to death." "I am a king" replied the magnanimous Mêlek Shah; and with that immediately setting him at large, he sent him home in safety to his own dominions. But as he died shortly afterwards, the countries which acknowledged the authority of the Greek (the Anatolian peninsula most probably) if the author is entitled to credit, were transferred by the Seljûkian monarch to his kinsman, Sûliman the son of Kuttulmesh, the governor of Syria. There is at the same time a probability, that the whole of this transaction may refer to what took place at an earlier period, between Alep Arslan and the emperor Romanus Diogenes, as described by Mr. Gibbon.

Towards the conclusion of the reign of Mêlek Shah, some serious discussions having arisen between the princess Tûrkan Khâtûn, who

endeavored to secure the succession for her son Mahmûd, and the minister Nizam-ul-mûlk, who was equally strenuous in behalf of Sûltan Burguiaurug, that ambitious female availed herself of the intercourse which she held with her husband, to calumniate and misrepresent the actions of his virtuous and faithful servant; accusing him of having distributed the honors and emoluments of the empire between his twelve sons; and of having thus effectually excluded the whole of the other nobility and members of his court, from the advantages to which they were entitled under the influence of their master's grandeur. These insinuations artfully repeated, at last produced an entire change in the disposition of the Sûltan towards his Vezzeir; to whom, when his jealousy had been sufficiently awakened, he sent a message to require, that if he considered himself in effect his competitor for the monarchy, he should without further evasion declare it. But if not, he desired to know what were his views in disposing of the different governments of the empire among his own children, without consulting the pleasure of his sovereign; or on what grounds he presumed to exercise such arbitrary interference in every department of the state? In the mean time it behoved him to understand, that if from that moment he scrupled to recede from his arrogant pretensions, the turban would be struck from his head, and his inkstand transferred to another. To this Nizam-ul-mûlk resolutely replied, that by an irrevocable destiny his turban and inkstand, and the throne and tiara of his sovereign, were inseparably united; and that the stability of these four things reciprocally depended one upon the other. The messengers who conveyed the reply were further prevailed upon, by the vindictive queen, to add such other aggravating circumstances, as produced the last degree of irritation in the mind of the Sûltan; by whom the Vizzaurut was immediately transferred to Tauje-ul-mûlk Abûl Ghanâeim the Kommite, the Diwaun or steward of the household of Tûrkan Khâtûn, with instructions to commence without delay a rigorous investigation into the conduct of Nizam-ul-mûlk. Mêlek Shah had in the mean time quitted Isfahaun on his way to Baghdâd, and the discarded minister was already in motion to follow; when in the month of Ramzaun of the four hundred and eighty fifth of the Hidjerah,* that aged and princely Vezzeir was mortally

A. H. 485. A. D. 1092. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

* October, A. D. 1092.

A. H. 485, A. D. 1092. wounded, by the knife of one of the detestable fanatics in the service of Hussun Sâbah, suborned to the act by Tauje-ul-mûlk the new minister. Nizam-ul-mûlk expired the ensuing day, and is here affirmed to have been the first who fell a victim to the atrocious system of private assassination established by the chief of Almowut. His body was taken back, and committed to the grave at Isfahaun; and from some verses on his death bed addressed to his sovereign, intreating his protection for his children, he represents himself to have attained to the advanced age of ninety three.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

It is further stated on the authority of the Rouzut-us-suffà, that when eleven years of age, this distinguished minister could recite from memory the whole of the Korân; and that at a very early period of his life, he had attained to considerable eminence in the system of Imaum Shafeï, the founder of the third sect. From the numerous charitable and benevolent establishments, which he founded and carried to a completion, throughout the empire, particularly at Isfahaun, Baghdâd, and Bassorah, it is not surprising that his memory should have been long held in veneration. One noble monument, the Nizammiah college at Baghdâd, stood for ages a memorial of his liberal regard for science; and became early celebrated in an eminent degree by the lectures there delivered by the Imaums Abû Ishack the Shirauzite, and Ghazauly, both renowned as the most distinguished doctors of the age in which they lived.

But without further expatiating on the unbounded liberality, and magnificent spirit of this celebrated minister, we shall proceed to state that in this his last journey, Mêlek Shah arrived at Baghdâd on the 24th of Ramzaun; and that, while pursuing his favorite amusement of the chase, he was taken ill in the field, on the third of the succeeding month of Shavaul,* and compelled to return to the metropolis of the Khalifs, under great distress and depression of mind. At the expiration of eighteen days only, from the death of Nizam-ul-mûlk he, finally, exchanged the trappings of earthly glory, for the silent mansions of the dead.

Sûltan Mêlek Shah thus expired, after a splendid and prosperous reign of twenty years, at the early age of thirty eight. In his person

* Fifth of November, A. D. 1092.

he is described to have been as handsome, as he was in disposition virtuous and engaging. During the whole of his reign, which was distinguished by his uniform love of justice (the noble argument of a monarch's praise,) he studied, with unabated zeal and diligence, to promote the prosperity, the embellishment, the security of his dominions; which was abundantly attested by the numerous charitable establishments, the plantations, gardens, and the fortresses, which covered and adorned every province of the empire. The learned of every class and profession he supported and encouraged in their pursuits, by enlarged and liberal salaries. His love of the chace has been already adverted to; and it is but justice to add, that for every animal which bled by his own hand, he invariably gave to the poor a dinaur of gold; and the immensity of his equipments may be in some measure estimated from the circumstance that, whether stationary or on the march, his person was never attended by less than forty seven thousand cavalry. To him, not only his immediate relatives, but many who were strangers to his blood, were indebted for their advancement to the highest gradations of power and dignity. Among the former, it has already been seen, that he conferred the province of Rûm, or Anatolia, upon Sûliman the son of Kutulmesh, the founder of the Anatolian Seljûcides, Sûltans of Iconium; as he did that of Kermaun, on Sûltan Shah the son of Kauerd, or Kadrû; and part of Syria he bestowed upon his brother Tennesh. Among the latter, he gave the kingdom of Khaurezm to Noushtekein, or Noushteggin Gherjah, the founder of the Khaurezm-Shâhies; Aleppo to Kelleim-ud-doulah Auksunkur; Mossûle to Tchegger or Juggermesh; Hussun Keyfaur to Artek; Mardein to Auktemmûr; and Farss to Rokken-ud-doulah Khomaurtekein. And the possessions thus distributed, remained with these chiefs and their posterity for many generations afterwards. According to Mr. Gibbon, he illustrated the sixth year of his reign by the adoption, into the Mahommedan chronology, of a new æra, called after him that of Mêlek Shah, which commenced, as stated by the same eloquent historian, on the authority of Dr. Hyde, on the fifteenth of March, A. D. 1079; corresponding nearly with the eleventh of Ramzaun, of the four hundred and seventy first of the Hidjerah.

A. H. 485. A. D. 1092. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

A. H. 488. A. D. 1092. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Sûltan Rokken-ud-dein Abûl mûzuffur BURGUIAURUG, Kesseim-e-Ameir-ul-moumenein, the son of Mêlek Shah, fourth monarch of the race of Seljûk.

At the period of his father's death this prince was residing at Isfahaun, and appears to have been considered the legitimate successor to the dominions of the house of Seljûk; but the princess Tûrkan Khâtûn and her son Mahmûd, being immediately on the spot at Baghdâd, she availed herself of the opportunity to solicit from the Khalif Mûkteddy, a patent for the succession, in favor of the same Mahmûd. The Khalifat first resisted her application, but being prevailed upon by her importunities, and by the receipt of a very large sum of money, he ultimately conferred upon Mahmûd the title of royalty. On which a force was immediately dispatched by the ambitious dowager for Isfahaun, in order to secure the person of Burguiaurûg.

SULTAN SURGUIAURUG, IVth of the race of Seljûk.

That prince, through the assistance of some of the domestics of Nizam-ul-mûlk, was however enabled to effect his escape, and to join his governor, or Atabek, Ameir Tukkushtekein; who conveyed him in safety to Rey, and there publicly seated him on the throne of his father. Shortly afterwards, Tûrkan Khâtûn conducted her son into Isfahaun, and with equal solemnity proceeded to encircle his brows with the diadem of sovereign power: but Sûltan Burguiaurûg approaching to attempt the metropolis of his family, at the head of twenty thousand horse, an accommodation was brought to pass between him and his stepmother, the dowager queen; by which, on the payment of five hundred thousand dinaurs* from his father's effects, he consented to withdraw from the siege of Isfahaun, and retire to the northward.

Burguiaurûg was, however, no sooner on his march for Hamadaun, on receipt of his money, than the artful dowager prevailed upon Ameir Issmâeil, his maternal uncle, on the promise of her hand, to commence hostilities against his nephew; with whom, in the month of Ramzaun of the year four hundred and eighty-six,† he came accordingly to a well contested, and obstinate battle. Issmâeil was however defeated, and taken prisoner by the troops of the Sûltan, and immmediately put to death. In the succeeding month of Shavaul Burguiaurûg

* 183,333l. 6s. 8d. at the lowest computation. † October, A. D. 1093.

was nevertheless compelled to quit the field by another uncle, Ameir Tennesh the son of Alep Arslan; with whom being unable to contend, he now retreated, as it would appear towards Isfahaun. Fortunately about this period the princess Tûrkan Khâtûn had ceased to exist; and Sûltan Mahmûd proceeding to meet Burguiaurûg, on his arrival in the neighborhood, the two brothers entered Isfahaun together in a very amicable manner. But some of the chiefs attached to the interests of Sûltan Mahmud, in order to evince their zeal, proceeded to arrest the person of Burguiaurûg, and were about to deprive him of sight, when Mahmûd was suddenly attacked by the small pox, which terminated his existence. Burguiaurûg was immediately relieved from constraint by the conspirators, and restored to his authority.

A. H. 486-92. A. D. 1093-99. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Thus at leisure to attend to the affairs of his government, the Sûltan proceeded to attest his gratitude for the services of the father, by conferring the dignity of the Vizzaurut upon Mûeyud-ul-mûlk, the son of Nizam-ul-mûlk. But Fakher-ul-mûlk another son of the celebrated vezzeir's, arriving from Khorassaun a few days afterwards, Burguiaurûg, for reasons which are not explained, cancelled his recent appointment, and transferred it to the new-comer. He then hastened with his army to bring to a decision his contest with Ameir Tennesh; whom, after a considerable struggle, he finally defeated and killed. Another uncle still survived to dispute his authority; Arslan Shah the son of Alep Arslan, who had declared against him in Khorassaun; and he was marching to that quarter, when the insurgent was suddenly put to death, by a youth whom he attempted to force to his libidinous and detestable propensities; an event which confirmed Burguiaurûg in possession of Khorassaun, without the hazard of a conflict. After a short residence in that province, he consigned the government to his brother Sunjur, and returned into Irâk.

While the Sûltan was absent in Khorassaun on this occasion, Mûeyud-ul-mûlk, the discarded Vezzeir, had availed himself of the opportunity, to infuse the spirit of revolt into another of the imperial line, of the name of Atriz, who had succeeded in assembling an army in Irak, and was at this period marching for Rey. But on reaching Sâwah on his way to that metropolis, this prince was also treacherously cut off, by one of the fanatics of Almowut. Mûeyud-ul-mûlk now directed

A. H. 492-4. A. D. 1099-1101. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaar.

his course to the city of Kenjah, the residence of Mahommed the son of Mêlek Shah; whom he next prevailed upon to engage in hostilities against his brother. In Shavaul of the year four hundred and ninety two,* the royal brothers were accordingly hastening to bring their differences to the decision of a battle; when the generals or principal Ameirs of Burguiaurûg's court, offended with the conduct of Mejid-ul-mûlk the mustouffy, or controller or auditor of the exchequer, because he had presumed to withhold their emoluments, sought to put that minister to death; and as he fled for protection to the presence, the exasperated chiefs pursued, and cut him to pieces before the eyes of their sovereign. Alarmed at this flagrant proof of audacity, and of defiance to his authority, the Sultan privately withdrew from the Kohestaun of Irâk, and fled to Rey; which placed his brother Mahommed without further obstacle on the throne of Irâk Ajem; and the prime ministry, as might have been expected from the gratitude of his prince, was now lodged in the hands of Mûeyud-ul-mulk.

Having contrived, however, to assemble a fresh army, Sûltan Burguiaurûg proceeded again, in the month of Rudjub,* of the four hundred and ninety-third of the Hidjerah, to give battle to Mahommed; was entirely defeated, and this time compelled to seek an âsylum in Khûzistaun. In that province, being however joined by Ameir Ayauz, one of the slaves of Melek Shah, he was enabled, in the latter Jummaudy of the year four hundred and ninety-four,† a third time to offer battle to his brother; and in this he proved finally successful; fortune with the victory putting into his hands the obnoxious Vezzeir, Mûeyud-ul-mûlk. During the period of his captivity, this minister is stated to have exerted himself with such address to justify his conduct, and to disarm the resentment of the Sûltan, that the latter, from an excess of lenity, was at last prevailed upon to encourage him with the expectation of being restored to his appointments: but when things were at this crisis, while the Sûltan was reposing himself, one day at noon from the heat of the weather, he happened to overhear a conversation between his cupbearer and another attendant; in which the former presumed to observe that this same race of Seljuk appeared

* August, 1099. † May, A. D. 1100. ‡ April, A. D. 1101.

to him to possess neither true magnanimity, nor sense of injury, since the Sûltan, notwithstanding his multiplied treasons, could yet conceive the thought of again creating Mûeyud-ul-mûlk the first minister of his government. Not a little irritated by the remark, Burguiaurûg hastily issued from his tent, with his sword drawn, and having directed the unfortunate Vezzeir to be brought before him, immediately struck off his head; desiring the cupbearer to keep in mind, that on some occasions, the race of Seljûk could prove themselves not entirely deficient in spirit.

A. H. 494-98. A. D. 1101-4. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Subsequent to this period, when two successive conflicts had further taken place between the Sûltans Burguiaurûg and Mahommed, a treaty of peace was at last concluded between the rival brothers; by which it was finally agreed, that Syria, Diaurbêkir, Azerbayjaun, Mûghaun, Armenia, and Georgia, should be comprized within the dominions of Sûltan Mahommed; and that the remainder of the patrimony of the house of Seljûk, consisting, probably, of eastern and western Irâk, Farss and Khorassaun, with the whole of the territory beyond the Oxus, should continue under the authority of Burguiaurûg. The dissensions between the family appear to have thus happily terminated until the death of Burguiaurûg; which took place in the four hundred and ninety-eighth of the Hidjerah,* the twenty-fifth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign.

Sûltan Gheyauth-ud-dein Abû Shûjia MAHOMMED, son of Mêlek Shah, Kesseim-e-Ameir-ul-moumenein, fifth monarch of the race of Seljûk.

Immediately on the death of his brother, Sûltan Mahommed laid claim to the entire possessions of the house of Seljûk; although Melek Shah the son of Burguiaurûg, had been early seated on the throne of his father, by the two slaves Ayauz and Sedkah, who prepared, sword in hand, to support the rights of the young prince. But when the armies were about to engage, a cloud, in the shape of a dragon vomiting flames, appearing above the heads of the troops of Ayauz and Sedkah, they were so appalled by the phenomenon, that they instantly sued for pardon, and declared in favor of Sûltan Mahommed.

SULTAN MAHOMMED, Vth of the race of Seljûk.

* A. D. 1104.

A. H. 498. A. D. 1105. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

The young prince, and his two advisers, now fell into the hands of the Sûltan, by whom they were sent, the former to a prison, the latter to the grave.

Sûltan Mahommed, in the former Jummaudy of the year four hundred and ninety-eight,* appeared at Baghdàd; where, though the authority of his nephew had been readily proclaimed by Mûstezhir B'Illah, he, however, treated that Khalif with distinguished respect and honor. On this occasion, it is stated that while the Sûltan continued at Baghdâd, Ahmed the son of Abdulmêlek Attaush, a confirmed advocate of the Bowautinists, or Ismâeilians, who had long preached his schismatical doctrines to the garrison of Dezhkoh, a fortress in the neighborhood of Isfahaun erected by Sûltan Mêlek Shah, availed himself of the opportunity to make himself master of that strong hold, and to declare himself in a state of disobedience. On information of this contumacious act of rebellion in the very heart of his dominions, Sûltan Mahommed returned without delay towards his capital, and immediately laid siege to the fortress of Dezhkôh. When the resources of the garrison became nearly exhausted, Ahmed Attaush conveyed a message to Saud-ul-mûlk the Oujian, who held the office of Vezzeir to the Sûltan, and who had privately embraced the doctrines of the Schismatics, to apprize him that the subsistance of his followers being reduced almost to nothing, he should, in the course of two or three days, be constrained to capitulate with his adversaries. The perfidious Vezzeir to this verbally replied, that it behoved him to exert his patience for a week longer, until he could find the means of removing this dog, alluding to his sovereign, out of the way. The Sûltan, from a constitutional heat of temperament, had been in the habit of bleeding regularly once a month, and the period at which he usually underwent the operation now drew near. Saud-ul-mûlk then seized the opportunity, and with a bribe of one thousand dinaurs, prevailed upon the surgeon to bleed his master with a poisoned lancet. The chamberlain of Saud-ul-mûlk becoming, however, by some means or other, acquainted with the design, fortunately disclosed it to his wife; and the lady, as will sometimes happen, made the secret

*March, A. D. 1105.

known to her gallant; so that it could not ultimately fail to find its way, to him whom it most materially concerned. Sûltan Mahommed upon this, feigning to be suddenly indisposed, sent for his surgeon to perform the usual operation; and the latter had bound his arm, and was proceeding to touch it with the point of his lancet, when the royal patient fixed his eyes with stern severity on the countenance of the guilty miscreant. A tremor seized the limbs of the traitor; he made a full and immediate confession of the truth, and was bled to death with his own lancet. The treacherous minister, with all attached to him, suffered the punishment due to his crimes; and the garrison, apprized of what had happened, delivered up their fort without further resistance. Their leader becoming a prisoner, was conducted into Isfahaun, riding on a camel with his hands bound, by command of the Sûltan; and in the course of a few days he was condemned to perish by an ignominous death, and his body burnt, together with those of all his misguided associates.

A. H. 498-511, A. D. 1105-17. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

In this place we are informed, on the authority of the Târikh gûzeidah, although it is not easy to reconcile it with the corresponding periods of the history, that Sûltan Mahommed was engaged, towards the conclusion of his reign, on a distant expedition into Hindûstaun; during which he signalized his zeal for the faith, by the immolation of a vast multitude of unhappy and unbelieving Hindûs. In the course of the expedition, an idol came into the Sûltan's possession, of the enormous weight of two thousand maunns, about eight and twenty tons at the lowest computation, which the natives offered to redeem with an equal weight in pearl. The Sûltan rejected their offer with disdain; observing, that were he to comply, the world might justly entitle him Mahommed the idol-merchant, for the same reason that a certain statuary of the name of Azer, was called the idol-cutter. The image was accordingly conveyed all the way to Isfahaun, where it was laid across the threshold at the entrance of the college which contains the tomb of Sûltan Mahommed. It must, at the same time, occur to the reader, that nearly the same circumstance has been already related of Sûltan Mahmûd of Gheznîn.

In the early part of the five hundred and eleventh of the Hidjerah, while stretched on the bed of sickness and debility, Sûltan Mahom-

A. H. 511-30. A. D. 1117 35. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

med declared his son Mahmûd successor to the throne of Toghrel Beg; and shortly afterwards closed his earthly career at the age of thirty seven, having reigned for about thirteen years subsequent to the demise of his brother. He bears with historians the character of a pious and temperate prince, distinguished for his inviolable adherence to his engagements, for his rigid and inflexible regard to truth, and for the just and equitable principles on which he governed his people.

Sûltan Mûezz-ud-dein SUNJUR, entitled Bûrhaun*-e-Ameir-ul-moumenein, the son of Mêlek Shah, sixth monarch of the race of Seljûk.

This able prince had already administered the government of Khorassaun for a period of twenty years, during the successive reigns of his brothers, Burguiaurûg and Mahommed; and assuming the sovereign authority on the death of the latter, he proceeded into Irâk to vindicate his claims against his nephew Mahmûd, who had collected an army to oppose him. The younger prince being however defeated, withdrew towards Sâwah; but submitting to his destiny, and repairing respectfully to the presence of his uncle, he met with a liberal reception; and was invested with the government of Persian Irâk, with no other apparent stipulation, than that the name of Sûltan Sunjur should have precedence in the public prayers.

SULTAN SUNJUR, VIth monarch of the race of Seljûk.

During the five hundred and twenty-fourth† of the Hidjerah, Sûltan Sunjur was employed in Transoxiana, to suppress the rebellion of Ahmed the son of Sûliman, governor of Samarkand. The insurgent sustained a siege of some duration within the walls of that city; but ultimately submitting to the Sûltan, the government was transferred to a slave of that monarch's. It was, however, restored to Ahmed ben Sûliman, after he had continued for some time in disgrace.

In the year five hundred and thirty,‡ the Seljûkian was involved in hostilities with Behram Shah king of Gheznein, who was indebted to him for his crown; and who yet thought fit about this period to withhold the tribute, which he had voluntarily incurred by an obligation so essential. Sûltan Sunjur proceeding however towards Gheznein, at the head of his troops, matters were ultimately accommodated, Behram Shah submitting to make good his engagements for the future. Five

*A demonstration, or perhaps a ray, of the power of the commander of the faithful.

† A. D. 1130. ‡ A. D. 1135.

years afterwards,* (in 535) the presence of Sûltan Sunjur was again required in Transoxiana, by fresh indications of hostility on the part of the governor of Samarkand, at this time languishing under a recent stroke of the palsy. After a siege of six months, being reduced to extremity, he once more delivered up the city to the Sûltan; in whose presence he is described to have appeared with his mouth distorted, and the saliva streaming down the corners. He was now finally removed; though the province was bestowed upon his son Nusser Khaun. They were probably an inferior branch of the Seljûkian family. A. H. 535-43. A. D. 1140-48. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

About the same period, misled by the counsels of some of his nobility, Sûltun Sunjur imprudently entered into a war with Gûr Khaun, the monarch of Kara Khatay, or central Tartary, who hastened to oppose him with all the force of his dominions. By a sudden and unaccountable defection, or dereliction of duty, on the part of the same nobles, the Sûltan was left to precipitate himself on the ranks of his adversaries, with no more than three hundred followers; and with fifteen of that number only, who survived the attempt, he succeeded in making good his retreat to the fortress of Termed, until joined by others who had escaped from the field of battle. Tûrkan Khâtûn, his consort, with Tauje-ud-dein-Âbûl Fuzzul governor of Seiestaun, remained however, in the hands of the infidels, although they were some time afterwards released, and conducted into Khorassaun.

The effects of this defeat produced in the destiny of Sûltan Sunjur, the most unfavorable reverse; as it diminished to a serious extent that awe with which the world had hitherto been accustomed to contemplate his power. Fereid-ud-dein-Kâteb addressed the following lines to console him under his misfortune.

Long has the agitated world been composed, illustrious prince, by the motion of thy spear;

For forty years has thy sword procured vengeance on thine enemies;

Should some slight reverse befal thee, be it ascribed where due, to the mutability of fortune;

For the BEING who reigns in eternity, is alone HE that is exempt from change.

* A. D. 1140.

A. H. 543-48. A. D. 1148-53. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

In the five hundred and forty-third* of the Hidjerah, the Sûltan was, however, sufficiently recovered from the sense of these calamities, to visit Persian Irâk; where he was received by his nephew Sûltan Mûssâoud, who had recently succeeded to the government, on the death of Mahmûd, with every mark of respect and attachment. Here he also received letters from his tributary, Behram Shah of Ghèznein, announcing his successes in Ghour, and accompanied by Néikserr the Sûrian; one of the chiefs of the country who had been conducted to the presence of the Sûltan, in order to attest these triumphs over a warlike people. Nevertheless, in the course of the following year, Alla-ud-dein Hûsseyne the Ghûrian, with Ally Tchetry, the latter educated by the immediate bounty of Sûltan Sunjur, commenced hostilities against his authority, and threatened Khorassaun with invasion. Sûltan Sunjur hastened to oppose their designs, defeated them in battle, and made prisoners both of Alla-ud-dein and his associate. The former he detained in custody, but the latter he condemned to immediate execution for his ingratitude. The result of this victory was to restore to the Sûltan a great part of his former renown, which was again re-echoed to the remotest limits of the earth. When he had however detained Alla-ud-dein Hûsseyne for some time a prisoner at his court, he discovered in that chieftain so many engaging and benevolent qualities, that he treated him with distinguished kindness, and finally sent him to preside over his native province of Ghour.

In the year five hundred and forty-eight,* Sûltan Sunjur was destined to experience the direst calamity that can fall to the lot of a sovereign prince; that by which he is thrown into the hands of his enemies. In a former period of his government, he had been induced to admit of the settlement, in the territory of Khotlan, Tcheghaunian, and the neighbourhood of Bâlkh, of a colony of forty thousand Tûrkman families, of that particular race which bore the appellation of Hûsh-e-Ghuzz—the swarm of the Ghuzzi; on their engaging to furnish for the use of his kitchen, an annual supply of four and twenty thousand sheep. Under this tenure they had, for some time, been suffered to enjoy in the country a peaceable and unmolested resi-

* A. D. 1148. † A. D. 1153.

dence; until, unfortunately, one of the agents of the Khaunsalaur, or purveyor of the kitchens, employed to demand the usual supply, contrary to the practice of his predecessors, in selecting the animals proceeded to cavil and dispute with the Tûrkmans; who, neither disposed to endure nor submit to his insolence, without ceremony put him to death, and immediately displayed the standard of insurrection. Not daring to apprize his sovereign of what had passed, the Khaunsalaur continued for sometime to supply the Sûltan's table at his own expence; but Ameir Komauje, the governor of Bâlkh, happening to visit Merû, at this period the residence of the court, the Khaunsalaur disclosed to him the nature of the dilemma to which he had been reduced, by the misconduct and rapacity of his agent. On this, Komauje embraced the first opportunity of introducing, to the Sûltan, the subject of the increasing strength and refractory spirit of the Ghuzzians, and contrived to obtain for himself a patent for the controul of that obnoxious tribe. When he returned to Bâlkh, he accordingly dispatched to demand from the Ghuzzians their arrears of supply, a person whom they immediately expelled, with every mark of contempt and insult; proclaiming that they were the subjects of the Sûltan alone, and that they acknowledged no other superior. Ameir Komauje accompanied by his son Melêk-ul-Shurk, now proceeded to the neighborhood of the Ghuzzian settlements, equally prepared for hunting and for battle; notwithstanding which, he was attacked and killed by the insurgents.

A. H. 548. A. D. 1153. Khoŭaussut-ul-akhbaur.

On intelligence of this act of hostility, Sûltan Sunjur in concurrence with the advice of his courtiers, hastened in person, to reduce the rebels to their duty; while on their part, the Ghuzzians, on his approach, dispatched to the camp of the Sûltan to apologize for their conduct, and to solicit his forgiveness; offering in atonement for their offence, and for the blood of Ameir Komauje, to pay a fine of one hundred thousand dinaurs, accompanied by one hundred Khatayan slaves. The Sûltan seemed disposed to accede to these terms, and to return to Merû; but his Ameirs objected, that if the Ghuzzians were suffered to elude the chastizement they deserved, his empire would be exposed to perils and distractions, beyond his ability to obviate or appease. It was therefore determined to proceed in the design against the Ghuzzians; but when the royal army drew near to the stations of

A. H. 548-51. A. D. 1153-56. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

the insurgents, an attempt was again made on the part of the latter to awaken the compassion of the Sûltan by the most humble intreaties, and by an offer to add to the amount of the former fine, one munn, or a quarter of a hundred weight of gold, from every household belonging to the tribe, if he would engage to pardon their disobedience. The monarch appeared still disposed to the side of mercy; but as his power was now rapidly tending to its close, the counsels of two of his Ameirs, on whose judgment he principally relied, prevailed with him to force the rebels to a battle. The Ghuzzians, thus driven to despair, proceeded, like men devoted to destruction, to combat in self-defence; and the greater part of the Sûltan's generals, from a misunderstanding with his two advisers, discharging their duty with criminal negligence in the conflict which ensued, the insurgents were completely triumphant, and the Sûltan became their prisoner. Although they continued to treat their royal captive for some time with every outward appearance of respect, the Ghuzzians availed themselves of their victory to attend him to Merû, at that period a city of great extent and opulence; which they devoted for three days and as many nights, to plunder and outrage. After which, not yet satisfied with their booty, they proceeded to torture the inhabitants, in order to discover such property as had escaped the general pillage; and under these circumstances, great numbers of the most distinguished and respectable believers perished, from the cruelties inflicted upon them by this ferocious and exasperated horde.

The same enormities were extended by the Ghuzzians through the greater part of Khorassaun; the unfortunate Sunjur, whom they had ultimately confined to an iron cage, being condemned to the mockery of a daily exhibition on his throne, for a period of almost four years; during which the country was compelled to submit to every species of oppression and outrage. All this time the Sûltan was deterred from any plan of escape by the consideration that his consort, the princess Tûrkan Khâtûn, was also in the hands of his oppressors; but in the five hundred and fifty-first of the Hidjerah,* which produced the death of that princess, he no longer delayed to deliberate on the means

* A. D. 1156.

of his deliverance. The care of his person had been entrusted to Ameir Eleiaus, one of the Ghuzzian chiefs; and this man he now prevailed upon to conduct him, on the pretence of hunting, to the banks of the Jeyhûn; where Ameir Ahmed Komauje the governor of Termed, with whom the plan had been preconcerted, and who had provided boats for the occasion, suddenly made his appearance; and succeeded in carrying off the person of his sovereign, and in conveying him in safety to the castle of Termed. After continuing in that fortress, as long as it was necessary to collect a sufficient body of his adherents, Sûltan Sunjur proceeded to revisit his capital of Merû; but observing, on his approach, the desolation which pervaded the country, and the deplorable distress of its inhabitants, the spectacle became too painful for his feelings; and the aged monarch, now in his seventy third year, sunk under the burden of his afflictions, on the twenty fifth of the former Rebbeïa of the five hundred and fifty second of the Hidjerah;* after reigning paramount sovereign of the Persian empire for one and forty years.

A. H. 551-58. A. D. 1156-63. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Sûltan Sunjur has been equally praised for his piety, and modesty of disposition, and for his benevolence and the love of his people; for his respect for, and his encouragement of learning, and learned men, and for his zeal and exertions to promote the advancement of his religion: and if he failed in extending the dominions of his family by foreign conquest, and became otherwise unfortunate in the conclusion of his reign, it has by no one been ascribed to any deficiency in talents either for war or government; in both of which he is universally acknowledged to have excelled. The grandeur of the house of Seljûk in its extended sense, at the same time, appears to have terminated with this prince. His sister's son, Mahmûd, the son of Mahommed Khaun, paternally descended from Boghra Khaun of Turkestaun, is stated, on the authority of the Rouzut-us-suffâ, to have succeeded to the sovereignty of Khorassaun, on the death of Sûltan Sunjur; but one of his ministers revolting against his authority, in the sixth year of his government, (A. H. 558.) Mahmûd was taken prisoner and deprived of sight: after which, part of the territory of that noble province, was

* Fifth of May, A. D. 1157.

A. H. 511-29.
A. D. 1117-34.
Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

appropriated by the kings of Khaurezm, while the remainder continued subject to the predatory and irregular government of the Ghuzzi. The history must now recede to take a survey of the transactions, in which the collateral branches of this celebrated race were more immediately concerned.

Sûltan Mogheyth-ud-dein MAHMUD, the son of Mahommed son of Mêlek Shah, entitled Yemein-Ameir-ul-moumenein.

It was formerly noticed that this prince, nominated by his father to succeed to the entire dominions of the house of Seljûk, was ultimately compelled to confine his pretensions to the two provinces of Persian and Arabian Irâk; in the government of which he was confirmed by his uncle Sûltan Sunjur. He held his authority for a period of fourteen years; and is described as a virtuous prince, elegant in his person, and of great mildness of disposition. He was however greatly addicted to women, and devoted much of his time and attention, to his dogs, and to the amusements of the chase. These amusements were, at the same time, not suffered to detach him either from the controul of his finances, the superintendance of his daily expenditure, or the punctual subsistance of his troops. He died at Hamadaun, which was become the metropolis of this branch of the family, in the month of Shavaul of the five hundred and twenty fifth of the Hidjerah,* at the age of seven and twenty.

SULTAN MAHMUD of Hamadaun and Irâk Ajemy.

Sûltan Rokken-ud-dein TOGHREL, the son of Mahommed son of Melek Shah, in conformity with the instructions of his uncle, succeeded, on the death of his brother Mahmûd to the government of Irâk, both Persian and Arabian. He was however, during the whole of his government, engaged in perpetual hostilities, with various success, against his surviving brother Sultan Mûssâoud; after sustaining a contest with whom for a period of three years, he quitted this stage of existence, in Mohurrim of the five hundred and twenty ninth of the Hidjerah;† leaving a character distinguished for strict and impartial justice, for scrupulous abstention from all that was repugnant to the laws of his religion, and for singular valour, modesty, and humanity.

SULTAN TOGHREL.

Sûltan Gheyauth-ud-dein MUSSAOUD, the son of Mahommed son of Mêlek Shah.

* Sept. A. D. 1131. † November, A. D. 1134.

Being at Baghdâd at the period of his brother's death, a part of the Ameirs of the government dispatched without delay to invite Mûssâoud to Hamadaun, to take possession of the vacant authority; while others with equal activity sent to Tebreiz, to demand the presence of his nephew Dâoud, the son of the deceased monarch. Sûltan Mûssâoud, obtaining, however, the start of the younger prince, suddenly appeared at Hamadaun, and received the submission of the whole, with reluctance, or cordiality, just as the parties felt affected to his interests. A. H. 529, A. D. 1135. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

The Khalifs Mûstershid, and Rashid Billah engaging in hostile designs against the authority of Sûltan Mûssâoud, were both assassinated by some of the fanatic disciples of the chief of Almowut, as formerly related, in the early part of his government. The presence of the Sûltan was therefore again required at Baghdâd; where, he proceeded accordingly to place Ul Mûkteffy on the throne of the Khelaufut. While he was absent from Hamadaun on this occasion, intelligence was conveyed to him that designs hostile to his government, were under the contemplation of the lieutenant of Farss; and he found it expedient to detach his brother Seljûk Shah, accompanied by his Atabek, or governor, or preceptor, Kâra Sunkur, to restore obedience in that province. The Atabek had however made but one march from the encampment of Sûltan Mûssâoud, when he had the audacity to dispatch a message to that monarch, to announce that he should not advance a step further, until the head of the minister, Mahommed Khauzen, was sent to him. This personage had rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the Ameirs, not less by his imperious and haughty demeanor, than by the sequestration of their emoluments; and however his master might have been disposed to protect him, the demand of the Atabek was repeated with such determined pertinacity, that it was finally complied with; and the head of the unfortunate Vezzeir was given up to his importunities. Kâra Sunkur then proceeded into Farss; and having reduced the metropolis of Sheirauz, and placed it in the possession of Seljûk Shah, he returned to the court of Mûssâoud, where he died some time afterwards. SULTAN MUSSAOUD.

The Sûltan now transferred his confidence to the Atabeks Eyldekez, and Jaudely; on the former of whom, with the government of Tebreiz and Azerbayjaun, he bestowed the widow of his brother Sûl-

A. H. 532-47. A. D. 1137 52. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

tan Toghrel, of which marriage the Ameirs Kuzzul Arslan, and Mahommed, were the issue. Atabek Jaudely on the subsequent death of Seljûk Shah, was sent to preside over the province of Farss.

During his second visit to Baghdâd, about the five hundred and thirty-second of the Hidjerah, Abbas the governor of Rey, undertook to transfer the throne of the absent monarch, to his brother Sûliman Shah; and, uniting with Abdurraihman and Bûzaubah, two chiefs who entertained similar designs in favor of Mêlek Shah and Mahommed, the sons of Mahmûd, openly declared against Sûltan Mûssâoud, and took possession of Isfahaun. Apprized of this dangerous combination against his authority, the Sûltan, in the very middle of winter, hastened towards Isfahaun; but being intercepted on his arrival at Hulwaun, by a tremendous fall of snow, and other severities of the season, he was for the present constrained to postpone his vengeance, and return to Baghdâd. On the return of more genial weather in the ensuing spring, however, the Sûltan proceeded towards his object by the route of Tebreiz, at the head of a powerful army; Sûliman Shah, with his general Abbas, and the princes Mahommed and Melêk Shah, awaiting his approach, at a station in the neighborhood of Hamadaun. Happily for Sûltan Mûssâoud, the very night preceding the day which had been appointed for battle, Sûliman Shah unaccountably withdrew towards Rey, followed by Abbas; and Abdurraihman, and Bûzaubah equally surprized and alarmed, made the best of their way towards Isfahaun, with Mêlek Shah and Mahommed: while Sûltan Mûssâoud thus fortunately relieved from his embarrassments, hastened towards Rey on the footsteps of his brother. Shortly afterwards Sûliman ventured to an interview with his brother; and, it being thought unadvisable by the Sûltan's cabinet that he should remain any longer at large, he was, as might have been foreseen, immediately consigned to imprisonment. Abbas, Abdurraihman, and Bûzaubah, in the course of time, also solicited and obtained the Sûltan's pardon, and hastening in succession to his presence, were treated with kindness and distinction. But, as their breasts continued to be animated with a spirit of hostility towards the Sûltan's government, a considerable period was not suffered to elapse before it was sufficiently demonstrated in the ingra-

tude of their actions; and they were, each of them in different ways, ultimately taken off by the hands of the executioner. A. H. 547. A. D. 1153.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Subsequent to these events, the reign of Sûltan Mûssâoud proceeded with unclouded prosperity to the period of his death, which took place in sight of Hamadaun, on the night of the first of Rudjub of the five hundred and forty seventh of the Hidjerah,* the forty fifth year of his age, and the nineteenth of his government. He is described to have surpassed in liberality and benevolence of disposition, as well as in the strength of his understanding; and to have promoted, both by his example and authority, the exercise of charity in all its forms. His munificence is indeed alleged to have been carried to that extent, that he was frequently reduced to draw upon an empty treasury; and he was so singularly attached to the manners, and habits of life of religious mendicants, that great part of his leisure hours was devoted to an attendance on the victims of sorrow, and the inmates of seclusion.

Mogheyth-ud-dein Melek Shah the son of Mahmûd, of Hamadaun and Irâk Ajem.

Raised to the throne, by whatever means, on the death of his uncle, this prince appears to have immediately shut himself up against every kind of intercourse with the Ameirs, and other officers of his government, and to have totally resigned himself to his pleasures. Attempting, however, to seize the person of Khausseik, one of the ministers of the late Sûltan, most distinguished for his singular prudence and extraordinary valour, the greater part of the chiefs took offence at the design, and espoused the cause of the minister; by whose instructions, in the month of Shavaul of the 547th of the Hidjerah,† Hussun Jândaur, on the pretext of an entertainment given in honor of him, proceeded to invite the prince to his house; where, at the end of three days, in which he had been suffered to indulge himself in every species of luxury, he was seized, and immediately confined to the castle of Hamadaun. Messengers were at the same time dispatched to Khûzistaun, to invite his brother Mahommed to take possession of the government. After remaining some days immured in his prison, however, he found means to effect his escape; and proceeding by the most

Sultan Melek Shah.

* First of October, A. D. 1152. † January, A. D. 1153.

A. H. 547-54. A. D. 1153-59. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

unfrequented roads into the same province of Khûzistaun, he there continued to reside until the death of his brother, in the five hundred and fifty fifth of the Hidjerah; when he advanced towards Isfahaun, with the object of putting himself once more in possession of the throne of Irâk: but he was arrested in his design by the hand of death. This voluptuary held his government for little more than three months, and had only attained to his thirty second year when he died.

Sultan Gheyauth-ud-dein MAHOMMED the son of Mahmûd, of Hamadaun and Irâk Ajem, &c.

Sûltan Mahommed, in consequence of the invitation of the Ameirs, above adverted to, in the beginning of Mohurrim of the year five hundred and forty eight, repaired to Hamadaun, and immediately assumed the diadem of Irâk. Before the expiration of the month conceiving, however, some suspicion of the views of Ameir Khausseik, he caused that chieftain to be put to death, and appropriated to himself the whole of his treasure and effects. As a proof of the magnitude of these articles, it is stated on the authority of the Tarikh gûzeidah, that there were found in the repositories and wardrobe of the same Khauss i'k, not less than thirteen thousand pieces of crimson satin, by which we are taught to estimate the remainder of his property.

SULTAN MAHOMMED.

When the fate of this personage was made known to Atabek Eyldekez, and to Nussrut-ud-dein Khausseik the son of Auk Sunkur, the governor of Meraughah, they immediately declared against Sûltan Mahommed; and proclaiming his uncle Sûliman the son of Mahommed, the son of Mêlek Shah the great, proceeded with a powerful army towards Hamadaun. Conscious of the disparity of his troops, and of the more alarming disaffection of his Ameirs, Mahommed suddenly abandoned his power, with all its appendages of wealth and splendor, and fled towards Isfahaun; while Sûliman Shah, on the other hand, took possession of his capital without resistance, and seated himself in triumph on the abdicated throne. Under these circumstances it was suggested to the new sovereign, that it would be advisable to confer the offices of Vezzeir, and Haujeb, or minister of state and grand chamberlain, on Mûzuffur-ud-dein Alep Erghû, and Shums-ud-dein Abûl Nejeib, to the prejudice of the Ameirs Khaurezm Shah, and Fakher-ud-dein Kaushy; who had hitherto enjoyed, the one the post of Hau-

jeb, and the other that of Vezzeir respectively. Khaurezm Shah, one of the latter, being however apprized of the proposed supersession, embraced an opportunity to persuade his sister, who was the wife of Sûliman Shah, that the nobles had suddenly entered into a conspiracy to restore Sûltan Mahommed, and that very night to seize the person of her husband. This intelligence she naturally communicated to Sûliman; and the prince, being of a capacity to be imposed upon without much difficulty, that same night, accompanied by his family and the most confidential of his adherents, withdrew towards Mazanderaun. The following day, unable to account for this ill-advised proceeding, the Ameirs were thrown into the utmost consternation; and the troops mutinying against their leaders, hastened to gratify their propensity for plunder and spoliation, by appropriating to themselves all that could be found in the treasury and stables of the fugitive Sûliman: while Sûltan Mahommed, punctually advised of these unexpected events, returned without delay to Hamadaun, and was immediately restored to his authority.

A. H. 548-54. A. D. 1153-59. Kholaussut ul-akhbaur.

Nevertheless, some time afterwards, Sûliman Shah had collected sufficient strength to issue from his retreat in Mazanderaun; and, with the aid of the Khalif Mûkteffy, and Atabek Eyldekez, on the banks of the Oras, to give battle to Sûltan Mahommed. In this he was finally defeated, and compelled to seek for refuge at Mossûle. Sûltan Mahommed now conducted his army to Baghdâd; but, in consequence of the revolt of his brother Melek Shah, was constrained to relinquish his design of reducing that city. He died in Zilhudje of the five hundred and fifty fourth of the Hidjerah,* in the thirty second year of his age, and after an unsettled and turbulent reign of seven years. He is also described to have been an able, wise, and learned prince, and, as far as his means enabled him, to have promoted the observance of the law, and the honor and welfare of its ministers.

Sûltan Mûezz-ud-dein SULIMAN SHAH, the son of Mahommed son of Melek Shah, in Hamadaun, and Irâk Ajem, &c.

Quitting his retirement at Mossûle, Sûliman hastened to Hamadaun in the former Rebbeia of the year five hundred and fifty five,† and with the

* December, A. D. 1159. † March, 1160.

A. H. 555. A. D. 1160. general concurrence of the Ameirs of the province, ascended the throne of Irâk. In order to gratify the wishes of Atabek Eyldekez, he had consented to nominate the step-son of that chieftain, Melek Arslan, as his successor in the royal authority; but, through the suggestions of Ezz-ud-dein Keymaur, and Nausser-ud-dein Auksunkur, forming some design against the person of Ul Mouffek, (probably Mûstanjer or Mûstunjid, for that was the name of the reigning Khalif) the intention became known to that Khalif; who dispatched a message to inform the Atabek that it was expedient to establish Melek Arslan in the sovereign authority, without further delay. Atabek Eyldekez was wrought upon, without much difficulty, to coincide in this measure, and proceeded to conduct his ward from Tebreiz, immediately towards Hamadaun. Sûliman Shah, devoted to wine and women, gave himself in the mean time but little concern about the arrangements of his government; and the greater part of the nobles withdrawing from his court in consequence, a conspiracy was formed to seize his person; which was carried into execution, as soon as Mêlek Arslan and the Atabek, were arrived in the vicinity of Hamadaun, towards the conclusion of Ramzaun of this year.* The deposed Sûltan was confined to the castle or citadel of the metropolis, after a short reign of six months and a few days; and he died in his prison shortly afterwards at the age of forty five.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

SULIMAN SHAH.

Sûltan Rokken-ud-dein ARSLAN the son of Toghrel, in Hamadaun, Irâk Ajem, &c.

Immediately on his arrival at Hamadaun, this prince was confirmed in the sovereign authority by the concurrent voice of his several Ameirs; and he gave to the world, according to our author, both by the splendor of his power, and the justice of his government, a course of prosperity to which for some time it had been a stranger. He was however summoned at the commencement of his reign to oppose the rebellion of Ezz-ud-dein Keymaur the governor of Isfahaun, and Hussaum-ud-dein Eynaunje, or Eynauntch, governor of Rey; who had proclaimed Mahommed the son of Seljûk Shah, and were advancing towards Hamadaun. In the neighborhood of Kazvein (Casbin)

SULTAN ARSLAN.

* End of September, 1160.

they were met, and entirely defeated by Sûltan Arslan, Mêlek Mahommed flying towards Khûzistaun, and Keymaur and Eynaunje towards Rey and Mazanderaun. About the same period the province of Azerbayjaun was menaced with an invasion from the prince of Enjauz, a confirmed and profligate infidel,* which the Sûltan hastened without delay to repel. In a dreadful battle which took place not far from the fortress of Kauk, the advocates of Islâm were decisively triumphant: after which Sûltan Arslan repaired to Kazvein, and having made himself master, sword in hand, of a fortress erected in the neighborhood of that place by the Issmauilians of Almowut, he levelled it with the ground.

A. H. 555-63. A. D. 1160-68. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Towards the conclusion of five hundred and fifty nine,† Sûltan Arslan proceeded towards Isfahaun; where being joined by Atabek Zungui the Selghrian, he conferred upon that chief the government of Sheirauz and Farss. Eynaunje was formerly stated to have fled into Mazanderaun. He repaired finally to the court of the king of Khaurezm; and having procured the assistance of that monarch, he returned in the five hundred and sixty first of the Hidjerah, into Persian Irâk, where he committed great enormities, particularly in the territories adjoining to Kazvein and Ebher: but Sûltan Arslan, accompanied by the Atabek Eyldekez, hastening to chastise the inroad, Eynaunje again retired into Mazanderaun. In the five hundred and sixty third‡ of the Hidjerah, however, he once more entered the province of Rey; and succeeded in defeating Nussrut-ud-dein Mahommed the son of Eyldekez, the Sûltan's half brother, employed against him on this occasion. Atabek Eyldekez was then dispatched in person to repel the invader; with whom he found it expedient, nevertheless, to conclude a treaty of peace, by which it was stipulated, that Eynaunje should accompany the Atabek to the presence of Sûltan Arslan. It was however so contrived, that the very night preceding the intended interview, Eynaunje should have been put to death in his own encampment, while no one was ever discovered, to whom the fact could be ascribed. The Sûltan on intelligence of what had happened, conferred the government of Rey,

* We have not been able to identify the country of this prince.

† End of A. D. 1164. ‡ A. D. 1168.

A. H. 563-71. A. D. 1168 75. upon his maternal half brother Mahommed the son of Eyldekez, entitled *Jahaun Pehelwaun*—the peerless knight of the world; who soon afterwards married one of the daughters of Eynaunje, by whom he became the father of Kûtlûgh Eynaunje, destined to be the principal instrument in the subversion of the power of the race of Seljûk in Irâk.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

In the five hundred and sixty eighth* of the Hidjerah, died the mother of Sûltan Arslan, who had been long married to Atabek Eyldekez; a female than whom, according to our author, from the united testimony of every historian of the age in which she lived, whether in piety, sincere devotion, modesty, or zeal in promoting the happiness of her people, none more distinguished was ever nursed in the cradle of the illustrious great. Her husband followed to the grave at the expiration of one month; and Sûltan Arslan now added the dignities vacated by his death, to the honors and appointments already enjoyed by his son Jahaun Pehelwaun Mahommed. The Sûltan was, however, so deeply affected by the loss of his mother, and stepfather, that he does not appear at any time to have thoroughly recovered from the shock. He died in the latter Jummaudy of the five hundred and seventy first of the Hidjerah,† at the age of forty three, and after a splendid reign of fifteen years eight months and some days. He is described to have been a monarch of singular clemency, forbearance, and liberality; but possessing too elevated a mind to examine with sufficient minuteness into the management of his finances, he unintentionally connived at abuses; for, either discrediting, or banishing from his recollection, the crimes and offences of delinquents, he suffered them to experience no change, or diminution in his bounty, in any shape. It is lastly to his praise alleged, that in the very delirium of mirth and festivity, neither from himself nor from his attendants, did he ever suffer the language of obscenity on any occasion to escape.

Sûltan Rokken-ud-dein TOGHREL the son of Arslan, last monarch of the Irâkian branch of the race of Seljûk.

SULTAN TOGHREL, IId.

Succeeding to the sovereign authority, on the death of his father, Sûltan Toghrel committed the affairs of his government to the entire controul and discretion of his uncle, Jahaun Pehelwaun Mahommed

* A. D. 1172. † December, A. D. 1175.

the son of Eyldekez. At the commencement of his reign, he was successively employed to repel an invasion of Azerbayjaun on the part of the infidel prince of Enjauz, formerly noticed, and to suppress an insurrection in favor of his uncle Mahommed the son of Toghrel, who was advancing against Persian Irâk. In both cases, under the direction of the minister Jahaun Pehelwaun Mahommed, and his brother Kuzzul Arslan, his arms were triumphant. A. H. 571-81. A. D. 1175-85. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

In a former part of his work, the author has noted from oriental writers, that a conjunction of the seven planets *in aquarius*, took place at the period of the deluge; such a remarkable conjunction is now stated to have also occurred, in the third degree of *libra*, during the five hundred and eighty first of the Hidjerah*, the tenth year of the reign of Sûltan Toghrel. From this rare phenomenon, the astrologers ventured to predict that the world was about to be visited by a general and tremendous hurricane, which, in the course of the year, should not only sweep away, and annihilate every structure erected by the hand of man, but tear up the very mountains from their foundations. In this opinion the philosopher Anwary is said to have been more pertinacious than the whole of his brethren; and the people, in many parts of the empire, proceeded in consequence of the alarming reports which prevailed, to provide for themselves caverns in the bowels of the earth; in order to secure themselves, if possible, against the awful impending visitation. It happened, however, by God's merciful providence, that at the period predicted for the occurrence of this tremendous calamity, there should not have arisen even as much wind, as was sufficient to enable the peasant to separate the chaff from his corn. Nevertheless, although in one respect the astrologers might have been deceived in their prognostications, it was in the course of this year that the irresistible *Jengueiz* became the sole sovereign of the different tribes of his own nation; and true it is, that before the termination of his eventful and overwhelming career, such a tempest was produced, in the moral world, by the exterminating fury of that dreadful scourge, as to have almost annihilated the powers of Asia, that stood in the way of his vengeance.

* Commencing the third of April, A. D. 1185.

A. H. 581-88. A. D. 1185-92, Khulaussut-ul-akhbaur.

On the death of Jahaun Pehelwaun Mahommed in the course of the year, his brother, the Atabek Kuzzul Arslan, succeeded to the government of Azerbayjaun; but some evil disposed persons having created a jealousy between him and Sûltan Toghrel, that powerful chieftain, a short time afterwards, quitted Tebreiz and advanced towards Hamadaun; which the Sûltan, unprepared for resistance, suddenly abandoned at his approach. Kuzzul Arslan entered Hamadaun without opposition; but returning into Azerbayjaun at the expiration of a few days, Sûltan Toghrel was permitted to repossess himself of his capital. The disaffected Ameirs of Irâk under the influence of Kuzzul Arslan, sending however to announce to him that they sincerely regretted, and were ashamed of their recent disloyal proceedings, and that they were hastening to his presence to make him every suitable apology for their misconduct, the Sûltan suffered himself to be flattered by these insidious professions of returning duty; and informed them in reply, that he should meet them the following day, on the Meydaun-e-kûi bauzy, or goff course, in the neighborhood, and give them an opportunity of renewing their engagements. Unconscious of evil the Sûltan proceeded the next day accordingly, to the place of appointment; and thus furnished to the Ameirs an opportunity, of which they immediately availed themselves, to carry their treacherous designs into execution, by seizing his person, and conveying him to a prison in the fortress of Alan, or Alenjek. Kuzzul Arslan upon this again came to Hamadaun, proposing to vest the sovereignty of Irâk in Sunjur the son of Sûliman Shah; but an agent from Baghdâd arriving at this very conjuncture, with a message from the Khalif (Ul Nasser) urging it as expedient that the Atabek should himself assume the sovereign power, Kuzzul Arslan received the proposal with exultation; and declaring himself in possession of the monarchy, proceeded, without further delay, to stamp the coinage, and exercise, in his own name, the other functions of royalty. Fakher-ud-dein Kûtlûgh, and the other Ameirs, conceiving however that they had claims of their own, an hundred fold superior to any that he could pretend to advance, though the uncle of their degraded sovereign, were little disposed to submit to this assumption of authority; and they contrived accordingly, in the course of the same

short week, to put Kuzzul Arslan to death, and to divide the provinces of Irâk between themselves. A. H. 588-90. A. D. 1192-94.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

In the mean time, through the assistance of Hussaum-ud-dein, Sepahsalaur, and other loyal adherents, Sûltan Toghrel had succeeded in effecting his escape from imprisonment; and assembling a powerful body of troops, hastened to avenge himself on his rebellious subjects. In the neighborhood of Kazvein he brought them to a battle, in which, after an obstinate conflict, the rebel chiefs met the reward of their guilt; and the fortune of an illustrious monarch once more resumed its preponderance.

On the death of Atabek Mahommed, the Sûltan had, it appears, married his widow, the mother of Kûtlûgh Eynaunje; and this lady, wrought upon by the importunities, or suggestions of her son, had formed, in the course of the five hundred and eighty eighth of the Hidjerah,* the design of destroying her royal consort, by introducing a poisonous mixture into his lemonade. Sûltan Toghrel becoming, however, by some means or other apprized of her design, the traitress was justly condemned to swallow the draught, which she had prepared for another. Kûtlûgh Eynaunje escaped with a short imprisonment, after which he was pardoned for his crimes, and set at large.

Such however was the innate depravity, and hardened malignity of this man, that it prompted him, notwithstanding, to enter into a correspondence with Allâ-ud-dein Tukkesh, king of Khaurezm; whom he immediately invited to the conquest of Irâk. The Khaurezmian accepted the invitation without difficulty, and marching into Irâk was very punctually joined by the rebel; but having continued for some time in the territory of Rey, and reduced the fortress of Tabarek, he withdrew into his own dominions, leaving the care of the recent conquests to one of his captains, of the name of Temghauje. Sûltan Toghrel at the head of his troops advanced; however, in the course of the five hundred and eighty ninth of the Hidjerah towards Rey; and having recaptured Tabarek, and seized the person of Temghauje, he caused that commander to suffer death.

In Mohurrim of the year following, the five hundred and ninetieth of the Hidjerah† Kûtlûgh Eynaunje again invaded Irâk with a great

* A. D. 1192. † January, A. D. 1194.

A. H. 590. A. D. 1194. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

army, under the authority of the king of Khaurezm; but being opposed near Rey by Sûltan Toghrel, he was totally defeated by that monarch, and compelled to return with disgrace and loss towards Khaurezm. The Sûltan now gave a loose to festivity, and in the ancient metropolis of Rey totally resigned himself to his pleasures, to his propensities for wine and women; neither was he to be awakened from his delirium of debauch, by the reports continually repeated to him, of the approach of Sultan Allâ-ud-dein Tukkesh, with a fresh army of Khaurezmians. In these sensual excesses, to the entire neglect of his affairs the Sultan persisted in devoting himself, "from dusk to dawn, and from "dawn to dusk," until his Ameirs, wearied out and disgusted with the fatuity which seemed to have chaced away the understanding of their sovereign, at last dispatched a message to hasten the advance of his enemies. The Khaurezmian accelerated his approach accordingly, and by forced marches unexpectedly presented himself in the outskirts of Rey.

Sûltan Toghrel proceeded, however, without delay to give him battle; and in the latter Rebbeia of the year five hundred and ninety,* the two monarchs met on this occasion, to decide their quarrel and the fate of Irâk. Not less from the pride and confidence of youth, than from the effervescence of wine, by which he had been rendered insensible to danger, the Sûltan is said on that day, on recognizing the person of Kûtlûgh Eynaunje, to have spurred his horse towards him, repeating these lines from the Shâh-nâmah of Ferdûssy. "When the dust arose which "attended the march of mine enemies—when the cheeks of my bravest "warriors turned pale with affright—I raised on high my single "stroked (ponderous) mace—left my soldiers in their stations, far be-"hind—and lifting myself on my saddle seat, uttered so fearful a shout—"that the solid earth trembled beneath my feet, like a mill wheel." The senses of the unhappy monarch were, however, so completely steeped in wine, that in plying his mace, he struck his own horse on the fore legs, which brought the animal and his rider to the ground; in which situation Kûtlûgh Eynaunje, immediately coming up, dispatched him with a single stroke of his scimitar.

* April, A. D. 1194.

Thus, in the twentieth year of the reign of Sûltan Toghrel, and after it had subsisted for about one hundred and fifty five years, terminated the power of the house of Seljûk in Irâk; under a monarch who is nevertheless described to have surpassed in the elegance of his person, and in the felicity of his disposition; in his zeal for the encouragement of virtue, and in his abhorrence of vice; who is alleged to have been distinguished beyond the most illustrious of his race, for the benevolence of his manners, and for the vivacity and acuteness of his genius; as an illustration of which, the author has furnished us with a tetrastich ascribed to him, of which the following is the sense. A. H. 590. A. D. 1194. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

"In this poor world how vainly we strut and fume.—We eat, we "drink, forgetful of the fate of our ancestors (perhaps of the ocean of "eternity).—Nor wealth, nor family, nor lands, can permanently be "ours.—If then life itself must terminate, say let not ought survive."

Of the second branch of the race of Seljûk, which was settled in the government of Kermaun, the account which we derive from our author shall be comprized in a few brief passages; and this, without further preliminary, we shall proceed to submit to the indulgent reader.

The first of this series of princes was Kawerd, or Kadrû, or Kadrid, it is impossible to determine exactly which, the son of Tchegher Beg; who became lieutenant of Kermaun under the authority of his uncle Toghrel Beg, in the four hundred and thirty third of the Hidjerah, and who in the year four hundred and fifty five, acquired the further possession of the province of Farss; but unfortunately entering into a war with his nephew, the illustrious Melek Shah, he was defeated and taken prisoner, in the course of the four hundred and sixty-fifth of the Hidjerah; and died by poison, after holding his government for a period of two and thirty years. A. H. 433-65. A. D. 1041-72. KAWERD, Ist of the Kermaunian Seljûkians.

SULTAN SHAH, the son of Kawerd, second of the Kermaunian Seljucides, succeeded by direction of his couzin german, on the death of his father, and continued in the government until the four hundred and seventy seventh of the Hidjerah, when he died, according to the statement of the Târikh gûzeidah, after a reign of ten years; from which it might appear, that it required some deliberation with Melek Shah, before he restored to him the possessions of his father. A. H. 467-77. A. D. 1074-84. SULTAN SHAH, IId.

A. H. 477-89. A. D. 1084-96. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

TURAN SHAH the son of Kawerd, third of the Kermaunian branch of the race of Seljûk, succeeded to his brother; and distinguished a reign of thirteen years by his uniform justice, and by numerous monuments of piety and benevolence, which he erected in various parts of his dominions. He died in the four hundred and eighty ninth of the Hidjerah.

TURAN SHAH, IIId.

A. H. 489-94. A.D.1096-1101.

IRAN SHAH, fourth of the Kermaunian branch, was the son of the preceding prince; but unlike him, devoting his power to every species of debauchery and vice, of oppression and violence, the Kermaunians ultimately spurned at his authority; and in the four hundred and ninety fourth of the Hidjerah put him to death, after a reign of five years.

IRAN SHAH IVth.

A. H. 494-536. A.D.1096-1101.

ARSLAN SHAH the son of Kerman Shah, fifth of this branch of the race of Seljûk, was the couzin german of the former monarch, through dread of whose cruelty he had been compelled to reside for some time in the family of a shoemaker; but being raised to the sovereign authority, through the concurrence of the Kermaunian chiefs, on the death of Iran Shah, he enjoyed a very prosperous and protracted reign of two and forty years.

ARSLAN SHAH, Vth.

A. H. 536-51. A.D. 1141-56.

Melek Mogheyth-ud-dein MAHOMMED the son of Arslan Shah, sixth of the Kermaunian branch, succeeded to the government, about the five hundred and thirty sixth of the Hidjerah, on the death of his father. He conceived it expedient, in order to secure his authority, to destroy the sight of some of his brothers, and put others of them to death. In other respects his attention appears to have been particularly devoted to the study of astronomy, and to the encouragement of sacred architecture. He died in the five hundred and fifty first of the Hidjerah, after a reign of fourteen years.

MELEK MAHOMMED, VIth.

A. H. 551-63. A.D. 1156-68.

Mohey-ud-dein TOGHREL the son of Mahommed, seventh of the Kermaunian branch, succeeded to his father, and died in the five hundred and sixty third of the Hidjerah, after a reign of twelve years. On the death of this prince, a contest for the government ensued between his three sons, *Behram Shah*, *Arslan Shah*, and *Tûrkan Shah*, which was prosecuted with alternate fortune for a period of twenty years; each of the rival princes taking possession of the throne in turn, as the issue was favorable to his claims. These distractions produced in

TOGHREL, VIIth.

the state of Kermaun, and its inhabitants, every species of anarchy and distress; and prepared the way for the total subversion of power, which shortly afterwards took place. A. H. 583. A. D. 1187. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Mahommed Shah the son of Behram Shah, last of the Kermaunian Seljucides, ascended the tottering throne of Kermaun on the death of his father and uncles; but being immediately assailed by an insurrection set on foot against his authority by Mûbaurek Shah, another prince of the race of Seljûk, he retired for assistance to the dominions of Sûltan Toghrel the son of Arslan; by whom he was enabled to re-enter his country in triumph, Mûbaurek Shah withdrawing precipitately into the territory of Ghour. On the authority of the Tarikh gûzeidah, it is at the same time related, that in the five hundred and eighty third of the Hidjerah, the province of Kermaun was finally subjugated by Melek Dinaur, one of the chiefs of the Ghuzzi; by whom the power of the Kawerdians, or Kadrûians, was thus totally extinguished, after it had subsisted, as it would appear, for about one hundred and fifty years. Mahommed Shah last of the Kermaunian Seljûkians.

The third branch of the race of Seljûk was destined to the sovereignty of the rich peninsula of Asia minor, or Anatolia, or Rûm,* as denominated by the orientals; and of this the first monarch is stated, on the authority of the same Tarikh gûzeidah, to have been Suliman the son of Kuttulmesh, son of Issrâeil son of Seljûk; formerly described to have been invested with the monarchy of that noble province, by his magnificent kinsman, the illustrious Melek Shah; when that prince, as it is alleged, found on the death of his recent captive, the emperor of Constantinople, that he had left no issue qualified to succeed him. It must be here repeated, that the Persian historian every where ascribes to Melek Shah, the triumphs over the emperor Romanus allotted to his father Alep Arslan, by the Latin and Greek writers. Be that, however, as it may, Sûltan Sûliman established his authority in the noble territory thus assigned him, in the four hundred and eightieth year of the Hidjerah, the sixth of the emperor Alexius Comnenus. His reign A. H. 480-500. A. D. 1087-1106. Sultan Suliman, Ist of the Rûmian branch.

* The Seljukian kingdom of Rûm is described as extending from the Euphrates to Constantinople, and from the Euxine to the confines of Syria; thirty days journey in length, and in breadth between the rocks of Lycia and the Euxine, about ten or fifteen days. Nice the metropolis of Bithynia was chosen for the capital. Vide Gibbon's Roman empire, Vol. X. p. p. 372, 375, 8vo. edition.

A. H. 500-18. A. D. 1106-24. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

continued for the space of twenty years, from that time to the period of his death in the five hundredth of the Hidjerah.

KILIDJE, or Guilitch ARSLAN the son of Sûliman, second of the Anatolian, or Rûmian Seljucides, succeeded to his father, and continued to reign for a period of eighteen years, to the five hundred and eighteenth of the Hidjerah, when he died. It was during the reign of this prince, that his capital of Nice, in Bithynia, was besieged by the crusaders under Bohemund, Tancred, and Duke Robert of Normandy; and would have fallen to those warlike adventurers, but for the intrigues of Alexius the emperor, who took possession for himself.

KILIDJE ARSLAN, IId of the Rûmian branch

Sûltan MUSSAOUD the son of Sûliman, third of the Anatolian Seljucides, ascended the throne on the death of his brother; and died in five hundred and thirty eight, after a reign of one and twenty years.*

SULTAN MUSSAOD IIId of the same branch.

Sûltan MUSSAOUD the second, the son of the preceding, and fourth of the Anatolian branch, enjoyed a splendid reign of fifteen years from the demise of his father; and died in the five hundred and fifty eighth of the Hidjerah.†

SULTAN MUSSAOUD IId and IVth of the Rûmians.

KILIDJE ARSLAN the second, son of Mûssâoud, fifth of this branch of the race of Seljûk, succeeded to his father; reduced the city of Malatiah, and died in the five hundred and sixty eighth of the Hidjerah,‡ after a reign of ten years. On the death of this prince the succession was disputed by his two sons, Sûliman and Key Khossrou; but the contest, after a sanguinary struggle of about ten years, ultimately terminating in favor of the former, Key Khossrou submitted to his destiny.

KILIDJE ARSLAN, IId and Vth of the Rûmians.

Rokken-ud-dein SULIMAN the second, son of Kilidje Arslan, sixth of the Anatolian branch, reigned for a period of four and twenty years, and died in the six hundred and second of the Hidjerah.§

SULIMAN, IId and VIth of the Rûmians.

GHEYAUTH-UD-DEIN KEY KHOSSROU the son of Kilidje Arslan, seventh of the Anatolian branch.

A nephew of this prince, the son of the former monarch, succeeded for a short time, under the title of Ezz-ud-dein Kilidje Arslan; but being a minor was opposed in his authority by his uncle, who made him a prisoner, and confined him to one of his castles. Key Khossrou then assumed the sovereign power to himself, and retained it until the six hundred and ninth of the Hidjerah,‖ when he perished in a battle with the infidels—the crusaders so stigmatized by the oriental historians.

KEY KHOSSROU, VIIth of the Rumians.

* A. D. 1143. † 1163. ‡ 1172. § 1205. ‖ 1212.

Ezz-ud-dein KEY KAWUS the son of Key Khossrou, eighth of the Anatolian Seljucides, succeeded to his father; but died of a disorder in his loins, after a short reign of twelve months. A. H. 610. A. D. 1213. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Allâ-ud-dein KEYKOBAUD the son of Key Khossrou, ninth of the Anatolian branch, succeeded to his brother, and was esteemed the ablest and most accomplished monarch of his family. He was several times engaged in battle against the brave, but unfortunate, Sûltan Jul-laul-ud-dein Meineg Bûrny, or Mengberni, the Khaurezmian, in which he was for the greater part victorious; but when he had continued to reign for a period of six and twenty years, he was at last poisoned by the direction of his own son Key Khossrou, in the six hundred and thirty sixth of the Hidjerah.* KEY KOBAUD IXth of the Rûmians.

Gheyauth-ud-dein KEY KHOSSROU the second, the son of Key Kobaud, tenth of the Anatolian branch.

When this parricide had been suffered to reign for a period of about eight years, his country was invaded by the Moghûls; by whom he was decisively defeated. He did not long survive his discomfiture, as he appears to have exchanged his ill-gotten power for the grave, in the six hundred and forty fourth of the Hidjerah.† KEY KHOSSROU, IId and Xth of this branch.

Rokken-ud-dein SULIMAN the third, the son of Key Khossrou, eleventh of the Anatolian branch.

Having secured the diadem of his predecessors, his brother Alla-ud-dein Key Kobaud was dispatched by Sûliman, as his agent to the court of Hûlaukû Khaun; with whom, having successfully terminated the mission on which he had been employed, that prince was on his return to Rûm, of which the capital was at this period probably Iconium, or Cogni; when, his ungrateful brother, suspecting that he had views to supersede him in his power, suborned a person to poison him. After a reign of twenty years he was himself condemned to a similar fate by Abâka Khaun, in the six hundred and sixty fourth of the Hidjerah.‡ SULIMAN IIId and XIth of this branch.

KEY KHOSSROU the third the son of Sûliman, twelfth of the Anatolian branch, succeeded to his father, while a minor; the administration of his government was placed, however, by Abâka Khaun, in the hands of Khaujah Mûeyun-ud-dein Purwaunah (the moth) the Kaushian, who married the mother of the young prince. Key Khossrou continued in the nominal sovereignty, until the six hundred and eighty second§ of KEY KHOSSROU, IIId and XIIth of this branch.

* A. D. 1238. † A. D. 1246. ‡ 1266. § 1283.

A. H. 692-98. A. D. 1283-99. the Hidjerah; when, after a reign of eighteen years, he was put to death in Azerbayjaun, by direction of Sûltan Ahmed Khaun.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Gheyauth-ud-dein MUSSAOUD the third, the son of Key Kawus, thirteenth of the Anatolian branch, was sent to the government of Rûm, now no longer an independent sovereignty, under the authority of Arghûn Khaun. He died in the six hundred and ninety seventh of the Hidjerah, when his nephew KEY KOBAUD the son of Feraumerz, under the auspices of Ghâzan Khaun, became the fourteenth and last of this branch of the race of Seljûk. For, not long after his accession, entering into designs hostile to the authority of that monarch, either real or pretended, a force was dispatched into Anatolia; by which, about the six hundred and ninety eighth of the Hidjerah, the power of the family was finally extinguished: none of the race of Seljûk, subsequent to that period, being admitted to govern the country. From other authorities* we learn, that in the course of the 1299th of the Christian æra, they were succeeded by another race of Turks, the subsequent masters of Constantinople; of whom the founder was Osman or Othman the son of Orthogrul, probably Ourtoghrel, on whose establishment, it would be foreign to the design of these pages to expatiate.

MUSSAOUD & KEY KOBAUD, last of the Rûmian Seljucides

It becomes, however, in this place incumbent on the author to apologize for an inadvertency, of some magnitude, in the second page of the preface to the first volume; where it will be observed that the Ottomans are spoken of, as if they were to be identified with the Anatolian, or Rûmian Seljucides, from whom, as we have just seen, they must be considered as entirely distinct. The sheet was indeed scarcely out of the press, before the inaccuracy of the term was discovered, however too late for correction. If the candid reader will substitute, "*Othmanlû, or Turks of the house of Othman*" for "Othmanlû or Ottoman Seljucides" the passage will be unexceptionable.

* Gibbon's Roman empire.

CHAP. IX.

WITH the ordinary brevity of the original, our narrative will next be employed to describe the principal events that distinguished the government of the Khaurezm Shâhies, or monarchs of Khaurezm; whose elevation, decline, and extinction, without further preliminary, it becomes our business now to examine.

The great ancestor of the princes of this race, then, according to the generality of historians, is stated to have been Noushteguin, or Noushtekein Ghirjah, a slave of Turkish extraction, originally the property of Belgâtekein; but being promoted to the office of cupbearer, or butler, to Melek Shah the Seljûkian, an office to which the revenues of the province of Khaurezm were then attached, Noushtekein, as formerly noticed, was invested by that monarch with the government of the same province; which on his death was bestowed, with additional honors and preferments, on his eldest son Kûtb-ud-dein Mahommed, a prince of extraordinary endowments and ability.

Kûth-ud-dein MAHOMMED, the son of Noushtekein, first of the Khaurezm Shâhies, or kings of Khaurezm.

During the reign of Sûltan Burguiaurûg, in the four hundred and ninety first of the Hidjerah, while Sûltan Sunjur was yet governor of Khorassaun, Kûtb-ud-dein Mahommed became sovereign of Khaurezm, with the title of Khaurezm Shah; a dignity which he sustained with singular splendor and success, for a period of thirty years; continuing, nevertheless, year after year, alternately with his son Atseiz, to attend the court of the Seljûkian monarch. The whole period of his government is, indeed, represented to have been distinguished by an exemplary course of service to the monarchs of that race, against whom he never in any instance suffered the slightest sentiment of hostility, or disaffection, to enter his breast. He died in the five hundred and twenty first of the Hidjerah, and was a liberal patron of learning and learned men.

A. H. 491-521.
A. D. 1098-1127.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

KUTBUDDEIN MAHOMMED, Ist of the Khaurezm Shâhies.

A. H. 521-38.
A. D. 1127-43.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur-

ATSEIZ the son of Mahommed, second of the Khaurezm Shahies.

Succeeding to the government on the death of his father, this prince like him persevered in his attachment to the house of Seljûk; to the reigning representative of which, Sûltan Sunjur, he is also said to have rendered the most important services. But, being in consequence of these services admitted to a degree of favor with that monarch, far beyond his compeers, the jealousy of the other courtiers was at last excited; and they combined to expel him from the presence of their master. Atseiz, discovering however the malignant designs of his enemies, determined to anticipate them, and obtained the permission of the Sûltan to withdraw into Khaurezm; on which occasion it is said that the monarch, on taking leave of his feudatory, should have observed, that this was a bolt from his bow, which he was never likely to see again; and the courtiers demanding the motive of their sovereign, for thus dismissing him to his province, with such a conviction on his mind, Sûltan Sunjur confessed, that the services of Atseiz were so great and so faithful, that the slightest violence on his part, was not to be justified by any principle of good faith or generosity.

ATSEIZ, IId of the Khaurezm Shahies.

Not long after he arrived in Khaurezm, Atseiz, as appears to have been foreseen, began to exhibit those proofs of an ambitious and refractory disposition, which led to his undisguised and final rebellion; on which, in the five hundred and thirty third of the Hidjerah,* Sûltan Sunjur proceeded with his troops into that province. Atseiz was, on this occasion, entirely defeated, and expelled the country, and his son Eyl Kûtlûgh was taken prisoner and put to death by the Sûltan; by whom the government was now transferred to his own brother, Sûliman Shah; after which without suspicion of future mischief he returned into Irâk. On the departure of Sûltan Sunjur, however, Atseiz embraced the opportunity to re-enter Khaurezm; and Sûliman, being by some failure or other unprepared for resistance, immediately evacuated the country to join his brother. On this, Atseiz openly proclaimed his independence of all foreign authority; and proceeded to prosecute his designs against the power of the house of Seljûk, with increasing animosity and inveteracy.

In the five hundred and thirty eighth of the Hidjerah† Sûltan Sunjur again entered Khaurezm, where he besieged his rebellious feudatory in

* A. D. 1138. † A. D. 1143.

the capital of the same name. When he had, however, reduced it to the point of submission, he was prevailed upon by the intreaties, the prayers of Atseiz, supported by some well-timed and costly presents, to grant him terms of pardon and oblivion; and to leave him still in possession of his government, in defiance of every maxim of ordinary policy, and prudence. Accordingly, the Sûltan had no sooner reached his capital of Merû, than he found ample reason to lament his ill-requited indulgence, in the information that reached him, that the prince of Khaurezm had openly resumed his former plans of disobedience and revolt. Under such circumstances a person of the name of Azeib Sauber, a native of Termed, was employed on the part of the Sûltan to reclaim him to a sense of duty. Atseiz contrived to detain the agent, while he dispatched a couple of assassins to Merû, for the purpose of destroying his sovereign. The treacherous design became however known to Azeib, and he privately sent to apprize the monarch of his danger. The assassins were upon this discovered and put to death, and the faithful agent was condemned for his vigilance to perish in the Jeyhûn.

A. H. 538-42. A. D. 1143-47. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

About four years afterwards, in the five hundred and forty-second of the Hidjerah, Sûltan Sunjur resumed hostilities with the Khaurezmian; against whom he this time commenced his operations by the siege of Hazaurasp, the principal frontier town on the side of Khorassaun. On this occasion his bard Anwari, is said to have addressed to the Sûltan some verses, of which the following may be the sense of the concluding lines. "Great monarch, be this day's effort directed to "subjugate Hazaurasp; to morrow Khaurezm, with one hundred thou-"sand horse, shall be thine;" this being a pun upon the word asp, which signifies a horse in the Persian, but a town in the Khaurezmian dialect. Resheid Wetwaut, a friend of the Khaurezmian's, on the other hand, attached the following couplet to an arrow, and shot it into the camp of the Sûltan. "Although thine enemy, noble prince, "(addressed to his patron) were possessed of the valour of Rûstum; "he shall not be suffered to appropriate even an ass, from Hazaurasp." The sarcasm conveyed in these few words excited in the Seljûkian a very violent degree of resentment; and he declared that the unfortunate bard should be cut into seven pieces, the moment he was master of the town. Resheid found means, however, when the Sûltan's troops were in possession of the place, to interest some of the members

A. H. 542-47. A. D. 1147-52. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

of the court in his favor; one of whom, at a convenient opportunity, ventured to intimate to his sovereign that the Wetwaut,* a bird so frail and diminutive, could ill support dissection, into so many parts as seven; peradventure, if his highness were not particularly averse to it, it might be more convenient to divide him, into two equal and similar parts. This species of application had its effect with the benevolent Sûltan, who sealed the obnoxious poet's pardon with a smile.

On the reduction of Hazaurasp the Sûltan proceeded to invest the capital; but while he was prosecuting the siege, a devout person, of the name of Ahû-poush, repaired to his camp, with overtures towards an accommodation on the part of Atseiz; and the proposals being again accompanied with presents of suitable magnitude and value, it was finally agreed that on appearing on the bank of the Jeyhûn, and prostrating himself to the earth in the presence of his lord paramount, the Khaurezmian should be permitted to return unmolested, with a general pardon for his multiplied offences. Atseiz presented himself very punctually on the spot agreed upon; but instead of the stipulated prostration, to which his haughty spirit could ill brook to submit, he contented himself with a respectful inclination of the head, he, without dismounting from his horse; and without further ceremony, quitted the conference before the Sûltan. Although this was a species of demeanor but ill suited to the disposition of the Seljûkian, he was, however, prevailed upon by an excess of lenity and indulgence to wink at it, and to return to his metropolis of Merû, without exhibiting any proof of resentment; neither did any further hostilities ever after take place between him, and this refractory and powerful vassal.

In the five hundred and forty-seventh of the Hidjerah, the Khaurezmian carried his conquests to the eastward of the Oxus; where he made himself master of the city of Jûnd on the Seyhûn, and of the territory of Soghnauk, or Saganac above Otraur. When, in the course of the following year, Sûltan Sunjur became a captive in the hands of the Ghuzzians, he repaired, however, into Khorassaun to a conference with Rokken-ud-dein Mahmûd, the sister's son of the Sûltan; with whom he continued for a period of three months, arrang-

* The Persian name for a mountain swallow, or martinet.

ing in the neighborhood of Nissa, those plans which were conceived best calculated to restore the legitimate government. Of these plans Sûltan Sunjur on his escape from captivity, failed however to take advantage. A. H. 551-67. A. D. 1156-72. Khôlaussut-ul-akhbaur.

In the early part of the five hundred and fifty first of the Hidjerah, when confined to the bed of sickness, Atseiz happened to over-hear one of his attendants recite a passage of the Koràn, adverting to the awful crisis of death and dissolution; which conceiving to prognosticate that his disorder would prove fatal, it assumed in consequeuce an unfavorable and serious turn, and he died in the latter Jummaudy of the same year,* at the age of sixty one. He had ruled over Khaurezm altogether, for a period of nine and twenty years; for sixteen years of which, with independent sovereignty; and he has, at the same time, been equally applauded for the mildness of his disposition, the strength of his understanding, and his exquisite learning.

Ayeil-Arslan the son of Atseiz, third of the Khaurezm Shahies, assumed the sovereign authority on the death of his father; and extended his dominions by a variety of conquests both in the territory beyond the Oxus, and in Khorassaun. Some indications of hostility on the part of his brother Sûliman, rendered it expedient as a measure of self defence, to consign him to perpetual imprisonment. Ayeil Arslan died on the nineteenth of the month of Rudjub† of the five hundred and sixty seventh of the Hidjerah, after a reign of nearly seventeen years. Ayeil Arslan, IIId of the Khaurezm Shahies.

Sultan Shah the son of Ayeil Arslan, fourth of the Khaurezm Shahies.

This prince, in opposition to the prior claims of Tukkesh Khaun, his elder brother, succeeded to the throne of the Khaurezmians immediately on the death of his father; the administration of affairs being undertaken by his mother Melka Khâtûn. In the mean time the elder brother, who presided in the government of Jûnd on the Seyhûn at the period of his father's death, dispatched, on intelligence of that event, an agent to demand from Sûltan Shah the cession of a part of their father's dominions; to which, in reply, he received a peremptory refusal, and an Sultan Shah IVth of the Khaurezm Shahies.

* August, A. D. 1156. † Sixteenth of March, 1172.

A. H. 567-89. A. D. 1172-93. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

intimation that the sword alone must decide their claims. The Sûltan soon afterwards took the field at the head of a powerful army to anticipate the designs of his brother, who immediately retired for protection into Kàra Khâtay; the adjoining Tartarian territory, at this period under the government of a female. To this princess, provided through her assistance he should be enabled to reduce Khaurezm, Tukkesh Khaun engaged to remit from the revenues of that country, an annual proportion to a great amount; and the queen of Kârâ Khâtây acceding to his request, finally dispatched her own husband, to whom the historian has assigned the name of Kerma, with a prodigious force, to put the fugitive prince in possession of his father's dominions. The country was evacuated on their approach by Sûltan Shah, who withdrew to Neyshapûr, in the neighboring province of Khorassaun; on which, in the latter Rebbeia of the five hundred and sixty eighth of the Hidjerah, Tukkesh Khaun entered the capital of Khaurezm apparently without resistance. A contest, however, continued to be maintained between the two brothers, with unabated animosity, for a very protracted series of years, Sûltan Shah finding occasional support from the surrounding powers; until about the conclusion of his life, having succeeded in making himself master of some of the principal cities of Khorassaun, an accommodation was at last brought about with Tukkesh Khaun; who on the death of his brother, not long afterwards, namely on the thirteenth day of Ramzaun of the five hundred and eighty ninth*of the Hidjerah, became sole sovereign of the Khaurezmian dominions.

TUKKESH KHAUN the son of Ayeil Arslan, fifth of the Khaurezm Shahies.

TUKKESH KHAUN, Vth of the Khaurezm Shahies.

Tukkesh Khaun was proceeding for the last time into Khorassaun, at the commencement of the year five hundred and eighty nine, to chastize the ambitious spirit of his brother, when on his arrival at Abiwerd, he received from the governor of Serkhess, subject to the authority of Sûltan Shah, a dispatch with overtures of submission. On which Tukkesh Khaun hastened his march; but before he could procure an interview with Sûltan Shah, that prince had withdrawn to the

* Twenty seventh of September, 1193.

mansions of the dead; thus leaving the whole of Khorassaun, a possession no longer disputed, to his more fortunate brother. It was the intention of the Khaurezmian upon this, to confer the territory of Serkhess and Merû, upon his eldest son, Kûtbud-dein Mahommed; from which he suffered himself however to be dissuaded by Melek Shah a younger son, who solicited the government of these places for himself, Sûltan Mahommed being invested with that of Neyshapûr. This, at the expiration of a little time, Mahommed also committed to the same brother, repairing himself to the presence of his father in Khaurezm. A. H. 590. A. D. 1194. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

In the course of the five hundred and ninetieth of the Hidjerah,* in consequence of the defeat and death of Temghauje, his governor of Rey, and of an alleged infraction of treaty on the part of Sûltan Toghrel the Seljûkian, Tukkesh Khaun invaded Persian Irâk; and the greater part of that powerful province submitting to his authority, on the death of the Sultan as formerly described, he consigned the government of Isfahaun, together with the controul of all the feudatories dependent upon it, to his ally Kûtlûgh Eynaunje; the city and territory of Rey being, however, placed under the authority of his third son Yûness Khaun, with Meyajek for his Atabek or tutor. Tukkesh Khaun returned to pass the cold season in Khaurezm; but in the course of the ensuing spring, engaging in an expedition against Soghnauk, on the Seyhûn, the Khaun of the country advanced to oppose him; and, either through the treachery or cowardice of some of his principal commanders, gave him a total defeat, by which he was compelled to retire into Khaurezm, with disgrace and loss. On the other hand, Nausser-ud-dein Melek Shah, having delegated the government of Khorassaun to his son Arslan Shah, hastened to join his father; while Sunjur Shah, observing that province destitute of its presiding power, and abandoned to the discretion of the turbulent and disaffected, began to form designs subversive of the established authority. But, before he could carry those designs into execution, intelligence of his ambitious views being conveyed to Tukkesh Khaun, that monarch demanded his presence in Khaurezm, before he could be aware that his plans had been detected. On his arrival he was immediately deprived of sight, and

*A. D. 1194.

A. H. 590-93. A. D. 1194-97. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

then imprisoned; but after a short time he was, at the solicitation of the monarch's sister, set at large, and every pecuniary advantage restored to him.

Yûness Khaun being attacked, about the same period, by a complaint in his eyes, and failing of a cure at the metropolis of his government, proceeded into Khorassaun, leaving the province of Rey, with the authority of lieutenant, to the discretion of Meyajek. Encouraged by his absence on this occasion, Mûeyud-ud-dein, entitled Eben-ul-Kussaub (the butcher's boy) the Vezzeir of the Khâlif Ul Nausser, advanced by direction of his sovereign with the design of seizing Irâk, while Kûtlûgh Eynaunje, in order to defeat the enterprize, hastened to join Meyajek, and was unjustly put to death by that chief; his head being transmitted to Tukkesh Khaun, with the statement that he had been cut off in consequence of the discovery of some secret views of hostility, which he had been hatching against the authority of the Khaurezmian. Tukkesh Khaun, although he required no further proof of the contumacious disposition of his vassal, thought it advisable for the present to dissemble his resentment, and to confine his suspicions to his own breast, making the best of his way to the scene of danger. The Khalif's general died in the mean time on reaching Merûgaun: and the troops of Baghdâd, although they concealed the death of their leader, and evinced for some time a disposition at all hazards, to give battle to the Khaurezmian, ultimately besought his mercy, or dispersed in various directions. Having thus re-established his authority without much difficulty, Tukkesh Khaun appears to have directed his vengeance against the remains of the Khalif's general, which he caused to be torn from the grave, and the head to be struck off and conveyed into Khaurezm. Then placing one of his grandsons in the government of Isfahaun, the Khaurezmian returned to the capital of his hereditary dominions.

Nausser-ud-dein Melek Shah dying in the former Rebbeia, of the five hundred and ninety third of the Hidjerah,* his father, at the expiration of the customary period of mourning, deputed his other son *Mahommed*, together with Saud-ud-dein Mûssâoud his minister, to take

* February, 1197.

charge of the government of Khorassaun. Towards the close of the year five hundred and ninety four, the annunciation of independence in Persian Irâk, on the part of Meyajek, drew upon him without further delay the resentment of the Khaurezmian monarch; at whose approach the usurper immediately chose to fly. He fell however into the hands of the troops employed to pursue him, although his life was spared at the intercession of his brother; and his punishment remitted to a twelve months imprisonment, at the expiration of which he was to withdraw to Jûnd, there to pass the remainder of his days in exile.

A. H. 594-96. A. D. 1198-1200. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Before he returned into Khaurezm from this expedition, Tukkesh Khaun employed his troops to reduce the fortress of Arslangûshâi in the neighborhood of Kazvein, belonging to the Ismauilians of Almowut; which, after a siege of some months, the garrison agreed to evacuate, on being allowed to retire to the metropolis of the sect. On the attainment of this object, the Khaurezmian, after placing the government of Irâk Ajem under the authority of a fourth son, Tauje-ud-dein Ally Shah, withdrew into his hereditary dominions. Thus were matters circumstanced when Saud-ud-dein Mûssâoud, the Vezzeir, falling by the knife of one of the Ismauilians, the resentment of the Khaurezmian was afresh awakened at the intelligence; and his son Kûtbud-dein Mahommed, subsequent monarch of Khaurezm, received his instructions to proceed immediately with a competent force, to attack and demolish the whole of the castles, and other receptacles of these sanguinary zealots, from Tersheiz on the western boundary of Khorassaun, to the utmost limits of their country. In conformity with his instructions, the Shahzâdah commenced his operations with the siege of Tersheiz; during which his principal standard one day being thrown down, in a manner that no person could account for, it was immediately considered as an omen that foreboded some serious evil; and accordingly intelligence soon afterwards reached him that his father was dead.

Tukkesh Khaun had been attacked, in the course of the five hundred and ninety sixth of the Hidjerah, by a quinsey, or inflammation in the throat; but of this, in a little time, his physicians succeeded, as they thought, in effecting his cure; and he was on his march from Khaurezm to join in the war against the Ismauilians, when, on reach-

A. H. 596-607. A. D. 1200-10. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaar.

ing the station called the well of the Arabs, he experienced a fresh attack of his complaint, which carried him to his grave at the age of fifty two, and after an eventful and splendid reign of eight and twenty years.

Sûltan MAHOMMED the son of Tukkesh Khaun, sixth of the Khaurezm Shahies.

On intelligence of his fathers's dissolution, Sûltan Mahommed immediately abandoned the siege of Tersheiz; and hastening into Khaurezm with the celerity of lightning, he was triumphantly conducted into the capital, by the nobles and the principal Ameirs of the government; by whom, on the twentieth of Shavaul of the five hundred and ninety sixth of the Hidjerah,* he was quietly seated on the throne of the Khaurezmians.

SULTAN MAHOMMED VIth of the Khaurezm Shâhies.

He had, however, been scarcely well settled on his throne, when the province of Khorassaun was wrested from him, by the Sûltans Gheyauth-ud-dein, and Shahaub-ud-dein the Ghûrians. For the recovery of this important province, Sûltan Mahommed engaged in an arduous and protracted contest with the two brothers, during which, in most of the actions which took place, he was victorious. On the subsequent death of both the adverse Sûltans, he finally subdued to the authority of his exchequer, the greater part of the countries of which they had forcibly usurped the possession.

Towards the commencement of the six hundred and seventh of the Hidjerah, Sûltan Mahommed had, however, not only reduced the whole of Khorassaun, but by far the greater part of the other provinces of the Persian empire. The views of the Khaurezmian, his mind being now at rest with respect to his conquests westward, were then directed to the reduction of Tûrkestaun; and to a war with Gûrkhaun, the monarch of Kâra Khâtây, or black, or central Tartary. With that design he accordingly crossed the Oxus, and invested Bokhâra; of which he soon after made himself master, putting the governor who had recently usurped his authority, to the sword. He proceeded next to Samarkand, and the governor, Sûltan Othman, hastening to meet him, and voluntarily enrolling himself in the list of his retainers, he acquired possession of that city without further obstacle. Having secured these two important acquisitions, Sûltan Mahommed advanced without fur-

* Second of August, 1200.

ther delay, and in great force towards the territory of Gûrkhaun; by whom an army not less formidable, under Taynkû Terauz, the principal minister, and most distinguished general of the empire, was employed to oppose the invaders. On one of the Fridays in the former Rebbeia, of the six hundred and seventh of the Hidjerah* the Khaurezmians and Kâra Khatayans came to a decisive battle; which terminated in the total defeat of the latter, and in the captivity of their general. In consequence of this signal victory, the city of *Otraur* submitted to Sûltan Mahommed; who, after taking possession, and placing it in charge of an officer in whose fidelity he could confide, returned towards Samarkand, and ultimately into Khaurezm; where he caused the captive general of the Kara Khatayans, who had preceded him, to be put to death.

A. H. 607-10. A. D. 1210-13. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Not long after this, he received however intelligence that the city of Samarkand was closely invested by the Kârakhatayans, although the garrison, in seventy two conflicts in which they had been engaged with their besiegers, were said to have been only once beaten. The Sûltan proceeded without delay to the relief of that celebrated metropolis; and the Karakhatayans, receiving at the same time intelligence of his approach, and of the revolt of Kûshlek, a prince of the royal blood of Tûrkestaun, hastily broke up the siege, and withdrew to their own country. The Khaurezmian now encamped near Samarkand; and was employed in augmenting the numbers, and completing the equipments of his army, when the agents of Kûshlek presented themselves, for the purpose of negociating an alliance with him; and a treaty was without much difficulty concluded on the spot, by which it was agreed, that if the Khaurezmian succeeded in first subjugating the power of the Kârakhatayan monarch, the whole of the country extending to Kashghâr and Khoten should be ceded to his authority; on the contrary, that the whole of the territory westward to the Seyhûn, or river of Finauket, should belong to the Tartar Sûltan, provided he outstripped his ally in the successful prosecution of the war. Subsequent to the ratification of this treaty, two battles were fought between Gûrkhaun and Kûshlek, in one of which the latter was victorious, in the other vanquished. Sûltan Mahommed, when his arrangements were complete, next proceeded to attack the Khaun; but, in the battle which ensued,

* September 1210.

A. H. 610-11. A. D. 1213-14. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

through a misunderstanding, as far as the passage is intelligible, between the white and blue sects (seffeid, kabûd jamahgaun) and some others of his principal generals, the army of the Sûltan suffered a considerable check. The field being however obscured by an enormous cloud of dust, it became impossible to discriminate the victors from the vanquished; and both armies being at the same time struck with a panic, immediately fled in different directions. In these circumstances, the Khaurezmian, attended by a few of his guards, found himself when he least expected it, in the camp of his adversary; but being disguised, according to a practice which it seems he some times adopted, in the uniform of the enemy, his person was fortunately not recognised; and thus escaping the most imminent danger of captivity, he made good his retreat to the river of Finauket, where he rejoined his troops without further accident. Shortly afterwards he returned into Khaurezm, in order to recruit his losses and restore the equipments of his army.

In the course of the six hundred and eleventh of the Hidjerah,* on suspicion of an illicit intercourse with his mother, the Sûltan, in a fit of inebriation, put to death a certain religious devotee of the name of Mejid-ud-dein Baghdâdy, who had settled in his dominions; but the next day repenting of his rashness, he endeavored to atone for the act by conveying to Shaikh Nûdjm-ud-dein, another religious individual of the time, a cup of gold, which he however declined to accept. The same year, receiving intelligence of the death of Tauje-ud-dein Yeldûz, who had succeeded to the government of Ghaznîn, on the demise of Shahâb-ud-dein the Ghourian, and that one of the slaves had seated himself on the throne of his master, Sûltan Mahommed was seized with the desire of subjugating the metropolis of Sebekteggin; and accordingly proceeded, with the necessary expedition, at the head of his troops for that quarter. He effected the reduction of Ghaznîn with the territory dependent upon it, without much difficulty; and in examining the repository of Sûltan Shahaub-ud-dein's treasures, he found among the archives of the government certain letters addressed to that prince, under the signature of the Khalif Ul Nausser, which sufficiently attested that he had been the principal, if not sole cause of the hostilities

* A. D. 1214

in which the Ghourian had engaged with Sûltan Mahommed. A circumstance which produced, in the Khaurezmian, no slight augmentation to the displeasure with which he was already affected towards the representative of the house of Abbas. A. H. 614. A. D. 1217. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE

In consequence of this, in the six hundred and fourteenth of the Hidjerah, having previously procured from the Imaums, or sacerdotal order of his government, a decree or Fetva, declaring in substance that the house of Abbas having, by its pernicious example, given a sanction to the most unlawful practices, and long since discontinued to advance the interests of Islâm by the sword, or by war against the infidels, it was become the duty of any prince who possessed the means of accomplishing it, (in order that justice might resume her proper seat) to restore the dignity of the Imaumut to the Seyuds of the race of Hûsseyne, the Khaurezmian publicly pledged his allegiance to Seyud Allâ-ul-mûlk Termedy, and commenced his march for Baghdâd. For reasons formerly stated, he was, however, constrained to abandon his design. He had not yet passed through the territory of Irâk Ajem, when the dispatches reached him from Ghayr Khaun the governor of Otraur, soliciting his sanction for the death of some of the subjects of *Jengueiz*, who had appeared at that city for the purpose, as they professed, of trade.

The nature of the incident, which produced in its consequences such dreadful effects, is thus briefly explained. The public tranquillity, and the security of general intercourse had attained to so enviable a pitch towards the conclusion of the reign of Sûltan Mahommed, that the merchant, with a confidence which feared no molestation, and for a very moderate profit, might venture to convey his commodities from the remotest limits of the east, to the extremities of the west; and every species of apparel bearing at that period the most advantageous prices in the extensive encampments and armies of Jengueiz, a certain Ahmed Khojendy, with other merchants of his class, availing themselves of the opportunity to enrich themselves, hastened to transport a large assortment of silk, and linen goods, to so profitable a market. They experienced from Jengueiz the kindest treatment, and the most liberal encouragement; and that great conqueror, when they were on their return to their own country, directed

A. H. 614. A. D. 1217. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

that the princes, his sons, and his most distinguished Ameirs, should each select from among his servants two persons, with a sufficient sum of money, to accompany these merchants; for the purpose of procuring an investment of the articles which might be thought best suited to the demands of his people. Four hundred and fifty individuals of the Mahommedan religion were accordingly chosen for the expedition, and furnished with a very great supply of treasure, to carry on a speculation which seemed to promise such extensive reciprocal advantages. They were further entrusted with a message, conceived in the most friendly and conciliatory language, from Jengueiz to Sûltan Mahommed, proposing that the system of jealousy and reserve, which had hitherto subsisted between them, might be exchanged for one of confidence and unanimity.

When this peaceable body of merchants reached Otraur, they proceeded to visit Aynaljek the governor, who bore the title of Ghayr Khaun. Unfortunately, one of the party, an old acquaintance of the governor's, presumed on the strength of former intimacy to address him by his original name; and this occasioned such offence, that a design was immediately formed on the part of the same governor to cut them all off, and seize their treasure. He first however imprisoned the whole, dispatching an agent to represent to Sûltan Mahommed, then in Irâk, that certain spies in the employment of Jengueiz Khaun had appeared in the territory under his jurisdiction; and to request instructions in what manner to proceed with them. Without the slightest reflection on the consequences which might be the result, the Khaurezmian sent orders that they should be put to death; which with as little compunction, the governor of Otraur carried into immediate execution. One of the merchants escaping, however, from the very place of execution, conveyed to Jengueiz a full account of this atrocious proceeding; on which that monarch, with great apparent moderation, dispatched an embassy to demand reparation for the injury, and to request that the author of it might be delivered up to him for punishment. Sûltan Mahommed impelled by his evil destiny, and with a barbarity which hastened his downfal, caused the embassador to be also put to death.

The indignation of Jengueiz on receipt of this piece of intelligence, it would perhaps be easier to imagine than describe. And it was on this occasion that he ascended the hill in the neighborhood of his principal encampment, and earnestly implored the aid of the supreme being, in the prosecution of a just vengeance; when hearing a sound or noise, which he considered as indicative of the success of his design, he hastened to carry it into execution; and with an army as numerous as the sands on the desert of Khaurezm, entered on that war, on which he had now irrevocably determined against Sûltan Mahommed, to whom he at the same time dispatched a final message, announcing his approach. A. H. 614-17. A. D. 1217-20. Kholaussut ul-akhbaur.

The Khaurezmian on his part, leaving his son Rokken-ud-dein Ghûrsantchei to preside in Irâk, hastened without delay to meet the danger; but, on his arrival at Neyshapûr, immersed, in a manner to which he does not hitherto appear to have been accustomed, in wine and debauch, he delayed his march for the space of a month. He proceeded, however, at last across the Oxûs to Bokhâra; in the precincts of which he suffered himself to be again seduced into the same fatal and unbecoming excesses, so ill suited to the tremendous crisis which was approaching. In these circumstances he learnt that Tûkeia, or Tûkna Khaun,* one of the princes of Tûrkestaun, was in motion either to join him, or to oppose the advance of the Moghûls, and that he was directing his march for Jûnd, on the Seyhûn; and soon afterwards becoming further apprized that a division of the Moghûl troops under Jûjy Khaun, the eldest of the four sons of Jengueiz, was in quest of the Tartar chief, he took, with a part of his army, the same direction; and being ultimately joined, at Samarkand, by the remainder, proceeded with all celerity to Jûnd. As he continued his march from the latter place, the Khaurezmian, in a position between the chanels of two rivers, was rather surprized at observing the ground covered with the slain of a recent battle; from among which a wounded man was discovered, who informed him, that Tûkeia Khaun had been attacked by the troops of Jengueiz; and that the latter, after a dreadful slaughter of the Tartars, were now proceeding to rejoin the camp

* This was probably the prince of the Mekreit, who had separated from Koushluk, Khaun of the Naymans.

A. H. 614-17. A. D. 1217-20. Khonaussu ul-akhbaur.

of their sovereign. Sûltan Mahommed upon [illegible] delay in pursuit of the Moghûls, whom, in the course of the following day, he came up with, and immediately prepared to engage. Jûjy Khaun and his officers are said, on this occasion, to have made known to the Sûltan, that they were not exactly authorized to give him battle; nevertheless, if he was determined to become the aggressor, that they should not decline the conflict. The Sûltan, however, immediately attacked them with equal fury and impetuosity, while the Moghûls resisted with immoveable firmness from sunrise until night. Then kindling innumerable fires in their camp, to deceive their adversaries, they retired to join the main body of their army under Jengueiz in person; who upon this accelerated his march for the territories on the Oxus.

Sûltan Mahommed on the proof which he had thus just experienced of the prowess and discipline of the Moghûls, gave way on the other hand to the most discouraging apprehensions, and retreated without further effort immediately to Samarkand. Here his alarms were not a little augmented, and his judgment entirely bewildered by a declaration of the astrologers, that the unfavorable aspect of the heavenly bodies rendered it advisable to avoid, during the present year, a second conflict with his enemies. At this period we are told, that there were assembled under the immediate command of the Khaurezmian, not much less than four hundred thousand horse; all of whom, however, he now broke up into detachments, and dispersed to the different quarters of his dominions, he himself taking the direction of Khorassaun. And it is here said that in crossing the ditch of Samarkand on his departure, he should have observed to his attendants, that the armies which sought his destruction were in number so prodigious, that they could fill that ditch by merely casting their whips into it. An expression which effectually destroyed the confidence, and broke the spirit of every class of his subjects. He transmitted at the same time instructions to his mother Tûrkan Khâtûn, in Khaurezm, to convey the whole of his family, women and children, towards Mazanderaun; which she immediately carried into execution, first casting several of the younger princes into the Jeyhûn, and then prosecuting her journey without incumbrance towards the province assigned for her retreat.

In the mean time, the fears of the Sûltan daily gaining ground upon him, he proceeded to deliberate with his confidential ministers on the measures which it might be advisable to pursue, under these accumulating difficulties. By the more judicious and discreet it was proposed to him, to abandon the whole of the territory eastward of the Jeyhûn, to concentrate his armies in the most advantageous positions, and on that river to defend the approaches to Khorassaun and Irâk against the enemy. By others, however, he was advised to withdraw immediately towards Gheznîn and Hindûstaun, there to secure himself against the designs of his adversaries; and to this latter counsel the Sûltan immediately subscribed. But, when he had proceeded in concurrence as far ás Bâlkh, he was overtaken by Emmaud-ud-dein Sâwjy, the agent of his son Rokken-ud-dein; who prevailed upon him to abandon that design, and take the direction of Persian Irâk. The gallant and intrepid Jullaul-ud-dein Meng, or Mûngberny, had on the former occasion, in vain made use of every argument to persuade his father, to abide by the more judicious plan of defending the passes of the Jeyhûn, against the troops of Jengueiz; and he now renewed his intreaties, if it was his final resolution to withdraw into Irâk, that the bulk of the army might be left under his orders, in prosecution of the same plan of operations, but without effect.

A. H. 617. A. D. 1220. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

The Sûltan, on returning into Khorassaun on this occasion, learnt that the Moghûls had reduced Bokhâra, which hastened his retreat to Neyshapûr; during which a body of Kankûlians, a Tatar tribe of that name that served in his armies, deserted his standard and went over to Jengueiz. He arrived, however, at Neyshapûr in the month of Suffur of the six hundred and seventeenth of the Hidjerah;* and once more by the fumes of intoxication, attempted to dispel the apprehension of impending evil. In this situation intelligence reached him, that Hubbah Nûyan and Soweidâi Bahauder had crossed the Amûvah or lower Oxus, with a division of thirty thousand men; on which, abandoning all further hope of retaining his power, the Sûltan withdrew from Neyshapûr by the route of Esfrayein; leaving instructions that his mother with his family and younger children, should secure an asylum, either in the fortress of Kârûndezh, or in that of Eblaul, or Yellaula. He found, however, on reaching the boundaries of Rey, that the Moghûl troops

* April, A. D. 1220.

A. H. 617. A. D. 1220. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

were in close pursuit of him; and he now repented of his plan of retreating into Irâk, immediately turning off towards the castle of Kazvein, or perhaps Farzein, under the walls of which he received information of the capture and destruction of the city of Rey. He then continued his flight towards Kârûndezh, the whole of his followers dispersing on the road; and having unexpectedly fallen in with a party of Moghûls, from whom he contrived to escape however, with the loss of his horse, which was mortally wounded by an arrow, in this deserted state he reached Kârûndezh. From that place, perpetually exposed to be intercepted by his pursuers, who beset his movements in every direction, he proceeded into Guilaun: but after remaining there for the space of seven days, he again changed the direction of his flight; and wandering eastward along the shore of the Caspian, with the intention of making his way to Asterabad, he came to a town dependent on Amûl; from whence he threw himself for protection into one of the islands in the neighborhood. His residence becoming, however, known to the Moghûls, he was at last compelled to remove for further security to another island; one of those denominated the islands of Absekûn, or Abeskûn.

Shortly after the Sûltan had conveyed himself to this his last retreat, his pursuers also appeared in the neighborhood; but conceiving that he was at present inaccessible, they returned upon their steps, and laid siege to Kârûndezh, which they reduced and levelled to the ground; the infant children and treasures of the Khaurezmian here falling into their hands. They next invested the fortress of Eblaul, where, from other authorities, it would appear that the dowager princess, Tûrkan Khâtûn, had taken up her abode. During the siege, by a fatality unexampled in the annals of the country, the occasional rains from which the cisterns derived their supply of water, entirely ceased; and the wells and tanks being dried up in a period as short, as unexpected, the garrison and inhabitants were reduced to the utmost distress; and the unfortunate Khâtûn, with Nausser-ud-dein the Vezzeir, and the other parched and exhausted associates of her destiny, was ultimately compelled to descend from her otherwise impregnable bulwarks, and surrender to the mercy of the barbarians. This fatal resolution had scarcely been carried into effect, before it began to rain

in such abundance, that the water is said to have flowed in torrents from the gates of the place. An immense booty fell into the hands of the besiegers, including, in particular, ten millions of meskals, or methkals, of gold, a thousand ass loads of silken goods, and jewels to a prodigious amount; all of which, together with the unfortunate captives, they immediately conveyed to the camp of Jengueiz, by whom, for the most part, they were put to death without distinction of sex or age. A. H. 617. A. D. 1220. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Sûltan Mahommed did not long survive the communication of this afflicting intelligence; his despair and grief were violent in the extreme; and perhaps not the less so, because his misfortunes had been brought upon himself, by acts of repeated and unwarrantable perfidy. He found, however, in death, a secure repose from his apprehensions, and an effectual rescue from the vengeance of his pursuers. His attendants, unable to procure a shroud for the remains of their sovereign, were constrained to commit him to the grave in the same dress that he wore at the period of dissolution; which is here stated to have taken place in one of the months of the six hundred and seventeenth of the Hidjerah, after a reign of one and twenty years.* he is said to have left seven sons; of three of whom, the Sûltans, Rokken-ud-dein, Gheyauth-ud-dein, and Jullaul-ud-dein, the memory has been preserved by historians; and of these in their order.

Sûltan Rokken-ud-dein GHURSANTCHEI, son of Sûltan Mahommed.

As soon as his father had withdrawn into the islands of Abeskûn, this prince, retired into Kermaun; and having there obtained possession of the treasures of Melek Zûzen, he resolved on an attempt to make himself master of Isfahaun. But being as resolutely opposed by the inhabitants, he was driven from before that city, with the loss of one thousand of his followers. Then directing his march by way of Rey towards Feyrouzkôh, in the mountainous boundary of Mazanderaun, north eastward of the beforementioned city, he succeeded in making good his retreat to that fortress. It was however no sooner known that Rokken-ud-dein had thrown himself into Feyrouzkoh, than it was invested, and, after a siege of six months, reduced by the Moghûls. When conducted by his besiegers to the presence of their general, the, SULTAN ROKKEN UD DEIN.

* The closing scene of the life of Mahommed the Kharezmian is circumstantially described by the elder Petis de la Croix, in his history of Genghizcan the great.

A. H. 619-27. A. D. 1222-30. Kholaussut-ul-akhbanr.

captive Sûltan aware that, at all events, his death was determined upon, resolutely withstood every importunity, to make him bend the knee to his conqueror; and he was, on the spot, together with all those who hadadhered to his fortunes, sacrificed to the implacable vengeance of the Jengueizians. This event appears to have taken place during the six hundred and nineteenth of the Hidjerah.

Sûltan Gheyauth-ud-dein SHEIR SHAH, son of Sûltan Mahommed, hastened also on the death of his father, into Kermaun, which he appears to have held in Jâgueir; but of which the immediate government was at this period in the hands of Abûl Kaussem Zûzeny, who opposed in arms the entrance of the Shâhzâdah. The latter was compelled in consequence to take up a wandering life in different parts of Irâk, until joined by Borâk Haujeb; a Kârakhatayan by extraction, who had long served in the armies of his father, and who now united himself with a considerable force to the destiny of the son. Thus strengthened, Sûltan Gheyauth-ud-dein entered Farss; and having defeated Atabek Saud the governor, and carried pillage and slaughter through the province, returned again into Persian Irâk. In the mean time, Borâk Haujeb and his followers were endeavoring to force their way through Kermaun with the design of proceeding towards the Indus, when their march was intercepted by Abûl Kaussem the Zûzenian; who was, however, taken prisoner in the enterprize, and immediately put to death by his conqueror. Borâk Haujeb now entered into quiet possession of Kermaun.

SULTAN GHEYAUTH-UD-DEIN.

On the other hand, Gheyauth-ud-dein had proceeded on his separation from the Kârakhatayan, in the direction of Rey, where he found means to establish his abode; and there he was, not long afterwards, unexpectedly joined by his brother Jullaul-ud-dein, on his return from Hindûstaun. The two princes had continued to reside together under the same roof in considerable harmony, when unfortunately one day in a fit of inebriety, and for some reason not explained, Gheyauth-ud-dein plunged his knife into the bosom of Melek Nussret, an officer of the household, and much in the confidence of Jullaul-ud-dein. This produced a severe expostulation on the part of that prince, and Gheyauth-ud-dein, a few days afterwards, fled into Khûzistaun, and ultimately to Baghdâd; where he was kindly and hospita-

bly received by the Khalif of the house of Abbas, (Ul Mûstunser). A. H. 617-27. A. D. 1220-30.
He quitted Baghdâd, however, without apparent reason, and proceeded towards Almowut; but from the latter place returning once more into Khûzistaun, he dispatched an agent to Borâk Haujeb to demand his permission to repair into Kermaun. The agent returned to Gheyauth-ud-dein, after experiencing a reception favorable to his wishes; and with a treaty of amity which the Kârakhatayan had agreed to conclude with the fugitive Sûltan. Gheyauth-ud-dein proceeded upon this, without apprehension, into Kermaun; but in one of his very first visits, he was destined to experience considerable mortification from the haughty demeanor, and imperious assumptions of the Kârakhâtayan; who made no scruple to require that the Sûltan's mother should be assigned to him in wedlock. During one of the interviews which took place between them, the Sûltan ventured to demand of his host, who it was that had bestowed upon him those circumstances of pomp and splendor, so ostentatiously displayed about his person? "That being," replied Borâk Haujeb, "who wrested their empire "from the race of Sâman, and transferred it to their slaves, the sons "of Sebekteggin; who stripped the house of Seljûk of its imperial "splendors, to bestow them also upon its slaves, the kings of Khaur-"ezm." The insolence of the Kârakhâtayan became, however, at last so overbearing and undisguised, that some of his own kindred proceeded to represent to the Sûltan, that it was impossible to place any reliance on the engagements of their relative; and that if they were permitted, they would drag him like a slave to the presence of his master. From an extreme indolence of disposition, Gheyauth-ud-dein declined to concur in the design; and as the subject of what had passed was soon disclosed to the Kârakhâtayan, he first of all cut off his officious kinsmen, then strangled his unfortunate guest; and when the mother gave a loose to her sorrows, for the destruction of her son, she was also dispatched to accompany him to the other world. This event appears to have occurred in the six hundred and twenty-seventh of the Hidjerah.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Sûltan JULLAUL-UD-DEIN Mûngberny, or Mengberny, son of Sûltan Mahommed, last of the Khaurezm-Shâhy dinasty.

A. H. 618-28. A. D. 1221-31. Kholaussut-ul-akhbanr.

Having witnessed the circumstances of his father's dissolution, in the island of Abeskûn, Jullaul-ud-dein appears to have proceeded immediately into Khaurezm, which had not as yet been invaded by the Moghûls. At this period a body of ninety thousand horse of the Kankûly nation had occupied the heart of the province, of whom, on his arrival, a part offered to place themselves under the authority of the Shah Zâdah; others, however, evinced a disposition entirely hostile to his views. Taking every thing into consideration, the Sûltan thought it therefore advisable to avoid all intercourse with that perfidious tribe; and with a remnant of his most faithful adherents, conceived it accordingly more prudent to retire, by the way of Nissa, towards Shâdmaukh. On his march he fell in with, and, after an action which continued for the whole of the day, finally succeeded in effecting his escape, from a division of Moghûl troops, to the place of his destination. He remained, however, at Shâdmaukh not more than three days, at the end of which he prosecuted his retreat to the metropolis of Ghezníu, where he contrived soon after his arrival, to assemble a very numerous and formidable body of troops; and with these, in the spring of the year, (618 probably) he encamped at a station called Barauny, or Birouan, said to be one day's journey from Ghezníu,

JULLAUL-UD-DEIN, last of the Khaurezm-shâhies.

While he lay encamped at this station, intelligence was conveyed to Jullaul-ud-dein, that a division of the Moghûls, under Begjek and Yemghûr, two of the Jenguizian generals, was besieging the fortress of Waulian, and that the garrison was reduced to the last extremity. The brave prince, without hesitation, determined to relieve the place; and marching accordingly with all the expedition in his power, he came upon, and immediately attacked the Moghûls, put a thousand of them to the sword, dispersed the remainder, and returned in triumph to Barauny. Jengueiz, at this time engaged in the siege of Bamian, dispatched, on intelligence of the defeat, two more of his most distinguished generals at the head of thirty thousand men, to give battle to the Khaurezmian, whom they found in his camp. A conflict immediately ensued, in which the Sûltan was again victorious; the Moghûls being cut to pieces in great numbers, and the remainder retiring with disgrace and loss to the presence of their sovereign.

Jengueiz now determined to proceed in person to attack Jullaul-ud-dein. But, a dispute on the subject of a horse having in the mean time arisen in the camp of the Khaurezmian, between two of his principal generals, Seyf-ud-dein Eghrauk, and Mêlek Meraut, the former quitted the army without permission, and, with a great part of the Sûltan's troops, went off towards the mountains of Sekrauk. Thus weakened, the Sûltan was compelled to break up from his camp and retire towards Ghezniân, whither he was immediately pursued by the Moghûl monarch. On his arrival before that capital Jengueiz, however, found that the Sûltan was continuing his retreat towards Hindûstaun; and he therefore, on his part, determined not to slacken in his pursuit. Accordingly in the month of Rudjub,* of the six hundred and eighteenth of the Hidjerah, at the mûabber, or passage, of the Indus, he came up with the army of Jullaul-ud-dein, which he formed an immediate disposition to assail; the stream of the Indus composing the string, of which his line of battle was the bow. In these circumstances, with the swords of the implacable Moghûls in his front, and an unfordable torrent in his rear, the brave Khaurezmian attacked his pursuers with unparalleled gallantry, cutting them to pieces in great numbers. Disclaiming all idea of flattery, the author, indeed, asserts that Jullaul-ud-dein exhibited, on that decisive day, such unexampled proofs of courage and intrepidity, as might have excited the admiration and envy of Rûstum and Asfendiaur, the most renowned heroes of Persian story. But, the countless multitudes of the enemy continuing to press upon him from every side, he was at last in imminent danger of being taken; when by a final effort, having repulsed his assailants to a convenient distance for the accomplishment of his design, he retired to the bank of the river; and throwing off his armour, he plunged his horse into the rapid stream, and miraculously effected his passage to the other side. Continuing to ride along the bank of the river, he proceeded until he came to a spot from whence, on the opposite side, he perceived the enemy plundering his camp; and Jengueiz was himself standing at the same time on the bank, observing the actions of the princely fugitive. Jullaul-ud-dein

A. H. 618-28.
A. D. 1221-31.
Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

* Sept. A. D. 1221.

A. H. 618-29. A. D. 1221-31. Kholaussut-ul akhbaur.

now dismounted very deliberately, and taking the saddle and other furniture from his horse, he laid them, together with his own tunic and habiliments, in the sun to dry; then unfolding his umbrella, he quietly sat down to repose himself under the shade. All this passed under the immediate observation of Jengueiz, who could not forbear expressing his admiration in terms of the warmest applause. "Like "a lion invincible," he exclaimed, "in the conflict of the field of "battle; like an alligator unterrified in the foaming stream, no father "could ever boast a son like this!"

In short, having thus narrowly escaped across the Indus, Jullaul-ud-dein took up his abode for two days, in an adjoining forest, until his retreat was discovered by about fifty of his troops, who once more attached themselves to his person; when, causing his small party to furnish themselves with clubs, he one night fell upon, and surprised a banditti of Hindûs who infested the neighborhood; and having destroyed the greater part, was thus enabled to supply his followers with horses and arms, which, in swimming the river, they had been compelled to sacrifice. His party became now daily more numerous and formidable; and during a period of two years, in which he continued to the eastward of the Indus, he succeeded in making many extensive and valuable conquests in that quarter; and in repairing among the unfortunate natives, the losses which he had sustained by the irruption of the Moghûls. At the expiration of this period he formed the design of recovering Irâk Ajem: and with that object accordingly led his troops through Kutch and Mekraun, to the borders of Kermaun, where he arrived in the early part of of the six hundred and twenty first of the Hidjerah.* He experienced at first a very hospitable reception from Borâk Haujeb, who was by this time in possession of the province; and whose daughter, in order to secure his friendship, he condescended to take for his bride, the nuptials being celebrated in the castle of Kermaun. In the short lapse of two days, however, the Sûltan, proceeding to the neighboring plains, to amuse himself with the recreations of the chace, found that the Kârakhâtayan had remained behind in the city, under the pretence of a pain in his feet.

* The Spring of 1224.

This led to the suspicion that his designs were hostile; and a message was dispatched by the Sûltan to state, that it was his resolution to depart, without further delay, on his expedition for the recovery of Irâk; but that entertaining the highest opinion of his judgment and experience, he was desirous of advising with him on the arrangements which might best promote the design; and he therefore requested that he would for this purpose repair for a short time to his camp. The Kârakhâtayan sent to inform him in reply, that the only arrangement which he had to recommend, was to proceed immediately towards Irâk, since the resources of Kermaun would not subsist his troops any longer. Moreover, that if the Sûltan made any attempt to re-enter the gates of Kermaun, he would find them closed against him. With this reply he dismissed the messenger; and having expelled the whole of the Sultan's troops who had been admitted into the town, he immediately secured the gates against any violence on the part of that prince.

A. H. 621-28. A. D. 1224-31. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

With means inadequate to enforce reparation for this breach of duty and hospitality, Jullaul-ud-dein took the road towards Farss; the governor of which, Atabek Saud the son of Zengui, sending one of his sons with suitable presents to conduct him to Shirauz, and adding moreover, one of his daughters to the list of the Sûltan's wives. Jullaul-ud-dein, found it expedient with a good grace to confirm the Atabek in his authority; in the mean time, directing his own attention, in every possible way, to promote the welfare and happiness of every class of his followers. Subsequent to this, he led them to Tustur in Khûzistaun, and there established his winter quarters. From thence at the opening of the spring,* he proceeded towards Baghdàd, in the hope of obtaining assistance from the Khalif Ul Nausser; but, from a resentment long cherished towards his family, a body of twenty thousand horse was immediately dispatched by that monarch, under Koushtemûr, to expel the Sûltan from his territories. Apprized of the design, Jullaul-ud-dein determined, without hesitation, to abide a conflict with this commander; whom, notwithstanding the disparity of force, he succeeded in defeating. He was, however, now constrained to alter the direction of his march; and he proceeded for Teb-

* A. D. 1225.

A. H. 622-28. A. D. 1225-31. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

reiz, at this period under the government of Atabek Ouzbek, the son of Jahaun Pehelwaun Mahommed. The Atabek conceived it most prudent to throw himself into the fortress of Alanjek, and to leave his capital to the discretion of his wife, Melka Khâtûn, a princess of the house of Seljûk. Jullaul-ud-dein appeared before Tebreiz, some time in the six hundred and twenty second of the Hidjerah,* and immediately laid siege to that ancient and celebrated city.† While operations were carrying on for the reduction of the town, the princess Melka one day making a tour of the ramparts, happened to cast her eyes upou Jullaul-ud-dein, with whose person she became immediately and violently enamoured; aud pretending to have been divorced by her husband, contrived through the intervention of Kauzy Ezz-ud-dein, the Kazvinian, to espouse the object of her new-born passion; to whom the city was of course surrendered without further resistance. Atabek Ouzbek could not survive the intelligence, which was soon conveyed to him, of the perfidy and ingratitude of his libidinous wife.

Thus master of Azerbayjaun, through the treacherous surrender of its capital, Jullaul-ud-dein next engaged in hostilities with the Georgians; in a second and final expedition against whom, he reduced the city of Teflis. While he still remained at that place, information reached him that Borâk Haujeb was on his march to invade Irâk; and it was on this occasion that the Sûltan, in the short space of seventeen days, conducted his troops from Teflis to the frontiers of Kermaun; where the hostile chief was compelled to purchase his forbearance by presents of the most splendid and costly description, and by apologies the most submissive to atone for the recent aggression. Upon this the Khaurezmian repaired to Isfahaun; but when he had continued there a few days, intelligence was conveyed to him of the ravages committed on the borders of Azerbayjaun, by a certain Haujeb, or Hadjy Ally, employed in the government of Ekhlaut by Mêlek Ashruf, prince of Damascus; and, what was still more agravating, he further learnt, that his consort, that paragon of fidelity and purity, the virtuous Melka Khâtûn, had withdrawn from Tebreiz to Ekhlaut;

* A. D. 1225.

† It is sometimes supposed to have risen from the ruins of Ecbatana. At others this honor is assigned to Hamadaun.

where she maintained an unchaste and abandoned intercourse with the new governor. A. H. 625-28. A. D. 1228-31.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

In order to avenge himself of these accumulated injuries, Jullaul-ud-dein returned without delay into Azerbayjaun; but, after having carried pillage and slaughter to the gates of Ekhlaut, he there learnt, to his infinite mortification, that the Moghûls were advancing upon Irâk; and he was unwillingly constrained to postpone, to another opportunity, the reduction of that place, in order to make head against the implacable adversaries of his house. In a battle which ensued with the Moghûls, he was, however, defeated, and compelled to retire with some precipitation into Isfahaun; where he proceeded to disgrace some of his officers, who had been remiss in their exertions in the recent conflict, by exposing them through the streets in the habits of women, while he distinguished, with commands and honors, those who had faithfully discharged their duty.

In the six hundred and twenty-fifth of the Hidjerah,* instead of opposing an unavailing resistance to the growing ascendancy of the Moghûls, Jullaul-ud-dein seems to have preferred engaging in another invasion of the Georgians, of whom he is stated to have put great numbers to the sword; and having otherwise obtained some signal advantages in that province, he proceeded in the triumph of his victories, to resume the siege of Ekhlaut. Of that place, after considerable resistance, he at last completed the reduction, and being singularly irritated by the conduct of the governor, he issued orders that his soldiers should be permitted, from the hour of sunrise to the forenoon's repast, to satiate themselves with pillage and slaughter; the survivors of the massacre were then spared; but he retaliated without scruple on the wife of Haujeb Ally, the outrage offered to his bed by that chieftain.

The reduction of Ekhlaut appears to have revived in a considerable degree, the renown which Jullaul-ud-dein had acquired by former exploits; and yet he had not quitted the vicinity of that place, when information was communicated to him, that an alliance had been formed against him between Alla-ud-dein Key Kobaud Sûltan of Anatolia, and

* A. D. 1228.

A. H. 625-28. A. D. 1228-31. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

the prince of Syria and Damascus; which seems to have engaged him, further than was consistent with his views, in hostilities in that quarter. Advancing, however, to anticipate the designs of his enemies, the Sûltan, in the desert of Moush, to the north west of Ekhlaut, unexpectedly fell in with six thousand Syrian horse, whom he cut to pieces to the last man. But in the battle which soon afterwards ensued between him and the Sûltan of Anatolia, Jullaul-ud-dein, although previously confined to his litter, having exerted himself to mount his horse, and being yet unable, through extreme debility, to hold the reins of his bridle, the animal on which he rode, happened in the heat of the action to retire a few steps backward. In these circumstances his attendants unfortunately suggested that a short cessation from fatigue seemed absolutely necessary to revive him; and the prince as unfortunately yielding to their advice, withdrew to a corner of the field of battle, followed by the royal standard. The wings of the army, perceiving this movement on the part of their sovereign, too soon concluded that he had unworthily abandoned the conflict; and in that persuasion they hastily turned their backs to the enemy, and betook themselves to flight; while Jullaul-ud-dein constrained by necessity, also made the best of his way towards Ekhlaut. Happily for the fugitives, the enemy, suspecting that all this was merely a stratagem devised by the Khaurezmian to lead them into an ambuscade, retained their position, without engaging a step in the pursuit.

On his return to Ekhlaut, Jullaul-ud-dein was further alarmed by intelligence that Jermaughân Nûyan had crossed the Amûyah in great force, and was advancing towards Persian Irâk. This determined him to proceed without delay towards Azerbayjaun, dispatching one of his principal generals on before him, in order to obtain more certain information of the enemy. The officer thus employed, after visiting Tebreiz, rejoined his sovereign with the assurance, without, however, having taken the necessary precautions to ascertain the fact, that there was neither in Azerbayjaun, nor Irâk, the slightest vestige nor intelligence of the Moghûls. Delighted beyond all bounds of prudence and moderation, by this deceitful report, the Sûltan resigned himself without reserve to a course of pleasure; his example being followed by the greater part of his court, which was immediately

immersed in wine, and the most disgraceful excesses. Of such a state of things, it was not difficult to foresee the issue. Many days were not suffered to elapse, when, in the six hundred and twenty eighth of the Hidjerah,* an army of Tatars, numberless as the drops of a thunder shower, was afresh reported to have entered Azerbayjaun, and to be immediately at hand. It was not without considerable difficulty and exertion, that the Sûltan could be awakened to a sense of his danger; but, when by a plentiful ablution, he had contrived to remove the disgraceful effects of intoxication, instead of abiding a conflict with the destroyers of his family, Jullaul-ud-dein fled from the scene of alarm; Azer Khaun, the same Ameir that had apprized him of his situation, continuing, however, to oppose a feeble resistance to the enemy, who was now upon them, until his wretched master should have gained a sufficient distance on his pursuers. The Khaun then also retreated, while the Moghûls, still conceiving that they were engaged with the Sûltan in person, pressed on to secure him, with an eagerness in proportion to the splendor of the prize. But, being at length undeceived, they finally abandoned the pursuit, and hastened to the residence of his unhappy family; where they put to the sword, without distinction, every individual whom they could lay hands on, either of the kindred, or clientage of the kings of Khaurezm; the sun of whose power, when it had subsisted with some variety of circumstance, for a period of one hundred and thirty seven lunar years, became thus forever extinguished under the surpassing might of Moghûl vengeance.

A. H. 628. A. D. 1231. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

With respect to the sequel, so unworthy of the outset of Jullaul-ud-dein's adventurous career, there exists among historians a considerable diversity of opinion; some authors relating, that in his flight from the Moghûls, he entered the Kohestaun, or mountainous region between Azerbayjaun and the Tigris, where, while he lay asleep, a Kûrd, in order to possess himself of his horse and habiliments, ran him through the body with his lance. Others again have stated, that he assumed the garb of Sûfyism, and in that disguise wandered about the world to screen himself from the vengeance of his pursuers; nor hath any thing further been ascertained of the destiny of this unfortunate prince.

A. H. 521-40. A. D. 1127-54. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

The residue of this chapter may be devoted, perhaps not unprofitably, to furnish a short account of the *Atabeks*, who occupy so conspicuous a share in the transactions of these times. With the author we shall therefore proceed to state, that the Sûltans of the race of Seljûk being in many instances accustomed to confide the education of their sons, to some of the principal Ameirs in different quarters of their empire, the young princes, in the course of habit, applied to the noblemen thus entrusted with their breeding, the appellation of Atabek; a corruption of Atâeik—preceptor or tutor: or perhaps Atabeg—lord father, as explained by Mr. Richardson. Of these there were, however, four branches of distinguished renown, whose origin and duration we shall, in their order, endeavor to trace, to the limited extent of our original.

In the five hundred and twenty-first of the Hidjerah, EMMAUD-UD DEIN ZENGUI, the son of Auksungur became, under the authority of Sûltan Mahmûd the grandson of the illustrious Mélek Shah, ruler of he provinces of Arabian Irâk; and extending his power, in the process of time and circumstances, to the territories dependent on Mossûle and Aleppo, those of Diaurbekir and Kûrdistaun were further superadded to the extensive and opulent domain already subject to his government. After reigning, with distinguished probity, for about three and twenty years, he was cut off by a conspiracy among his Mâmlûks, in the five hundred and forty-fourth of the Hidjerah;* and he bears in consequence, in the records of the country, the posthumous title of Atabek Sheheid—*the martyred Atabek.*

Of the Atabeks of Mossûle Syria and Diaurbekir.

Nûr-ud-dein MAHMUD, the son of Emmaud-ud-dein Zengui, second of the Atabeks of Mossûle and Syria, succeeded, on the assassination of his father, in establishing his authority through the territory of Aleppo, Hamess, and Hama; and accomplishing the reduction of Damascus, in the five hundred and forty-ninth of the Hidjerah,† his power became from that period so formidable that he undertook, and ultimately succeeded, to subvert the authority of the Fâtimite Khalifs in Egypt, and to substitute in the Khotbah for the name of Auzzed.ud-dein, that of Mûstunzy of the house of Abbas, in the

* A. D. 1149. † A. D. 1154.

manner already related. The government of that province was then vested, under the authority of Nûr-ud-dein, in the celebrated Sullah-ud-dein Yûssuf, (Saladin) the son of Nûdjm-ud-dein Ayûb; in whose family it continued long afterwards. A. H. 549-76. A. D. 1154-80. Kholaussut ul-akhbaur.

The death of Nûr-ud-dein took place on the eleventh of Shavaul, of the year five hundred and sixty-nine;* which would give to his reign a period of about five and twenty years.

Melek Salah the son of Nûr-ud-dein, third of the Atabeks of Mossûle and Syria.

The diadem of Syria devolved to this prince at the age of eleven; but when he had continued to sustain it for some years, Sullah-ud-dein, who had received the title of Mêlek Nasser, advanced from Egypt to form the siege of Damascus. On which the feeble Mêlek Salah abandoned his capital to its fate, and fled to Aleppo; where he died, at the age of nineteen, and after a reign of about eight years, in the five hundred and seventy seventh of the Hidjerah.†

Seyf-ud-dein Ghauzzi, son of Emmaud-ud-dein Zengui, second of the Atabeks of Mossûle and Diaurbekir, was employed to preside over those provinces, under the authority of his brother Nûr-ud-dein; as well as over part of Kûrdestaun, which was annexed to his government. He died in the five hundred and fifty-first of the Hidjerah.‡

Kutb-ud-dein Moudud, another of the sons of Emmaud-ud-dein, and third of the Atabeks of Mossûle and Diaurbekir, succeeded to his brother Seyf-ud-dein; and retained the government to the period of his death, in the five hundred and sixty-fifth of the Hidjerah.‖

Seyf-ud-dein Ghauzzi the second, the son of Kûtb-ud-dein, fourth of the Atabeks of Mossûle and Diaurbekir, assumed the government at Mossûle on the death of his father. When his kinsman, Melek Salah, was compelled to abandon Damascus on the approach of Sullah-ud-dein, he dispatched a body of troops to assist him, under his brother Mûssàoud. Seyf-ud-dein died in the five hundred and seventy-sixth of the Hidjerah, after a reign of about eleven years.

Ezz-ud-dein Mussaoud the son of Kûtb-ud-dein, fifth of the Atabeks of Mossûle and Diaurbekir, succeeded to his brother in the

* Eleventh of May, A. D. 1174. † 1182. ‡ 1156. ‖ 1169.

A. H. 579-608. A. D. 1183-1211. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

government; to which, on the death of Mêlek Salah, in the year 577, he added that of Aleppo. In the five hundred and seventy-ninth of the Hidjerah,* that city shared, however, the fate of Damascus, which had been previously reduced by Sullah-ud-dein: and two years afterwards the same monarch having again drawn his troops out of Egypt, proceeded to extend his conquests to Miafaurekein and Ekhlaut; but on his return homewards from this expedition, he concluded a treaty of peace with Ezz-ud-dein. Both these princes died in the course of the same year, the five hundred and eighty-ninth of the Hidjerah.†

NUR-UD-DEIN ARSLAN SHÁH, the son of Ezz-ud-dein, sixth of the Atabeks of Mossûle and Diaurbekir.

Succeeding to the authority of his father, this prince became engaged in a tedious and protracted warfare with Mêlek-ul-Áudil the Sûltan of Egypt; which does not appear to have terminated until the six hundred and fifth of the Hidjerah, when a treaty of peace was concluded between the parties. Arslan Shah survived this treaty for about two years, when, in the course of the six hundred and seventh of the Hidjerah he also died.‡

Ul Mêlek Ul Kâher Ezz-ud-dein MUSSAOUD, the son of Arslan Shah, eighth and last of the Atabeks of Mossûle and Diaurbekir, assumed the government in conformity to the instructions of his father; but submitting the reins of his authority to the controul of Buddur-ud-dein Lûlû, it was not suffered to experience any very considerable duration. On the death of this prince, who probably did not long survive the loss of power, the government was entirely appropriated to himself, by the same Buddur-ud-dein, or Bedredin; the sequel of whose history will possibly be resumed at a subsequent period, among the events which distinguished the reign of Hûlaukû Khaun.

IIdly, of the Atabeks of Azerbayjaun. Among the Tartars of Keptchauk, we are here apprized on the authority of the Rouzut-us-suffâ that, there formerly existed a regulation which provided, that whenever a merchant, in one and the same lot, agreed for the purchase of forty slaves, the seller should make a deduction to the value of one slave in favor of the purchaser. It was in conformity with such a

* A. D. 1183. † 1193. ‡ 1210.

practice that, in the time of Sûltan Mûssâoud of the race of Seljûk, a merchant having made a purchase in the same territory, to that number, a deduction was made in his favor for one of the slaves, whose name was *Eyldekez*; not less remarkable for the defects of his person than for the virtues which beamed on his brow. His purchase completed, the merchant proceeded on his return to Irâk, mounting his slaves in waggons. During the journey, it happened that Eyldekez, overcome with sleep, twice fell from his waggon, being as often remounted by the care of his master; but falling over, a third time, in the same manner, no one took any concern about him, and he was abandoned to his fate. At day light, however, when he awoke, and perceived himself alone in the midst of the boundless solitude, he hastened in search of his companions; and by dint of exertion, to the no small surprise of his owner, succeeded in overtaking the caravan in the course of the evening.

A. H. 531-68. A. D. 1136-72. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Arrived in Irâk, the minister of Sûltan Mûssâoud bought thirty nine of the slaves, for the service of his master, rejecting Eyldekez, the fortieth, on account of his cat-like, or decrepid exterior. On which the unhappy youth, bursting into tears, is said to have exclaimed, that since the Vezzeir had purchased the whole of the other slaves for his own sake, it behoved him to take the only one remaining, for the love of God. These expressions were repeated to the minister, and determined him to complete the allotment by the purchase of Eyldekez. The circumstance was also related to Sûltan Mûssaoud, who placed the subject of it, not long afterwards, under Ameir Nasser one of his captains, in order to be instructed in archery and horsemanship; and as the young slave distinguished himself in a very short time, by his address, activity, and skill, he was next enrolled in the train of one of the great officers of the household, who superintended the Bekawuls, or cupbearers; or with more probability, the purveyor of the royal kitchens, since a savoury dish made up by Eyldekez of the offals, or such parts of a sheep as are in general rejected, proved so extremely agreeable to the palate of the Sûltan, that the now fortunate slave was taken into particular favor. From that period his prospects became daily more flattering to his ambition; until, as was noticed on a former occasion, the Sûltan finally bestowed upon him, together with

EYLDEKEZ 1st of the Atabeks of Azerbayjaun.

A. H. 568-87. A. D. 1172-91. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

the widow of his brother Toghrel, the government of Azerbayjaun; which he sustained with vigor and ability to his death, in the five hundred and sixty-eighth of the Hidjerah, a period of about six and thirty years.

Atabek MAHOMMED, entitled *Jahaun Pehlewaun*, the son of Eyldekez, second of the Atabeks of Azerbayjaun.

Sûltan Toghrel the son of Arslan, being seated at seven years of age, on the throne of Irâk Ajem, in the five hundred and seventy first of the Hidjerah, through the activity and exertions of Atabek Mahommed, the affairs of the monarchy, in addition to the government of Azerbayjaun, to which he had succeeded on the death of his father, were now consigned to the entire controul of this brave and able chieftain; who became in a short time, by his talents and firmness of mind, equally respectable and formidable to the princes of the east and west. He continued to direct the affairs of Irâk with splendid success for a period of ten years; at the expiration of which, in Zilhudje,* of the five hundred and eighty-first of the Hidjerah, he died, leaving four sons, whose names are as follows: Abû Bukker, Kûtlûgh Eynaunje, Mermeraun, and Ouzbek Pehlewaun.

Atabek KUZZUL ARSLAN the son of Eyldekez, third of that denomination in Azerbayjaun.

Employed, during the administration of his brother, in the government of Azerbayjaun, this prince hastened on his death, to the court of Sûltan Toghrel; and marrying Kûbtiah Khâtûn, the widow of his deceased brother, (at least a princess of that name is mentioned as the mother of Kûtlûgh Eynaunje and Mermeraun) became immediately invested with the dignity of Ameir-ul-ûmra, or lieutenant general of the monarchy. But differences having ultimately arisen between him and the Sûltan, which terminated in the hostilities, already transiently adverted to under the transactions of the race of Seljûk, Kuzzul Arslan, at the express recommendation of the Khalif Ul Nausser, and in the month of Shavault, of the five hundred and eighty seventh of the Hidjerah, assumed the sovereign authority. He had, however, been suffered to enjoy his power but for a very few days when he was assassinated, at the instance of the nobles of Irâk, by one

Atabek KUZZUL ARSLAN, IIId of the race.

* March, A. D. 1186. † September, A. D. 1191.

of the zealots of Almowut. "'Tis not," observes our author, "for "rashness to repose in peace on the seat of the mighty;" and yet the name of Kuzzul Arslan has found a distinguished record with the votaries of the Persian muse. A. H. 587-622. A. D. 1191-1225. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Atabek Abu Bukker, the son of Pehlewaun Mahommed, fourth of the Atabeks of Azerbayjaun.

On the assassination of his uncle, Abû Bukker hastily withdrew into Azerbayjaun, and there assumed the royal authority. He was, however, destined to be opposed by his half brother Kûtlûgh Eynaunje; with whom, in the course of one month only, he fought no less than four separate battles, in each of which he proved victorious. After this he retained his power against all opposition for a period of twenty years, dying in the six hundred and seventh of the Hidjerah.*

Atabek Mûzuffur-ud-dein Ouzbek, the son of Pehlewaun Mahommed, fifth and last of this race, succeeded on the death of his brother: but in the fifteenth year of his reign, the six hundred and twenty-second of the Hidjerah,† his country being invaded by Sûltan Jullaul-ud-dein the Khaurezmian, Atabek Ouzbek retired into the fortress of Elanjek or Alanjek; where, as recently observed in the story of the Khaurezmian, he could not survive the intelligence of his wife's perfidy.

IIIdly, Of the Atabeks of Farss, of the Selghrian tribe.

The historian has recorded that when, in the early part of the fifth century of the Hidjerah, a body of Tûrkmans, to the number of fifty thousand horse, were urged by the pressure of the times, and in the course of one of those afflicting changes which have been occasionally permitted to visit the world, to migrate from their native country, and seek for a settlement in foreign lands, one of their chiefs, of the name of Selgher, with his sons and followers, made his way into Khorassaun; and in the different parts of that province, proceeded to exercise every species of outrage and violence, that might be expected from an uncivilized and necessitous banditti. But when, about the four hundred and thirtieth of the Hidjerah, the authority of the race of Seljûk appeared to be permanently established throughout the Persian empire, the same Tûrkman chief repaired to the court of one

Of the Atabeks of the race of Selgher.

* A. D. 1210. † 1225.

A H. 430-571. A. D. 1038-1175. Kholaussut-ul-akhbanr.

of the monarchs of that race,* and was admitted to the rank of Haujeb, or lord of the bedchamber. His sons, however, preferred an abode in Farss, which was destined to become the ultimate and splendid lot of the family.

The city of Shirauz, the admired and celebrated metropolis of the province, being wrested from the Deylemites, in the four hundred and fifty-eighth of the Hidjerah,† by the warlike Alep-Arslan, it continued for a period of eighty five years afterwards under the authority of the race of Seljûk. But about the five hundred and forty second of the Hidjerah,‡ Sûltan Mêlek Shah the son of Mahmûd, having made himself master of the province, by the defeat and death of Atabek Bûzaubah, that prince retained possession for the space of one year only; when conceiving himself unequal to a contest with Atabek Şegher the son of Moudûd, who had revolted against his authority, he chose to abandon the country; which was thus, apparently without difficulty, transferred to the insurgent.

Atabek Mûzuffer-ud-dein Segher, or perhaps SÜNKUR, the son of Moudûd, first of the Atabeks of Farss of the race of Selgher.

On the retreat of the Seljukian Sûltan, Atabek Segher under the title of Mûzuffur-ud-dein, assumed the sovereign dignity at Shirauz, some time in the five hundred and forty third of the Hidjerah; || and laid open to every class of those who submitted to his authority, the avenues of beneficence and happiness. He withdrew to experience the reward of his virtues, in the ever blooming gardens of paradise, in the five hundred and fifty seventh of the Hidjerah,§ after a felicitous reign of thirteen years.

Atabek Mûzuffur-ud-doin ZENGUI, the son of Moudûd, second of the race of Selgher, succeeded to his brother, whose virtues he seemed studious to emulate. He died in the five hundred and seventy first of the Hidjerah, after a just and beneficent reign of fourteen years.

Atabek Mûzuffer-ud-dein TUKLAH, the son of Zengui, third of the race of Selgher,

This prince was the heir, and successor to his father's wealth and power, and even surpassed his predecessors, in the vigilance which

*Toghrel Beg. †A. D. 1066. ‡1147. ||1142. §1162.

he exerted to promote and secure the tranquillity of his government. He died in the five hundred and ninety-first of the Hidjerah, after a prosperous reign of twenty years. During the period in which he swayed the sceptre of Shirauz, Atabek Kûtbuddein, a prince of the same family governed in Irâk Ajem; but, although in other respects an able and benevolent monarch, engaging in an unavailing contest with Atabek Tuklah, his power did not attain to any degree of stability. He fell, in the issue, into the hands of his relative, and was put to death.

A.H. 591-614. A. D 1195-1217. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Atabek Mûzuffur-ud-dein Abû Shûjia SAUD, the son of Zenguí, fourth of the race of Selgher.

Succeeding to the sovereign power, on the death of his brother, Atabek Saud gave distinguished proofs of the bounty, and liberality of his disposition; but yielding to an unfortunate ambition, by which he was impelled to undertake the conquest of Irâk Ajem, he engaged himself in perpetual expeditions for the attainment of that object; and thus exposed his defenceless capital to frequent surprise and pillage, by those of his enemies who were ever on the watch for such an opportunity. The last time, however, continues our author, in which, like the axis of a wheel, Atabek Saud presented himself in various directions, in the prosecution of these visionary projects of ambition, he, in the six hundred and fourteenth of the Hidjerah,* and in the neighborhood of Rey, fell in with the course of Sûltan Mahommed the Khaurezmian, then proceeding on his design against Baghdâd. In these circumstances, although the whole of his force did not exceed seven hundred cavalry, the Atabek resolutely assailed the army of the Sûltan, and first with his arrows, and then with scimitar and mace, produced extraordinary havoc among them. Considerably surprised at the singular activity and prowess displayed on the occasion by the Atabek, the Khaurezmian gave orders that his archers should forbear to aim at him; and that every exertion should be made to take him alive, and without injury. Thus surrounded on every side, and falling from his horse, his adversaries found at last an opportunity of seizing his person, and he was immediately conveyed to the presence

* A. D. 1217.

A. H. 614. A. D. 1217. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

of the Sûltan; who proceeded to interrogate him as to the motive which could induce him to engage in a conflict so unequal. To this the Atabek replied, that for such apparent temerity, the only apology which he could offer, was his entire ignorance that he was opposed to the person of so mighty a monarch; and he continued to plead further so effectually with his conqueror, that one of the imperial pavilions was immediately ordered to be set apart for his accommodation; with every requisite that could contribute either to his pleasure or convenience. All these, the Atabek, however, distributed among the Sûltan's retinue, even before he had set eyes upon them; and the admiration of the Khaurezmian being further excited by an instance of liberality, which otherwise appears to have had neither bounds nor reflection, Atabek Saud became thenceforward the inseparable associate of his pleasures and amusements; in which, he indeed, as far surpassed by his convivial qualities, as he had formerly done by his prowess in the field of battle. In the course of a few days it was finally agreed upon between the two princes, through the mediation of Mêlek Zouzen, that Atabek Saud should bestow one of his daughters in marriage upon Sûltan Jullaul-ud-dein; should engage for the cession of the fortresses of Istakhâr and Eshkowân; and for the annual remittance of one third of the revenues of Farss to the exchequer of the Khaurezmian.

On the conclusion of the treaty, Atabek Saud, accompanied by an escort of Khaurezmian troops, was permitted to take the road to his own dominions; but, his son Abû Bukker had become no sooner apprized of the misfortune, and subsequent stipulations on the part of his father, than he abruptly forsook his allegiance; and took post, with a body of his followers, at the foot of the pass of Baubeyn, to intercept his return. Accordingly, when Atabek Saud arrived on the spot, the head of his escort had just disengaged itself from the pass, when it was attacked and cut off by the Shirâzians; while the main body, conceiving that they were about to become a sacrifice to preconcerted treachery between father and son, called aloud for mercy. Having exerted all his eloquence to appease their apprehensions, the Atabek hastened to present himself to Abû Bukker, who assailed his person without the smallest hesitation; but the elder Atabek no sooner

felt the sword of the parricide, than he returned it so effectually with a stroke of his mace, that it brought him headlong from his horse. The rebel was afterwards confined to the castle of Istakhâr; while the father, having re-entered his capital of Shirauz without further obstacle, proceeded to fulfil his engagements with the Khaurezmian, with the most scrupulous fidelity; and ultimately dismissed his agents in every respect satisfied with the treatment which they experienced. A. H. 623-58. A. D. 1226-60. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Atabek Saud survived this untoward contingency for a period of some duration; until the six hundred and twenty-third of the Hidjerah, according to certain authorities, which would assign to his reign an interval of two and thirty years.

Atabek Mûzuffur-ud-dein ABU BUKKER, the son of Saud Zengui, fifth of the race of Selgher.

Notwithstanding the stain of rebellion, the Ameirs and principal citizens of Shirauz unanimously concurred, on the death of his father, in bestowing the sovereign authority upon Abû Bukker; and he is said to have far surpassed the merit of all his predecessors, respectable as they were, in the vigor of his government, and in his vigilance to provide for the welfare of his people. His zeal for the advancement of the faith of Mahommed, and his exertions to promote the success of every laudable pursuit, few men were qualified to do justice to; neither would it be easy to delineate, continues our author, his singular skill in jurisprudence, in the subtilties of logic, or in the abstruse reasonings of philosophy. His esteem for the religious and sincerely devout, was at the same time so conspicuous, that he did not scruple to assign to them on all occasions a decided preference over priests and lawyers, and the learned of every description.

The race of Jengueiz having, however, by this time, completely subjugated the oriental world, Atabek Abû Bukker exhibited a proof of sagacity, and moderation of spirit, equally conspicuous, by the early assurances of submission, which, by one of his nephews, he took care to convey to the court of Oukdâi, or Octai Kaun; who treated the deputation with particular kindness and distinction, and returned a patent for the royal authority in Farss, with the title of *Kûtlûgh Khaun*.

The government of Abû Bukker was distinguished by the reduction of Kaish or Kaiss, Kateif, and Baharein, islands in the gulph of Per-

A. H. 658. A. D. 1260. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

sia, where he is stated to have acquired prodigious wealth. In the mean time, Hûlaukû Khaun had made himself master of Baghdâd, and extinguished the power of the race of Abbas; and it became expedient on the part of Abû Bukker, with other feudatories, to transmit his congratulations, on an occasion which seemed to put the last seal to his vassalage. His son Saud, the heir to his wealth and dignity, was accordingly dispatched on this errand to the camp of the Eyle, or Aeil Khaun; and the young prince was on his return to Shirauz, after experiencing the most favorable reception from the Moghûl monarch, when intelligence reached him of his father's death, which was, at a very short interval, followed by his own. Atabek Abû Bukker had, it seems, withdrawn to the abodes of eternal happiness, on the fifth of the latter Jummaudy,* of the six hundred and fifty eighth of the Hidjerah, after a splendid and prosperous reign of five and thirty years; and his son Saud having been already attacked by a severe fit of illness on his journey from Baghdâd, the information which unexpectedly reached him, of the death of his father, and of his own accession to the sovereign power, produced a violent aggravation of his disorder, and hastened him to the tomb, just twelve days after the former event. What renders the reign of Atabek Abû Bukker eben Saud Zengui, however, more particularly interesting to the orientalist is, that *Saudi*, the most elegant and classical of Persian poets, the admired bard and moralist of Shirauz, the reformer of his religion, as he has been entitled, flourished under this reign, and made the names of both father and son the frequent subject of his praise.

Atabek Mahommed, the son of Saud, sixth of the race of Selgher.

Succeeding in infancy to the throne of Shirauz, in consequence of the premature dissolution of his father, the administration of affairs was undertaken in behalf of this prince by his mother Tûrkan, a woman of singular prudence and sagacity; who did not fail, by a splendid embassy, and by presents not less splendid, to solicit and obtain from Hûlaukû, a decree to ratify the succession of her son. But when two years had elapsed of the infant reign of Atabek Mahommed, he perished by a fall from the terrace of his palace; and he was succeeded by,

* Seventeenth of May, A. D. 1260.

Atabek MAHOMMED SHAH, the son of Selgher Shah, seventh of the race of Selgher. A. H. 660. A. D. 1262.

Indebted for his elevation to the exertions of the dowager princess Tûrkan Khatûn, his mother in law and the widow of Atakeb Saud, and at the same time to the recommendation of the nobles of Shirauz, this prince proved himself, however, at an early period, by abandoning himself to the excesses of wine and intemperance, and to the society of youthful profligates, entirely unworthy of the throne to which he had succeeded. A government so contemptible was not destined to be of any duration. The total disregard which he evinced for the counsels of his mother-in-law, produced on her part, notwithstanding the intimacy of their relation, a conspiracy with the Ameirs and leading men of the country, to remove him from authority; a design which was carried into execution without difficulty. It became, however, expedient to represent, by an immediate deputation to Hûlaukû Khaun, that the measure had been rendered indispensable, by the total unworthiness and incapacity of the deposed prince, and by the means which he had adopted to bring disorder and ruin upon the affairs of the province. This, together with the consideration that matters had already taken their course, induced the Eyle Khaun to listen with favorable attention to the Khatûn's apology; at least, to forbear from any manifest expression of displeasure at what had taken place. The authority of Mahommed Shah terminated in the short period of eight months. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Atabek SELJUK SHAH the son of Selgher Shah, eighth of the race of Selgher, on the deposition of his brother, succeeded to the government, likewise through the influence of Tûrkan Khatûn, whom he immediately married. Being, however, a weak and inexperienced youth, little inured to the trials and vicissitudes of life, although we do not immediately perceive how this is to account for such early depravity, he was led one night, during the fumes of intoxication, to form the base design of destroying his benefactress; which, in one of his mercenary and diabolical slaves, he found an instrument to carry into immediate execution. The following day, when the guilty transaction became known to the public, two of the agents of Hûlaukû Khaun, deputed to guard his interests in the government of Shirauz, openly disapproved of the deed, and were put to death for the avowal.

A. H. 662-86. A. D 1264-87. Kholaussut-ul-akhbanr.

This daring outrage, on the part of the Atabek, brought upon him the speedy vengeance of the Tartar monarch; who immediately dispatched one of his generals, of the name of Ultâjû, at the head of a powerful army to chastise, and subvert the authority of the perpetrator. Seljûk Shah had not the courage to abide the storm; but abandoning his government, he withdrew on its approach towards the coast of the Arabian, or sea of Omman. Thither he was, however, pursued by Ultâjû, by whom he was overtaken and defeated in the neighborhood of Kauzerûn; in which place becoming a prisoner, he was in the six hundred and sixty-second of the Hidjerah, by order of Hûlaukû, finally condemned to die; being the last, in the male line, of the Atabeks of the race of Selgher.

Atabek AEYSH, the daughter of Saûd, son of Atabek Abû Bukker, being the consort of Mangû Teymûr the son of Hûlaukû Khaun, was, by the latter monarch, invested with the government of Farss, on the execution of Seljûk Shah; and when it had been sufficiently ascertained, that no one of the male line of the Atabeks appeared worthy of the trust. She continued to preside at Shirauz to the day of her death, in the six hundred and eighty-sixth of the Hidjerah; after which none of the race of Selgher ever asserted any claim to the government of this favorite domain.

IVth, of the Hazauraspides, or Atabeks of Laristaun.

At the period when Atabek Segher, or Sunkur the son of Moudûd, in the year five hundred and forty-three,* had made himself paramount in Farss, on the expulsion of Mêlek Shah of the race of Seljûk, as was recently observed, he employed, under Abû Tâher the son of Mahommed the Fuzlûian, a force to subjugate or take possession of Laristaun. But that chief had no sooner accomplished the object of the expedition, than he felt himself qualified to assume the title of Atabek, and to declare himself independant in the province; and in this his descendants followed his example.

Of the Hazauraspides, or Atabeks of Laristaun.

Atabek Nussrut ud-dein HAZAURASP, the son of Abu Tâher, second of the Atabeks of Laristaun, as the eldest of his father's children, succeeded to his authority; and having added to his possessions the territory of Shoulistaun, (region of sands), he left the whole in undisputed sovereignty to his son.

* A. D. 1148.

Atabek TUKLAH, the son of Hazaurasp, third of the Atabeks of Laristaun. A. H. 653-87. A. D. 1257-88.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

From the jealousies which might, however, naturally subsist between him and Atabek Saud the son of Zengui, of the race of Selgher, this chief was thrice attacked in his government by the troops of that monarch, and as often victorious in repelling the aggression. On the expedition against Baghdâd,* Atabek Tuklah accompanied the army of Hûlaukû Khaun; by whose directions he was particularly attached to the Tomaun, or division of Keybûka Nûyan. But, exciting the suspicion of that conqueror, by some circumstance which implicated his conduct with respect to the unfortunate Mûstaussem, it was determined to put him to death. He contrived, however, to protract his fate for a short time, by escaping into Laristaun; but being closely pursued by the Moghûl troops, he was soon overtaken, and, not long afterwards atoned, with his blood for his supposed disaffection.

Atabek Shums-ud-dein Alep ARGHU, the son of Hazaurasp, fourth of the Atabeks of Laristaun, became, on the death of his brother, invested with the vacant government, by the instructions of Hûlaukû; and ruled with exemplary justice for a period of fifteen years.

Atabek YUSSUF SHAH, the son of Alep Arghû, fifth of the Atabeks of Laristaun, succeeded on the demise of his father; subject to the authority of Abaka Khaun. Being, however, in person a constant attendant on the court of that monarch, the affairs of the province were for the most part administered by his agents. He is said indeed to have performed such acceptable and important services to Abaka, as entitled him to a very distinguished share in his favor; and he received in consequence from that prince a grant of the province of Khûzistaun; which, together with Kohkeilûyah, the city of Ferouzan, and Jermaudekan, was thus annexed to the territories already subordinate to his controul. On the death of Abaka Khaun, he continued his attendance in succession, upon Ahmed Khaun, and Arghûn Khaun; whom he also served with distinguished and unabated zeal. Finally, receiving towards the decline of life, the permission of this latter monarch to make a journey into Laristaun, Atabek Yûssuf was proceeding

* A. D. 1257.

A. H. 687-95. A. D. 1288-96. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

from thence on an expedition to Kohkeilûyah, when the occurrence of a fearful dream compelled him suddenly to return; and he died in a very few days afterwards.

Atabek AFRASIAUB, the son of Yûssuf Shah, sixth of the Atabeks of Laristaun, succeeded to his father, under the sanction of a decree from Arghûn Khaun. However, while that prince was on his death bed, Afrasiaub, through one of his uncle's sons, whom he employed for the purpose, contrived to destroy the governor of Isfahaun, and to seize upon the government of that city; and, when he had ascertained that Arghûn Khaun had absolutely ceased to live, he proceeded without further scruple, to nominate in his own behalf, agents and officers to take possession of the other principal towns of Persian Irâk. He next dispatched the son of Tuklah with a competent force to extend his usurpations to Derbend of the Kerrahrûd; where his troops falling in with some of the Moghûl detachments, they engaged and defeated them; but, on entering the quarters of the Moghûls, proceeding to indulge themselves in every species of debauchery, and irregularity, they were in turn assailed by the enemy, animated by the desire of vengeance; who came upon them unexpectedly, and cut them to pieces in the midst of their undisciplined excesses.

On the other hand, apprized of these ambitious undertakings, Kûnjaytû Sûltan, the successor of Arghûn Khaun, dispatched a body of ten thousand horse under Tûlaudâi Nûyan, to restrain and punish the usurpation of the Atabek; who was ultimately taken prisoner in a battle with that commander, and conveyed to the presence of Kûnjaytû. He was, however, pardoned through the intercession of some of the ladies of the imperial family, and possibly from a recollection of the faithful services of his father. But on his enlargement and return into Laristaun, proceeding without a cause to put to death his kinsman Kuzzul, and several other Ameirs, the guilt of innocent blood did not fail to pursue him; and he accordingly perished by the sword of the avenger, through the medium of Serkedauk Nûyan, one of the Moghûl generals, in the subsequent reign of Ghâzan Khaun, about the six hundred and ninety-fifth of the Hidjerah.

Atabek Nussrut-ud-dein AHMED, the son of Alep Arghû, seventh of the Atabeks of Laristaun.

This prince was raised to his government by command of Ghâzan Khaun; and by the influence of a just and virtuous administration removed from his people, in a great measure, the smart of their recent sufferings. He died in the seven hundred and thirty-third of the Hidjerah, after a long and prosperous reign of eight and thirty years. A. H. 695-740. A. D. 1296-1339. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Atabek Rokken-ud-dein YUSSUF SHAH, the second, son of Ahmed, eighth of the Atabeks of Laristaun, succeeded on the death of his father; after whom he governed, with equal justice and liberality, for a period of six years. He died in the former Jummaudy, of the seven hundred and fortieth of the Hidjerah.*

Atabek Mûzuffur-ud-dein AFRASIAUB the second, the son of Yûssuf Shah, ninth and last of the Atabeks of Laristaun; of whom nothing further is mentioned, than, that after exercising the functions of authority for a limited period, he also passed, like his predecessors, to another and unknown state of existence. "On that world which "sprung from nothing, and which terminates in death, it would in-"deed," observes the author, "be egregious folly to build the expecta-"tion either of stability, or perpetuity."

Of the dinasties, of which it was proposed to include an account in the present chapter, there still remain four to complete the narration; but as the circumstantial detail, even reduced to its utmost brevity, would occupy the place of far more important matter, to which the remainder of this volume must necessarily be devoted, the reader is intreated to be satisfied with the subjoined list of successions, in the several branches to which we have here adverted.

Ist, of the Kârakhatayans in Kermaun.

Of these the first who aspired and established his claims, to independent power, was the BORAUK HAUJEB, formerly mentioned; who made himself master of the province of Kermaun by the defeat of Abûl Kaussem Zûzeny, in the six hundred and nineteenth of the Hidjerah; obtained from Oukdâi, or Octâi Kaun, the title of Kûtlûgh Khaun; and maintained his authority, with distinguished reputation, until the twentieth of Zilkaudah, of the year six hundred and thirty-two,† when he died, after a reign of about fourteen years. Of the Kermaunian Karakhatayans.

* November, A. D. 1339. † Fifth of August, A. D. 1235.

A. H. 633-81. A. D. 1236-82. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Sûltan Rokken-ud-dein KHAUJAH HUKK, the son of Borauk Haujeb, was absent at the period of his father's death, with the court of Oukdâi Kaun; but obtaining from that great monarch a patent for the government of Kermaun, he returned without delay to take possession of his inheritance, and entered the capital of the province on the twenty-sixth of Shabaun, of the year six hundred and thirty three;* his couzin german Kûtb-ud-dein Mahommed, who had obtruded himself into the government, retiring on his approach. Nevertheless, after reigning with considerable prosperity for a period of fifteen years, he was after all, by the injunction of Mangû Khaun, placed at the disposal of the same Kûtb-ud-dein, by whom he was put to death.

Sûltan Kûtb-ud-dein MAHOMMED, the son of Khemeir Taynkû, assumed the government of Kermaun, in the middle of Shavaul of the six hundred and fiftieth, and reigned with great happiness to his subjects, until Ramzaun of the six hundred and fifty-fifth of the Hidjerah,† the period of his death.

Although he left two sons, the government was conferred, on the death of Kûtb-ud-dein, on his widow Kûtlûgh Tûrkan, whose daughter was married to Abaka Khaun. The royal title was, however, nominally bestowed upon Hejauje Sûltan, one of the sons of the late prince. But, on attaining to years of discretion, the young Sûltan proceeding to treat his mother with indignity, and in one of his carousals, proposing to her to dance before him, the insulted princess justly took offence, and withdrew to the court of Abaka. The Sûltan not a little terrified on his part, fled shortly afterwards into Hindûstaun. At the expiration of ten years, followed by a considerable army raised for his assistance by the princes of India, he was returning to recover his inheritance; when he died on the march, in the month of Zilhudje, of the six hundred and seventieth of the Hidjerah.

Sûltan Jullaul-ud-dein SEYURGHETMESH, the son of Kûtb-ud-dein Mahommed, solicited and obtained from Sûltan Ahmed Khaun, a patent for the province of Kermaun, and for the removal of Kûtlûgh Tûrkan; and some time in the six hundred and eighty-first of the Hidjerah, entered the capital and took possession of his government. Kûtlûgh Tûrkan died of grief at Tebreiz in the course of the succeed-

* Fourth of May, A. D. 1236. † September, A. D. 1257.

ing summer, having held the nominal sovereignty of Kermaun for a period of six and twenty years. In six hundred and ninety-one Sûltan Seyûrghetmesh was himself displaced, in favor of his sister Padshah Khâtûn, under the authority of Kûnjâitû Sultan, and confined to the castle of Kermaun. He contrived, however, in the course of a few days to make his escape; but, through the influence of his evil destiny, falling again into the hands of his sister, he was inhumanly put to death by her orders, in the six hundred and ninety-third of the Hidjerah. He is spoken of as a just, prudent, and intelligent prince whose government was a model of propriety and regularity.

A. H. 691-701. A. D. 1292-1301. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Seffûet-ud-dein PADSHAH KHATUN, the daughter of Kûtb-ud-dein Mahommed, notwithstanding her cruelty to her brother, is described as a just and accomplished princess, equally distinguished for the beauties of her person, for the benevolence and purity of her disposition, and for her singular and extraordinary talents in every respect. On the accession of Baydû Khaun, who succeeded to Kûnjâitû, about the six hundred and ninety-fourth of the Hidjerah, and who was married to Shah Allum the daughter of Seyûrghetmesh, the princess Padshah Khâtûn began with good reason to entertain apprehensions of a sudden and gloomy reverse; and the widow of her brother with her dependents, escaping about the same time from Kermaun soon collected a numerous force, with which she returned and laid siege to the capital. In a few days Padshah Khâtûn resigned herself to her fate, and throwing open the gates of the capital to her besiegers she was by them imprisoned; and shortly afterwards, in Shabaun of the six hundred and ninety-fourth of the Hidjerah, put to death by order of Baydû Khaun; thus, by a just retribution, being compelled to taste of the same bitter draught which she had so cruelly administered to her unfortunate brother.

Sûltan Jullaul-ud-dein MAHOMMED SHAH the son of Hejauje Sûltan, was invested with the government, under the authority of Ghâzan Khaun, in Zilhudje of the six hundred and ninety-fourth of the Hidjerah; and he died in the year seven hundred and one, at the age of twenty-nine, in consequence of a fever contracted by debauch.

Kûth-ud-dein SHAH JAHAUN the son of Seyûrghetmesh, last of the Kârakhâtayans, assumed the government on the death of Mahommed

A. H. 701-41. A. D. 1301-40. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Shah, under a grant from Ghâzan Khaun; but on the accession of Uljâitû Sûltan, in consequence of some former grudge, he was deposed from his authority by that monarch. Shahjahaun withdrew upon this to Shirauz, where, though calmly resigned to his destiny, his merit rose superior to his fortune, and acquired for him yet some share of power. He left a daughter of the name of Khaun Kûtlûk, who became the wife of Ameir Mahommed Mûzuffur, and the mother of the princes Shah Shûjia, Shah Mahmûd, and Sûltan Ahmed, of Shirauz and Farss. On the removal of Shahjahaun, in short, the province of Kermaun was assigned to the Jengueizian Ameirs in succession, until the seven hundred and forty-first of the Hidjerah; when it was permanently transferred to the same *Ameir Mahommed Mûzuffer*, of whom immediately.

IId, of the race of Mûzuffur.

Gheyauth-ud-dein Hâjy Khorassauny the founder of this family, is stated to have been a native of Khawauf, who, on the irruption of the Moghûls under Jengueiz, retired to Yezd, in the adjoining angle of the province of Farrs. He had three sons, Abû Bukker, Mahommed, and Munsûr. Of the two former of these, who engaged in the service of Alla-ud-doulah the governor of Yezd, there remained no posterity; but Munsûr, who continued with his father, had three sons, Mahommed, Ally, and Mûzuffur; the latter, though youngest of the brothers, becoming renowned beyond his compeers in the achievements of the field of battle. After long wandering, without a settlement, through different parts of Irâk Ajem, this warlike adventurer repaired at last to the court of Arghûn Khaun; by whom, in consequence of his singular accomplishments of person and mind, he was early advanced to the rank of Yessawul, or silver stick.

Of the race of Mûzuffur.

On the accession of Kûnjaytû, the fortune of Ameir Mûzuffur continued to be advanced, until by the time that Ghâzan Khaun ascended the throne of Hûlaukû, he was of sufficient eminence to receive from that monarch the government of Hazaurah, with the distinction of the standard and kettle-drum. On the death of Ghâzan Khaun, he became still further promoted under the auspices of Uljâitû, being at the same time entrusted with the protection of the roads from Aberkoh, Herât, and Merû, and with the government of Meybûd; at which

latter place, when he was not in attendance on the person of his sovereign, he now generally resided, until the period of his death, in the seven hundred and thirteenth of the Hidjerah. A. H. 713-36. A. D. 1313-35. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

He left an only son, Mûbaurez-ud-dein MAHOMMED, who hastened on the death of his father to the presence of Uljâitû Sûltan; by whom he was immediately invested with all the honors and appointments of the departed Mûzuffur. He continued at court for a period of four years, at the expiration of which he was permitted to repair to his government of Meybûd, by Sûltan Abû Sâeid, who then filled the throne. In the seven hundred and nineteenth of the Hidjerah, he appeared however again in the court of Abû Sâeid, from whom, in addition to his former dignities, he now received the government of Yezd. In the course of the same year, with not more than eight of his bravest followers, he was engaged in a perilous conflict with the Nikòdrians, a ferocious banditti who then infested the roads of Khorassaun; in which no less than seventy arrows were lodged in different parts of his armour. He escaped, however, otherwise uninjured, after defeating the banditti, whose chief he captured, and conveyed in a cage, together with the heads of several of his associates, to the camp of Abû Sâeid.

In the seven hundred and twenty-ninth* of the Hidjerah, as recently intimated, Ameir Mubaurez-ud-dein Mahommed, was united in wedlock to Khaun Kutluk the daughter of Shahjahaun the exiled chief of Kermaun. And in seven hundred and thirty four he again visited the court of Abu Sâeid, being on the occasion accompanied by his son Shah Shurf-ud-dein Muzuffur, and experiencing from the successor of Hulauku the most favorable reception. In the course of the same year he attended Abu Sâeid to Baghdâd, and availed himself of the opportunity to visit the tomb of Ally at Nudjef. He returned shortly afterwards to Yezd.

The turbulent and ambitious having availed themselves, on the death of Sûltan Abû Sâeid, in the seven hundred and thirty-sixth of the Hidjerah,† of an opportunity to divide the empire, the whole province of Farss was taken possession of, during the confusion, by Ameir Mûssâoud Shah the son of Mahmûd Shah Aynjû; Ameir Shaikh Abû

*A.D. 1329. †A. D. 1335.

A. H. 736-41. A. D 1335-40. Kholaussut-ul-akhbanr.

Ishauck, celebrated for the liberality of his disposition and the benignity of his manners, proceeding immediately towards Yezd. He was, however, met at some distance from that place by Ameir Mahommed, by whose hospitable and conciliatory demeanor, he was for the present diverted from any hostile design. But when, after a few days residence in the neighborhood of Yezd, Ameir Abû Ishauck had proceeded some distance on his march towards Kermaun, he suddenly returned towards the former place; and Ameir Mahommed found himself now constrained to quit the city with the determination to give him battle. Before matters had, however, been carried to the last extremity, an accommodation was arranged between these hostile chiefs through the mediation of Shaikh Ally Amran, a celebrated Peir, or Mahommedan saint, of that age.

In the seven hundred and fortieth of the Hidjerah, Ameir Mahommed associated with Ameir Peir Hûsseyne Tchoubauny in the design of reducing Shirauz. On the arrival of the invaders at Istakhâr, about forty miles from his capital, Ameir Mûssàoud Shah retired towards Kauzerûn, whither he was immediately pursued by Ameir Mahommed; but the enemy entirely dispersing on his approach, the latter returned without delay to rejoin Ameir Hûsseyne in the siege of Shirauz; which, after a defence of some duration, was ultimately permitted to capitulate, through the interposition of Kauzy Mejid-ud-dein Ismâily, another very learned religionist of those times. Ameir Peir Hûsseyne now made his entry into Shirauz in great triumph, assigning to Ameir Mahommed the government of Kermaun; of which, in Mohurrim, of the year seven hundred and forty-one,* he accordingly proceeded to take possession. He was received into the capital of the province without opposition, Mêlek Kûtb-ud-dein Neikrouz, the governor, having fled at his approach towards Herât; but imprudently dispersing his troops into separate and distant quarters, in order to afford relief to the inhabitants, intelligence of the circumstance was conveyed to Neikrouz; who prevailed upon Ameir Dâoud the lieutenant of Herât, after he had resided for some time under his protection, to assist him in the recovery of his government. The fugitive

* July, A. D. 1340.

governor, accompanied by Ameir Dâoud, at the head of a body of Ghourians, arrived, by stolen marches, within four farsangs of Kermaun, before Ameir Mahommed was apprized of his danger. The latter, destitute of troops for his defence, quitted the city in the dead of the night, and withdrew to a station on the frontier, until he could assemble a force to make head against the enemy; Neikrouz with his ally the lieutenant of Herât, entering Kermaun the ensuing day, and proceeding without molestation to re-establish the government. But Ameir Mahommed, having in a short time re-assembled a sufficient force for the undertaking, and being further joined by a division of the troops of Peir Hûsseyne, proceeded to carry fire and sword to the gates of the city, and as speedily reduced it a second time, and restored his authority throughout the country. Soon afterwards he completed the subjugation of the province by the capture of the fortress of Bemm, or Bamm; which was, after a gallant resistance, and several conflicts under the walls, ultimately surrendered to his mercy by its then possessor Shûjia-ud-dein. This unfortunate chief experienced at first a kind reception from his conqueror, but exhibiting some fresh proofs of hostility, he was finally put to death.

A. H. 741-42. A. D. 1340-41. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

The harmony which had for some time subsisted between Ameir Mahommed, and Peir Hûsseyne Tchoubauny was destined, through the arts of the evil disposed, to terminate in the course of the seven hundred and forty second of the Hidjerah; but as Peir Hûsseyne was compelled soon afterwards, by the disaffection of some of his principal followers, to withdraw to Tebreiz, to solicit the assistance of Ameir Peir Hussun Kotchek, he was there basely poisoned by the hand from which he sought relief. Irâk Ajem, with Shirauz, upon this, fell once more into the hands of Ameir Mûssaoud Shah; who now hastened from Baghdâd, and was quietly re-instated in the possession of his capital. Endeavoring, however, to redress the inhabitants against some excesses committed before his arrival, by Ameir Yaughy Pausty, that chief took offence, and availed himself of the first opportunity to put his superior to death. Ameir Shaikh Abû Ishauck was enabled however, with the assistance of the people of Shirauz, to attack and expel the murderer, and to assume the government in his own name.

A. H. 745-47. A. D. 1344-46. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Subsequent to these events, Kermaun was twice invaded by the same Ameir Abû Ishauck, once in seven hundred and forty-five, and a second time in the seven hundred and forty-seventh of the Hidjerah; on both which occasions the invader, after committing horrible devastation, was, however, compelled to return without deriving any permanent advantage. But in the course of the latter year, the Moghûls of Jermaun and Oughaun, who had been called in, at the request of Seyûrghetmesh the Karakhatayan, in the time of Arghûn Khaun, to protect the roads in the neighborhood of the province, beginning to exhibit some symptoms of a refractory disposition, Ameir Mahommed was under the necessity of leading his troops against them; and being defeated by them, in a battle which took place in the desert of Khawin, and forced to retire before them towards Kermaun, Ameir Abû Ishauck, on intelligence of the disaster, and in defiance of recent engagements, proceeded to the attack of Yezd; of which, in consequence of the absence of Shah Shurf-ud-dein, at this period in attendance upon his father, he obtained possession. Shah Shurf-ud-dein, hastened upon this to the defence of Meybûd, the cradle and retreat of his family, which Abû Ishauck had also dispatched a force to seize upon. Shah Shurf-ud-dein succeeded in anticipating the design, and in defeating the troops employed to carry it into execution. Abû Ishauck now appeared in person before Meybûd: but discovering in the course of a few days' hostilities, that he had inadvertently engaged in an enterprize full of danger and difficulty, he ventured to propose a personal interview with Shah Shurf-ud-dein Mûzuffur, at which an accommodation was readily agreed to on the part of the latter. Abû Ishauck returned without further delay to Yezd; where, finding that Sûltan Shah Jandaur, whom he had employed to assist the Jermaunian and Oughan, or perhaps Avghan tribes, had made but a discouraging progress in his operations against Ameir Mahommed, he had recourse to the mediation of two respectable and disinterested individuals, of their common faith, to bring about another treaty of peace; on the conclusion of which, he once more withdrew to Shirauz.

The chiefs of the two hostile tribes now claimed the protection of Ameir Mahommed, who consented to overlook their recent transgressions, and otherwise treated them with extraordinary liberality.

Nevertheless, renewed provocations on the part of these untractable and ferocious banditti soon led him to seek their entire extirpation; which, by the destruction of their leaders, he shortly afterwards accomplished. A. H. 749-54. A. D. 1348-53. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

In the seven hundred and forty-ninth* of the Hidjerah, Ameir Abû Ishauck, through an invasion of the territory of that prince, by a force under Sûltan Shah Jandanr, again violated his engagements with Ameir Mahommed Mûzuffur; but disgusted with these repeated instances of bad faith on the part of his employer, Sûltan Shah now determined at once to go over to his adversary; among whose most distinguished officers, he became immediately enrolled. Two years afterwards, about the seven hundred and fifty-first of the Hidjerah, Abû Ishauck proceeded, notwithstanding, once more to form the siege of Yezd; but after consuming much fruitless labour and exertion before the place, he was this time compelled to return to Shirauz, covered with disappointment. 'In seven hundred and forty-three,' he appears to have made his final effort for the subjugation of Kermaun, against which he directed a powerful army under one of his most distinguished generals. Ameir Mahommed, accompanied by his sons and noblest adherents, hastened to oppose the invaders, with whom he came to an action at a place called Punjangusht; and there, through the distinguished prowess and activity of his two sons, Shah Mûzuffur, and Shah Shûjiah, he totally defeated the troops of his adversary.

These repeated aggressions, Ameir Mahommed, in the early part of seven hundred and fifty-four, determined to retaliate by the final reduction of Shirauz; which, after a fruitless attempt at an accommodation on the part of his rival, (who declined a battle on his approach, and threw himself into his capital) he at length invested. During the siege, which he prosecuted with extraordinary vigor for many months, he was himself attacked by a severe indisposition; but, he experienced a still more grievous affliction in the loss of his eldest son, Shah Shurf-ud-dein Mûzuffur, who died in the former Jummaudy of this year, in the flower of life. He continued, however, to carry on his attacks without remission, and without exhibiting any outward mark of sorrow, until the third day of Shavaul,† when he made a general assault

*A. D. 1348. †October 29th, A. D. 1353.

A. H. 754-5. A. D. 1353-4.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

upon the town; into which, by a previous arrangement, he was admitted through the Mûristaun gate, by Kullû Nasser-ud-dein Omar, the provost, or warden, of that quarter of the city. Such at the same time, is described to have been the state of insensibility to which Abû Ishauck had reduced himself by frequent debauch, that he could not be immediately persuaded, that the alarm which reached his ears was occasioned by the presence of his adversary; of whom he spoke with a contempt which evinced the blindest fatuity. He was, however, not suffered to be long dubious of the truth; and he fled, crest fallen and dismayed, towards the Shoulistaun, or sandy region, on the sea coast of Mekraun;* while his triumphant rival proceeded at leisure to establish his power, and to assume the royal authority in the metropolis of Sûliman; a title by which the fair city of Shirauz has been sometimes dignified by the orientals. In the mean time, the extruded chief continued his retreat through the Shoulestaun to Kellaseffaid, the white fortress, and from thence dispatched to solicit the aid of Ameir Shaikh Hussun the Eylekhaunian, at Baghdâd. From that prince he received, accordingly, a reinforcement of ten thousand horse, with which, and some other troops whom he contrived to re-assemble, he now returned towards Shirauz. But Shah Shûjia, at the instance of his father, hastening to oppose him, his followers dispersed without coming to action; and the unfortunate prince, thus abandoned to his destiny, and accompanied by a few only of his most faithful friends, took the road towards Isfahaun. Shah Shûjia on returning to Shirauz on this occasion, was invested by his father, with the government of Kermaun, to which he repaired shortly afterwards.

Leaving his sister's son, Shah Sûltan, in the government of Shirauz, Ameir Mahommed Mûzuffur proceeded, in the seven hundred and fifty-fifth* of the Hidjerah to invade Irâk Ajem, being joined at the station called the yellow palace, by his son Shah Shûjia from Kermaun. At this place, intelligence being, however, conveyed to him, that Eyetemûr, at the head of a division of the adherents of Abû Ishauck, was advancing from the Shoulistaun towards Shirauz, Shah Shûjia was ne-

* From what follows, it may, notwithstanding, apply to the rocky territory north west of Shirauz.

* A. D. 1354.

cessarily dispatched to avert the danger from that quarter; but on his march, being joined by Shah Sûltan the governor of Shirauz, he learnt from him that the enemy were already in possession of the city, and had set fire to the quarter of the Mûrestaun. Shah Shûjia on this intelligence hastened his march; and, breaking unexpectedly into the town, cut to pieces both Eyetemûr and his followers, and the whole of those who had joined his standard; of whom not one escaped to describe the unlooked for catastrophe.

A. H. 755-57. A. D. 1354-56. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

In the mean time, Ameir Mahommed conducted his troops to the gates of Isfahaun, of which he immediately formed the siege;* but the defence being protracted beyond his expectations, and his army evincing, moreover, a disposition to be refractory, he was compelled for the present to forego the design, and return to Shirauz.

About two years afterwards, in the seven hundred and fifty-seventh of the Hidjerah, he was, however, enabled to resume the siege; but, the rigor of the cold season supervening, he consigned the prosecution of the enterprize, after some months, to his nephew, Shah Sûltan, recently mentioned, and removed to a milder climate. Shah Sûltan exerted his utmost resources and activity, to make himself master of the town, and, in the course of the succeeding spring, he found himself in possession of his object. In these appalling circumstances, perceiving himself shut out from every hope of deliverance by the reduction of his capital, Ameir Shaikh Abû Ishauk Eynjû determined to fly for sanctuary to Moulana Asseil-ud-dein, the Shaikh-ul-Islaum, or patriarch of the province; but as Shah Sûltan, utterly unmindful of the multiplied obligations under which he stood to the unfortunate prince for former favors, had dispersed his emissaries in every direction to discover his retreat, it also occurred to the Moulana, that they must ultimately come upon their object; and he therefore did not scruple to acquaint Shah Sûltan with the abode of his victim. The Sûltan, with ungenerous zeal, immediately sent to seize the person of the unhappy Ameir; who, together with one hundred of his most obnoxious adherents, was now conveyed towards Shirauz. The guards

*During the siege Ameir Mahommed is said to have acknowledged the authority of Abû Bukker of the race of Abbas, who had proclaimed himself, in Egypt, the successor to the Khalifs, with the title of Ul Miatezzed Billah.

A. H. 758-9. A. D. 1357-8. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

entrusted with the care of his person, conducted Abû Ishauck by unknown roads, to the open space, or esplanade, before the gate of Istakhaur, where Ameir Mahommed, with the Ulemas, Kauzies, and principal inhabitants, awaited his arrival. And, here the devoted captive being interrogated by Ameir Mahommed as to his conduct in the death of a certain Ameir Hadje Zoraub, and acknowledging without reserve in his reply, that this person had suffered by his orders, was immediately delivered over to the sons of the same Zoraub, to atone with his blood for the death of their father. The youngest of these struck off his head on the spot, with a single stroke of his scimitar. This event, which was regretted by multitudes of people, took place in the latter part of the former Jummaudy of the seven hundred and fifty-eighth of the Hidjerah.*

In the course of seven hundred and fifty-nine, Ameir Mahommed proceeded to Isfahaun, in order to prepare the equipments of an expedition, which he had in contemplation, against the province of Azerbayjaun; and was received, on his arrival in the neighborhood, by Shah Sûltan, at the head of the most distinguished inhabitants, who had hastened to meet, and who now conducted him into the metropolis of Irâk, with every possible demonstration of respect. Unfortunately, in consequence of his indefatigable zeal and eminent personal services, particularly in exploring the retreat, and relieving him from his apprehensions of an enemy so formidable as Abû Ishauck, Shah Sûltan had been led to indulge expectations of favor, on the part of Ameir Mahommed, which it might have been difficult to realize. The reception which he experienced was, however, equally cold and mortifying to his hopes. He proceeded notwithstanding, to provide a most magnificent entertainment, to which he invited his uncle. On entering the banqueting room, the eyes of the old chief, however, no sooner fell on the costliness and splendor of the arrangements, than he gave a signal to his attendants to seize on, and appropriate to themselves, the whole of what had been thus collected at a vast expence to do him particular honor; after which, and having spoken to his nephew in language peculiarly acrimonious and severe, he abruptly quitted the apartment. Treatment apparently so unmer-

*May A. D. 1357.

ited and injurious, deeply implanted in the bosom of the Sûltan, that animosity, which, at the proper period, did not fail to display its effects. A. H. 759. A. D. 1358.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

These ebullitions of jealousy, or ill temper, did not, however, divert Ameir Mahommed from the object which had brought him into Irâk. With twelve thousand chosen horse, the flower of that country, of Laristaun, and Parss, he advanced in due time towards Azerbayjaun; Aukhy Jouk the governor of the province, at the head of a superior force of thirty thousand men, at the same time hastening to oppose him. At a place called Meyan Guerdan, these hostile armies came to a battle, in which, after a severe and obstinate conflict, Ameir Mahommed was ultimately victorious, his two sons, Shah Shûjia and Shah Mahmûd pursuing the vanquished all the way to Nakhtchûan: where, for the space of three days, they celebrated their victory, by every species of festivity and recreation, and then returned to rejoin their father. On this occasion, they were destined to experience from him, a treatment similar to that by which he had already alienated the attachment of Shah Sûltan; and he completed the measure of their grievances by unjustly ascribing to Shah Yaheya the whole merit of his recent victory, which determined them to watch an opportunity of revenge. At the expiration of two months, during which he continued at Tebreiz, he received intelligence that Sûltan Aweiss the Eylekhaunian was advancing from Baghdâd, to recover the capital of Azerbayjaun; and his astrologers having long since taught him that he was destined to experience some grievous calamity, from a warrior tall in stature, with the features and complexion of a Tartar, he all at once discovered in Sûltan Aweiss, the object of his apprehensions, and suddenly withdrew towards Isfahaun. During his retreat, his behavior towards his sons became every day still more aggravating. He would menace them at one time with the loss of sight, at another with death; and on some occasions, observes our author, he would condescend to address them in language that would disgrace the lips of a camel driver.

Under these circumstances of perpetual irritation, Shah Shûjia and Shah Mahmûd, both finally determined on seizing the person of the old prince; and, for that purpose entered into immediate consultation with their kinsman, Shah Sûltan; who availed himself of the opportunity to apprize them, that their father had already formed the design

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A. H. 760. A. D. 1359. Kh laussut-ul-akhbaur.

of shutting them up in a prison, and of raising Sûltan Abû Yezzeid to the throne of Irâk, reserving to himself the command of the armies. And upon this, a plan was concerted between the three malcontent princes, to seize and immure the person of the old monarch, immediately on their arrival at Isfahaun.

Some time had, however, been suffered to elapse after their return to that city, when, one night, Shah Sûltan appeared unexpectedly at the residence of Shah Shûjia, alone and on foot, and urgently intreated that he might be allowed to make his escape without delay; since he had that moment discovered that the whole of their designs had been betrayed to Ameir Mahommed; and which, if true, it was impossible that they should be suffered to outlive the ensuing morrow. Shah Shûjia made some effort to appease his apprehensions; but it was finally resolved to set them effectually at rest, by seizing the person of Ameir Mahommed the very next morning. Accordingly, the three princes proceeded together early in the forenoon of the following day, to carry their design into execution. Ameir Mahommed happened at the moment of their approach to be employed in reading his Korân, in one of the Bâlakhânahs, or balconies, of the palace. Shah Mahmûd remained at the outward gate, to occupy the attention of the servants of the court; Shah Shûjia, with some of the most resolute of his followers, took post at the foot of the stair-case; while Mûssaufer Boudatchei, with six of the boldest conspirators, ascended to the presence of the old chief, who demanded with some surprise where they had been to? They evaded the question by beginning to state that Shah Shûjia had not the means of defraying his most necessary expences; and Ameir Mahommed upon this, laying his hand upon his sword, with an air of displeasure, Mûssaufer immediately threw himself upon him. The old monarch rose, however, and defended himself with considerable activity and presence of mind, until overpowered by the united strength of the six other conspirators; who at last succeeded in securing his person, and forcing him into the interior of the palace, where he continued to give vent to his rage, without ceasing, and in the most violent language, until sunset. He was sent off the same night towards the castle of Tabarek, where, on the nineteenth of Ramzaun

of the seven hundred and sixtieth of the Hidjerah,* he was finally deprived of sight by his offended kinsman Shah Sûltan. A. H. 760-65. A. D. 1359-64.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Shah Shûjia now publicly assumed the royal authority; and repairing to Shirauz, from thence dispatched orders to remove his father from Tabarek, to Kella seffeid, in the mountains north of Nobundejan. When he had, however, remained in confinement at that place for about two months, the Shah zâdahs became ashamed of their unnatural conduct; and opening a correspondence with their insulted parent, sought to conciliate his forgiveness, by every method they could devise. An accommodation was at last arranged, by which it was finally agreed that the old prince should return to Shirauz, and be restored to the royal authority; Shah Shûjia engaging at the same time to take no step in the government, without the concurrence of his father. Ameir Mahommed upon this hastened once more to Shirauz; where he found every stipulation punctually adhered to by Shah Shûjia. But, when matters had proceeded in this train for a little while, Ameir Mahommed unfortunately suffered himself to be prevailed upon, by the suggestions of the evil disposed, to adopt a plan for seizing the person of Shah Shûjia, and for raising Sûltan Abû Yezzeid to the royal dignity; while the superintendance of the armies should be transferred to Shah-Yaheya.† Shah Shûjia receiving, however, intimation of the design, contrived to elude the snare, by cutting off the whole of his adversaries, before they had an opportunity of carrying their plans into execution. Ameir Mahommed was now banished to the Gurrumseyr, the country below the mountains, towards the sea coast, probably so called from the excessive heat of the climate. Here he fell into a state of ill health, under which, when he had continued to linger for some time, Shah Shûjia, in the expectation that he might be relieved by the change, directed him to be removed to the fortress of Bamm, in Kermaun. The old monarch derived, however, but little benefit from the removal; and breathed his last at the close of the latter Rebbeia of the seven hundred and sixty fifth of the Hidjerah,† precisely fifty-two years after the death of his father. His remains were conveyed to Meybûd, the early abode of the family; where they were committed to

* August 12th, A. D. 1359. † February, 1364.

A. H. 765-95. A. D. 1364-93. the grave in the edifice called the college of Mûzufriah, possibly erected by Ameir Mûzuffur.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur. Jullaul-ud-dein SHAH SHUJIA had, as we have seen, exercised the royal authority for some years previous to the death of his father; and he died on Sunday night, the twenty-second of Shabaun of the seven hundred and eighty-sixth of the Hidjerah,* after a splendid, but turbulent reign, of five and twenty years and two months. He is described to have surpassed his contemporaries in every virtue, and every accomplishment that could secure the respect and admiration of mankind; but the limits of our plan have necessarily precluded our entering into a relation of the contest, which was long protracted between him and his brother Shâh Mahmûd, supported by the troops of Sûltan Aweiss the Eylekhaunian, monarch of Baghdâd, and which ultimately terminated, notwithstanding, in favor of Shah Shûjia. At his death he is said, in a most eloquent letter to have recommended his children to the protection of Teymûr.

Sûltan Mûjauhed-ud-dein ZEYNE-UL-AUBBEDEIN, the son of Shah Shûjia, succeeded to the throne of Shirauz; but, his father's recommendation was not sufficient to protect him from being expelled his dominions by Teymûr; in the vortex of whose tremendous career we find ourselves thus insensibly engaged, in the seven hundred and eighty ninth of the Hidjerah.

SHAH MUNSUR, the son of Shah Mûzuffur, and nephew of Shah Shujia, on the retreat of Teymûr, in order to suppress the rebellion of Touktemesh Khaun of Keptchauk, in the course of the seven hundred and ninetieth of the Hidjerah, advanced from Shûshter, and took possession of the government of Shirauz. But, on the fourteenth of the former Jummaudy of the year seven hundred and ninety five,† after exhibiting proofs of unparalleled valour, he was killed in an obstinate battle, in which he dared to oppose his person to that of the conqueror of the oriental world. He has been celebrated by the pen of Hauffez, who hailed his accession in some lines, of which the following couplet is said to have been the exordium.

"Lo royal Munsûr's victor flag displayed,"
"The joy of promised triumphs to the stars conveyed!"

* October 8th, A. D. 1384. † 26th of March, A. D. 1393.

The poet's enthusiastic vision was, however, as we have just seen, deplorably reversed in the sequel; and on the tenth of Rudjub, of the same year,* the whole of the race of Mûzuffur, (with the exception of Sûltan Zeyne-ul-aubbedein and his brother, the sons of Shah Shûjia both deprived of sight, and transported beyond the Oxus) was extinguished in all its branches by the exterminating vengeance of TEYMUR; when it had subsisted, in considerable splendor, reckoning from the time at which the government of Meybûd was conferred on Ameir Mûzuffur, possibly about the seven hundred and fifth of the Hidjerah, for a period of about ninety years. A. H. 795. A. D. 1393. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

IIId of the Serbedaurians, in Subbuzwaur.

Respecting the origin of this race, the author proceeds to inform us that there lived, in the village of Bashtein dependedon Bahik, in the western quarter of Khorassaun, a person of some distinction, of the name and title of Shahaub-ud-dein Fuzzulûllah, who had five sons, whose names were as follows; Amein-ud-dein, Abdurrezauk, Wejeiah, ud-dein Mûssâoud, Nusserûllah, and Shums-ud-dein. Of these the two former became, by their distinguished gallantry, of considerable eminence in the favor of Sûltan Abû Sâeid Khodabundah, the successor of Uljaytû: but, Ameir Abdurrezauk returning to his native village of Bashtein, on the death of that monarch, in the seven hundred and thirty sixth of the Hidjerah, found it in a state of no small confusion from the following circumstance, not unfrequently repeated in the history of oppression. Of the Serbedarians.

An agent of the reigning government of Khorassaun had presented himself in the village, and demanded from two brothers, of the names of Hussun, and Hûsseyne, the sons of Hamzah, to be furnished with wine and women for his recreation. To the article of wine, the two brothers appear to have made no demur; but on that of women they requested not to be importuned. The agent, or envoy, for that seems to have been his designation, persisted however in this demand, and proceeded to take some offensive liberties with the females of the family. Enraged at his insolence, the brothers now drew their swords, and proclaiming, that though *their heads were destined for the stake*, this was a dishonor

* May 20th, A. D. 1393.

A. H. 736. A. D. 1335. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

to which they could not submit, immediately sacrificed him to their just vengeance. In consequence of this act of violence Alla-ud-dein Mahommed, who presided over the affairs of Khorassaun at the time, had dispatched to require the attendance of the brothers to answer for the offence; and it was while the villagers were devising some pretext to elude the summons, that Abdurrezauk arrived among them. Having received from them an explanation of what had passed, he found no difficulty in gaining over a party of his country men; and he proceeded to dismiss the messengers, in a manner which but little accorded with the expectations of their employer. A detachment of fifty soldiers was next employed by Alla-ud-dein with still worse success; being opposed, and ignominiously expelled by Abdurrezauk and his companions.

The inhabitants of Bashtein were now the whole of them assembled by Ameir Abdurrezauk; who proceeded without reserve to explain to them the magnitude of the danger in which they were engaged, and to assure them that the slightest remissness, or irresolution, would be followed by inevitable extermination. And he at the same time brought to their recollection, that it was a thousand times better, like brave men, *to see their heads alternately exposed upon the stake*, than like dastardly cowards, to be butchered without resistance. For this reason, together with what had been formerly expressed by the brothers when they put the insolent envoy to death, they received the appellation of *Ser-be-dauran*—those whose heads are devoted to the stake: which, probably, became at once the watchword, and the name of their community. But without further dilation, having in the course of a very short time rendered their arms extremely formidable, the insurgents succeeded in intercepting the Vezzeir of Khorassaun, the lately mentioned Alla-ud-dein Mahommed, on his way to Asterabad; and having put him cruelly to death, they advanced to Subbuzwaur, of which with the whole country in that direction, they made themselves masters, without further difficulty.

Ameir Abdurrezauk presuming, however, on this success to solicit an union with the daughter of Alla-ud-dein, the lady conceived, by some means or other, that he was actuated by licentious and unwarrantable designs on the person of her son; and, resolutely withholding her assent, immediately quitted the town of Subbuzwaur, which was be-

come the residence of her suitor, and made the best of her way towards Neyshapûr. In an evil hour, Abdurrezauk made choice of his brother Mûssâoud, to pursue and bring her back; and this chief succeeded accordingly, in comng up with the fugitive dame. But in endeavoring to compel her to return, he suffered his compassion to be so effectually wrought upon by her tears, and other expressions of female distress, that he bound himself by an oath, no further to interfere with her in any respect. He then ventured to return to the presence of his brother, with a representation that he had failed to overtake the object of his pursuit; which, producing some very acrimonious remarks on the part of Abdurrezauk, Mûssâoud immediately resented by an appeal to his knife, with which he killed him on the spot. Such appears to have been the origin of the Serbedaurians, and such the early fate of their first leader.

A. H. 736-53. A. D. 1335-52. Kholaussut-ûl-akhbaur.

Ameir Wejeiah-ud-dein Mussâoud on thus destroying his brother, succeeded to his authority; and, about seven years after his accession was taken and put to death by the prince of Rûstumdaur; a part of Mazanderaun, which he had unadvisedly engaged in an expedition to reduce.

Mahommed Eytemer assumed the government on intelligence of the death of Mûssâoud about the seven hundred and forty third of the Hidjerah; and was himself assassinated, at the instance of one of the Serbedaurian chiefs, about the year seven hundred and forty five.

To him succeeded Kalû, or Kellû Asfendiaur, whose authority was however of short duration; being, in consequence of his arbitrary and sanguinary conduct, not long afterwards also put to death by his followers.

Shums-ud-dein Fuzzulullah, the brother of their first chief, was the person now chosen by the Serbedaurians to preside over their destinies; but being entirely devoted to his pleasures, he made a voluntary resignation of his authority, after he had exercised it for about seven months.

Khaujah Shums-ud-dein Ally received the government from his predecessor, some time in the year seven hundred and forty eight. He was also assasinated by Heyder Kassaub, one of his own principal officers, in the seven hundred and fifty third of the Hidjerah.

A. H. 753-83. A. D. 1352-81. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Khaujah YAHEYA succeeded by the choice of the Serbedaurians; and having governed them with considerable reputation for a period of four years and eight months, was cut off through the treachery of his wife's brother.

Khaujah ZEHEIR-UD-DEIN Kerauvy succeeded, through the exertions of Heyder Kassaub; but being a slave to his pleasures he was, at the expiration of forty days, removed from authority by the same chieftain, who now took possession for himself.

Pehlewaun HEYDER KASSAUB (the butcher) did not, however, enjoy his usurpation, above four months; being at the expiration of that period, namely in the latter Rebbeia of the seven hundred and sixty first of the Hidjerah,* cut off, at the instance of his master, by a slave belonging to Pehlewaun Hussun Damaghauny.

Ameir LUTFULLAH, the son of Wejeiah-ud-dein Mûssâoud, succeeded through the influence of the same Hussun Damaghauny, who was his preceptor, or Atabek; on occasion of some jealousies with whom he was, however, at the expiration of fifteen months, in Rudjub of the seven hundred and sixty second of the Hidjerah† deposed and put to death by that chief.

Pehlewaun HUSSUN Damaghauny, upon this, possessed himself of the government. He retained his authority for four years and four months; until about the month of Zilkaud of the seven hundred and sixty sixth of the Hidjerah‡ when like most of his predecessors, he was assasinated by his own followers, at the instigation of Khaujah Ally Mûeyud; who had taken advantage of his absence on a distant expedition, to make himself master of Subbuzwaur. Khaujah ALLY MUEYUD succeeded, and retained the government of Subbuzwaur together with Neyshapûr, and other parts of the adjoining extensive territory, under considerable vicissitude of fortune, until the seven hundred and eighty third of the Hidjerah; when, the greater part of Khorassaun having been already subjugated by Teymûr, and that conqueror being on his advance towards Subbuzwaur, Ally Mûeyud also thought proper to submit, on his arrival at Neyshapûr. The independence of the *Serbedaurians* appears to have thus terminated, after it had subsisted for something less than half a century.

*March, A. D. 1360. †May, A. D. 1361. ‡July, A. D. 1365.

IVth, of the Ghourians, or Sûltans of Ghour.

A. H. 448-92.
A. D. 1056 98.

Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

On the authority of former historians, it is stated, that when Feridoun, the restorer of the ancient Persian monarchy, succeeded in subverting the power of the Arabian usurper Zohauk, some of the race of the latter withdrew for safety to the mountains of Ghour, between Bâlkh and Seiestaun; where, having secured an asylum, they supported themselves in independent sovereignty, in succession, until the time of Mahmûd of Ghéznein. At that period it was vested in a prince of the name of Soury, who falling into the hands of Mahmûd, was by him put to death; but a grandson of the same Soury contriving to escape from the power of the Ghéznevide, made his way into Hindûstaun; where he fixed his abode in one of the celebrated temples, or pagodas, of that country. The exile had a son of the name of Saum, who, towards the decline of life took the resolution of returning to the land of his ancestors; and for that purpose embarked, with the whole of his family, on board of one of the vessels employed on the coast of India, and proceeded to sea. Meeting, however, with adverse winds, and tempestuous weather, the vessel foundered on the voyage, and every soul on board perished, excepting Hûsseyne the son of Saum; who, after having been tossed about on a single plank, for three days and as many nights, at the mercy of the winds and waves, at last fortunately reached the shore. Thus miraculously delivered from the perils of the ocean, Hûsseyne made for the first town that he could discover; and at the entrance of a small shop laid himself down to sleep for the night, where one of the patrole, or watchmen, taking him for a robber, immediately seized and threw him into a prison, in which he continued for a period of seven years. At the expiration of that period, the reigning prince happening to die, a general enlargement of prisoners was proclaimed throughout the country; and the unfriended Hûsseyne was among others permitted to avail himself of the indulgence.

Origin of the Ghourians.

Once more at large, the son of Saum now took the road towards Gheznein; but on his way falling in with a band of robbers, they were unfortunately so struck with his apparent bodily strength and activity, that they furnished him with a horse and armour, and prevailed upon him to enrol himself in their band. The very same night they were, however, the whole of them, surprised and taken by a detachment of

A. H. 492-515. A. D. 1098-1121. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

the troops of Sûltan Ibrauhim of Gheznîn, by whom they were immediately bound hand and neck and conveyed to that capital; and they were on their arrival, without much ceremony, by the Sûltan condemned to die. When the executioner approached to bind the eyes of Hûsseyne, the hopeless unfortunate addressed himself to heaven in these terms. "Almighty being, I know that with thy divine nature "error is eternally incompatible; how comes it, nevertheless, that "these men are permitted to destroy an innocent stranger!" The words made an impression on the executioner; and he found means, through one of the royal household, to get them repeated to Sûltan Ibrauhim. Hûsseyne was now ordered to the presence, and desired by the Sûltan to relate his history; which having made known, as far as he thought convenient, he was upon this directed to take his rank, among the Haujebs, or chamberlains of the palace.

On the accession of Sultan Mûssâoud, in the four hundred and ninety second of the Hidjerah, the fortune of Hûsseyne the son of Saum was so far advanced, that he received from that monarch the government of Ghour, the seat of his ancestors. But his children, on his death, throwing off the authority of the race of Sebekteggin, a series of inveterate hostilities ensued; in which Alla-ud-dein, the eldest of those children, having expelled Behrâm Shah from Gheznin, and leaving his brother Seyf-ud-dein in possession of that capital, those events were ultimately brought to pass, on his return to Feyrouzkôh, which have been already related in a former page.

Alla-ud-dein HUSSEYNE jahaun souz (the conflagrator) the son of Hûsseyne-Eben-Saum, most signally avenged the death of his brother, betrayed by the inhabitants of Gheznîn, in the manner formerly related. But being at a subsequent period defeated by Sûltan Sunjur of the race of Seljûk, in an attempt against the province of Khorassaun, he became the prisoner of that monarch. He made himself, however, so acceptable to the Seljûkian by the conviviality of his disposition, and an ingenious piece of flattery at a convivial moment, that he was, after a short and easy captivity, restored to the government of his country. He did not, however, long survive his restoration.

Seyf-ud-dein MAHOMMED, the son of Alla-ud-dein, succeeded on the death of his father; but at the expiration of little more than a

twelve month, engaging in hostilities with the predatory Ghezzians, he was, in an action with those banditti, first treacherously wounded by one of his own Ameirs, whose brother he had formerly put to death, and finally dispatched by one of the enemy. A. H. 556-602. A. D. 1161-1206. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Sûltan Abûl Futtah Gheyauth-ud-dein MAHOMMED, the son of Saum, succeeded on the death of his couzin german, for they are said to have been brother's children, about the five hundred and fifty sixth of the Hidjerah. He made himself master of the greater part of Khorassaun, by the expulsion of the Khaurezmians; and died, after a long and prosperous reign of three and forty years, in the five hundred and ninety ninth of the Hidjerah. He was buried in the principal mosque of Herât.

Sûltan SHAHAUB-UD-DEIN, the son of Saum, had been already seated on the throne of Ghezniu, by his brother Gheyauth-ud-dein, so far back as the year 577; and was the conqueror of Dehly and the north of India, which he placed under the authority of Kût-bud-dein Eybek one of his slaves. On the death of his brother, being in the territory between Tûss and Serkhess in Khorassaun, he proceeded immediately to Baudgheiss; where having performed the last duties to the remains of the deceased monarch, he invested himself with his authority, and hastened to Ghezuein. With an army, which he had there drawn together, he shortly afterwards advanced towards Khaurezm; but, being totally defeated in a battle with Sûltan Mahommed, he was compelled to retire once more to Gheznein. He was, however, preparing for an expedition of three years into Tûrkestaun, when some hostile indications among the natives of Kohjûd, between the Indus and the Behaut, drew his attention to that quarter; and he was on his return from a successful inroad against those refractory mountaineers, when, on the third of Shabaun of the six hundred and second of the Hidjerah,* he was assassinated, at a place called Deybek or Debeik, by one of the Fedayan, or zealots of Almowut.

Sultan MAHMUD the son of Gheyauth-ud-dein, on the death of his uncle, succeeded at Feyrouz-koh of Ghour, to the authority of his ancestors; and finally included within his dominions, together with

* March 13th, A. D. 1206.

A. H. 607. A. D. 1210. Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

Ghour and Gheznein, a considerable part of the territory beyond the Indus, and of Khorassaun. Having, however, in compliance with instructions from Sûltan Mahommed of Khaurezm, with whom he was now at peace, imprisoned Alla Shah the son of Tukkesh Khaun, the brother of that monarch, who had sought protection at Feyrouzkoh, some Khorassaunies, and natives of Irâk attached to the exile, scaled the terraces of the palace of Sûltan Mahmûd, on the night of the third of Suffur of the six hundred and seventh of the Hidjerah,† and succeeded in putting him to death.

Subsequent to this unexpected event, Saum, the son of Sûltan Mahmûd, and Atseiz the son of Alla-ud-dein Jahaunsouz, made some feeble efforts to sustain the grandeur derived from their ancestors; but as the power of the family was now about to terminate, and Sûltan Mahommed the Khaurezmian had by this time made himself entire master of the Persian empire, their exertions were unavailing: and the hand of destiny thus finally closed the record of the race of Ghour.

Of an inferior branch of the family which governed in Bamiaun and Tokhaurestaun, and of the slaves of the same family who attained to sovereign power in Hindûstaun, it would be here unnecessary to insert the brief account of the author. Neither is it of sufficient importance to introduce the history of the race of Guerret, said to claim its descent from Sûltan Sunjur the Seljûkian; which flourished with considerable splendour at Herât and in the neighboring countries, from the time of Gheyauth-ud-dein Mahommed, the son of Saum, to the irruption of the Tcheghatayans, or Moghûls of Transoxiana, under TEYMUR, of whom more hereafter.

† July 26th, A. D. 1210.

CHAP. X.

THE origin of the KHAUNS, or sovereigns of the Turkish, or Tartar nations, which overspread the vast interior continent of Asia, has been ascribed by the recorded traditions of the east, to Yapheth, or Japhet, the son of Noah; whom the plurality of historians have agreed to represent as a *Peyghamber-merussûl*, or prophet acting under the immediate and express inspiration of heaven, for the instruction or reformation of erring humanity. When, after escaping the tremendous catastrophe of the deluge, the ark rested on mount Jûd, and the great patriarch, either by the direct inspiration of the divine being, or from the impulse of his own discretion, proceeded to allot to his children the different quarters of the earth, he assigned to Yapheth the countries of the north and east; and we are further informed that when the latter was about to depart for the regions allotted to him, he requested that his father would instruct him in some form of prayer, or invocation, that should, whenever he required it, procure for his people the blessing of rain. In compliance with this request Noah imparted to his son, one of the mysterious names of God, inscribing it on a stone; which, as an everlasting memorial, he delivered at the same time into his possession. Yapheth now proceeded with the whole of his family to the north east, according to appointment, devoting himself, as is the manner of those who inhabit the boundless plains in that quarter, to a wandering and pastoral life: and having instituted for his followers the most just and virtuous regulations for their conduct, never failed to procure for them, through the influence of the sacred deposit consigned to him by his father, rain and moisture for their lands, whenever occasion made it necessary. This stone has been denominated by the Arabs, the hidjer-ul-mattyr—lapis imbrifer, or rainstone; by the Persians, Sung-yeddah—aidstone or stone of power; and by the Turks, *Jeddahtaush*. And it is affirmed that the same stone was preserved among the Moghûls

Habeib-us-seyr.

Origin of the nations of Tartary.

Habeib-us-seyr.

and Ouzbeks, possessing the same mysterious property, to the days of the author, in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Having lived to be the father of a numerous progeny, Yapheth withdrew, in the process of time, from this transitory to a more permanent state of existence; leaving, according to Shurf-ud-dein the Yezdian, in his introduction to the Zuffurnâmah, seven sons, in the following order; I. Tûrk; II. Khozzez or Khozzer; III. Seklaub; IV. Rûsse; V. Mussung or Munsug; VI. Tchein or Cheen; VII. Gomaury, by some nations called also, Keymaul. To these have been added four more by another author, making altogether eleven, of whom the following are given as the names of Three; VIII. Khillidje; IX. Sedsan; X. Ghezz. Of the eleventh the name is not recorded.

On the death of Yapheth, his eldest son Tûrk, whom the nations of Tartary have further distinguished by the name of Yapheth Oghly, and Oghlan, the younger Yapheth, succeeded to his father's authority; and is described as equally brave, polished, intelligent, and discreet. He fixed his abode at Seiling, or Selingai, celebrated for its hot and cold springs; first constructing his habitations of poles and straw. Ultimately he was, however, the inventor of tents; and he instructed his people to fabricate for themselves short tunics, and fillets for the head, of the skins of Animals. In other respects he abundantly fulfilled the duties of a just and beneficent ruler; and he is considered by the Turks, or nations of Tartary, as the first of their monarchs, in the same manner as Keyomars is considered as the first of the kings of Persia. He had five sons. I. Almenjah; II. Toutug or Toumuk; III. Tchuggul; IV. Bereskhaur; V. Amlauk. Of the second of these, whose name by latter historians, has been corrupted into Ghoudug, it is stated, that one day while on a hunting party, letting fall a part of what he was eating to the ground, which happened to be impregnated with salt, he found, when he picked his morsel up again, and conveyed it to his mouth, the flavor so agreeable, that he forthwith introduced among his countrymen for the first time, the use of salt with their food.

Of Khozzez, or Khozzer, the second son of Yapheth, it is related that he settled on the banks of the Attel, or river Volga so called; where he devoted himself to the taking of foxes, and of their skins taught his followers to make their clothing. In exploring the moun-

tain-caverns, his children, conducted by a swarm of bees, discovered a mass of honey, of which they soon learnt to make confections. Straitened by a numerous progeny, Seklaub, the third of the Yaphethites, alternately applied to his brothers Rûsse, and Khozzez, and Gomaury, for permission to erect his dwelling in their territories; and receiving from each a decided refusal, a war ensued, in the course of which the Seklaubiah, or Sclavonians, the descendants of Seklaub, were defeated; and retiring beyond the boundary of the seventh climate, into the frigid zone, were compelled by the intensity of the cold, to seek for habitations in the bowels of the earth. On the authority of the Rouzut-us suffâ it is further related, that one of the wives of Seklaub dying in child birth, the new born infant was consigned to be suckled by his fathers hounds; hence when he became of age the child, like one of the canine species, sprung upon every man that fell in his way. With respect to Rûsse, the fourth of the sons of Yapheth, nothing more is mentioned, than that he was a fierce and intractable savage, and that the practice of judicial inquiry, (Yerghû pûrsiden) was introduced by him; an argument rather of improvement in the arts of life, if it was not indeed accompanied with the torture. Munsug, the fifth of the sons of Yapheth, and possible the progenitor of the *Massagetæ*, was distinguished for his crafty and perfidious disposition, and settled on the confines of Bulghaur. Habeib-us-seyr.

In the introduction to the Zuffurnamah already adverted to, it is, it seems, stated that Munsug, or as he is sometimes denominated, Messenje, had a son called Ghezz, and that from him descended the Ghezzian tribes, the most ferocious and vicious of all the Moghûl race; although, from a preceding statement, we were led to consider this individual as the son of Yapheth, without any intermediate link in the chain. On the death of their common parent, however, a contest is said to have arisen between this Ghezz and his elder brother Yapheth Oghlan, on the subject of the Sungyeddah, of which the former had by some means or other possessed himself. For, when his brother made a demand of the precious deposit, Ghezz contrived to impose upon him, instead of the real Sungyeddah, a supposititious one, which he had himself engraved for the purpose; and the fraud which had been put in practice upon him, being detected on the first occasion on which he was required

Habeib-us-seyr.

to invoke the heavenly powers for rain, Yapheth Oghlan proceeded at the head of his followers to punish the insolent imposition. In the course of the hostilities which ensued, Beighû the eldest son of Ghezz, was slain on the field of battle; and the animosity which hence originated, continues to subsist to this day (that on which Khondemeir was writing his history) between the descendants of the two brothers.

Tchein, or Cheen, the sixth of the sons of Yapheth, became an inhabitant of that region which still retains his name; and was distinguished for subtilty of invention, and discrimination of judgment. To him are, of course, ascribed the arts of painting and sculpture, of weaving in mixed, or divers colours, and the discovery of silk, from the labours of the silk worm. In short, he is recorded as the inventor of all those admired productions in manufacture and art, for which the natives of China have ever been, and still continue, so deservedly celebrated. His son Mâtchein constructed, during the life of his father, the city to which he gave his own name; and which extended in the process of time to the countries situated between China proper, and India.* This latter prince introduced the practice of wearing feathers in the turban; and he also first discovered, and applied to use the precious drug, generated under the navel of the musk antelope.

Of Gomaury, (Gomer) the seventh of the sons of Yapheth, it is alleged that he became entirely devoted to his pleasures, but more particularly to those of the chace; and that he fixed his abode on the spot subsequently occupied by the city of Baghdâd, if indeed this is not an error of the transcriber. He had two sons, Bulghaur, and Burtauss, or Bertas; and it was the latter of these two, that first brought into use the skins of the ermine, and the sable.

The elder brother, Tûrk, or Yapheth Oghlan, after attaining to the age of two hundred and forty, died; and was succeeded by his son Almenjah Khaun, who proved a just and virtuous monarch, adding considerably to the prudent regulations established by his father. At a very advanced age he chose however to abdicate the sovereign power in favor of his son, and to withdraw to a life of seclusion. *Deib Bakûi Khaun*, the son of Almenjah Khaun. This appellative, or rather the first term of it, *Deib*, is stated to signify glory, a throne, and dignity. He was a magnificent and puissant prince, and at his death devised the succession to his son. *Geyûg* or *Guyûg Khaun* the son of Deib Bâkûi,

* Unless, indeed this is to be identified, with Mangi,

on the death of his father, seated himself on the throne of the Turkish sovereigns, and at the close of life also devolved the succession to his son. *Alenjah Khaun* the son of Guyûg Khaun, proved like his predecessors a just and beneficent prince; but the Turkish nation, elated by the pride of uninterrupted prosperity, dishonored his reign by forsaking the path of rectitude, the worship of the true God, and erring into the absurd systems of idolatry and impiety. Alenjah Khaun had two sons, twin brothers, whose names were Tatâr and Moghûl; betwixt whom in the zenith of his power he made a division of all his possessions. And over these respectively, on the death of their father, the two princes proceeded each to exercise a separate authority. Habeib us-seyr.

Of the line of Tatâr, including himself, eight persons successively enjoyed the sovereign power, in the following order. 1. Tatâr Khaun. 2. Bouka, or Bouga Khaun, the son of Tatâr Khaun. 3. Melinjah Khaun, the son of Bouka Khaun. 4. Assely, or Essely Khaun, the son of Melinjah. 5. Atseiz Khaun, the son of Essely Khaun, 6. Ourdû Khaun, the son of Atseiz Khaun. 7. Baydû Khaun, the son of Ourdû Khaun. Baydû was a prince of exalted spirit; but engaging in hostilities with the Moghûl tribes he laid the foundation of that inextinguishable animosity, which subsequently subsisted between the Tatâr and Moghûl nations. 8. Sounje Khaun, was the last monarch of the race of Tatâr; for the hostility which had been recently kindled, between the collateral and rival tribes, was blown to such violence, during the reign of Sounje Khaun, as to be no longer appeased by the ordinary expedients of conciliation.

Moghûl Khaun and his descendants, on the other hand, possessed the sovereign authority for nine successions. 1. Moghûl Khaun, the son of Alenjah Khaun. The name is said to be a gradual corruption of the term Mûngawul, which signifies abject and simple-hearted. He had however four sons: Kâra Khaun; Auzir Khaun; Kerr Khaun; and Ouz Khaun. 2. Kâra Khaun, the eldest of these, assumed the government on the death of his father; fixing his residence at Kârakorum, situated as here described, in a hollow between two hills, named Outauk and Kertauk.* During his reign, the Moghûls are said to

* The supposed situation of this celebrated metropolis is fixed by modern geographers in the 45th degree of N. latitude, and in the 107th of longitude East of Greenwich; and according to Petis de la Croix about twenty days' journey North of China.

Habeib-us-seyr.

have been so totally immersed in idolatry and impiety, that the fathers slew their children without mercy, on perceiving the slightest indication of a disposition to abstain from their vile and polluted practices. However, while the nation was absorbed in these circumstances of degrading superstition, an infant of singular beauty was born to the consort of Kâra Khaun; which having obstinately refused the breast of its mother, for three days and as many nights successively, and assuring her very distinctly, in her dreams, that until she embraced the belief of the only true God, her milk should never pass his lips, she privately became a convert to the truth, not yet daring to make an open profession of it, through dread of her husband's resentment. The child upon this immediately took to her breast. At the period under consideration it was the custom of the Moghûls to defer the naming of their children until they were a twelve month old; accordingly, when the infant prince had attained the proper age, and a sumptuous entertainment had been provided for the occasion, Kâra Khaun demanded in the presence of his assembled Ameirs, and the members of his court, what name he should bestow upon the royal child; the latter replied with perfect fluency of language "my name is Oghûz." A point thus determined by the intervention of a miracle must have secured unanimous concurrence.

Arrived at years of maturity, the young prince was married by his father, to one of his cousins, the daughter of Kerr Khaun; but, in consequence of the discrepancy on the subject of religion, Oghûz Khaun finding it difficult to reconcile himself to his bride, his father procured for him, some time afterwards, the daughter of his second uncle, Auzir Khaun; whom, for similar reasons, he felt himself equally disposed to dislike. In this state of oscillancy, and incertitude, the young prince happened one day, on his return from hunting, to pass by the gate of Ouz Khaun, his third uncle's mansion; where he perceived the daughter of the Moghûl chief, superintending the labour of her maids, who were occupied in washing the linen of the family. The prince called her to him, and declared that if she would consent to abjure the gross impieties of her tribe, and embrace the religion of truth, he would immediately espouse, and hold her far dearer than life, or any of its blessings. The nymph, like other bashful maidens, gently whispered in reply, that when she became his wife, she trusted that she

should be found in no circumstance, disobedient to *his* will, who was the master of her destiny. Oghûz Khaun now obtained his father's consent to unite himself to the object of his choice; and an exclusive, and ardent attachment taking place between him and his new bride, the jealousy of his other wives was excited to that degree of animosity, that they embraced the opportunity, one day, while their husband was absent on a hunting party, to apprize their father in law of his son's contempt, and that of his favorite wife, for the idolatrous superstitions of their country, and of their private adherence to the worship of the true God. Habeib-us-seyr.

Enraged at what he now for the first time understood, the old monarch hastened at the head of some of his followers, with the view of surprising the person of the prince, while unsuspectingly engaged in the chace. But his faithful and affectionate wife finding means to convey to him intelligence of the danger, Oghûz Khaun was enabled to put himself in a posture of defence; and a conflict ensuing, which terminated in the death of Kâra Khaun, his soldiers gave up the contest, and the crown, to his victor son.

3. Oghûz Khaun the son of Kâra Khaun. This, by the concurrent testimony of historians, was a magnanimous and potent prince, fortunate in all his designs, and obeyed in his authority, through a most extensive portion of the oriental world. But more than all, his actions received an unfading lustre from his belief in the dictates of eternal truth. In other words, he was a monotheist, professing the pure and uncorrupted faith of the patriarchs, and early progenitors of the human race. The extent of his dominions is, at the same time, stated to have been beyond the ordinary conceptions of the understanding, and he bears among the Turkish nations, the same venerated character as Jemsheid among the Persians. He was, however, at the commencement, compelled to sustain a long and arduous contest with his uncles, and other relatives; but proving ultimately triumphant over all opposition, he finally threw open to mankind the avenues to that liberal and unbounded beneficence, which dwelt in his bosom. He is indeed described to have reduced the whole of the territory of the Moghûls and Tartars to the river Oxus; and by some it is asserted that he even crossed that river, and subjugated a great part of the Persian empire.

Habeib-us-seyr.

He reigned with unrivalled splendor and prosperity, for a period of seventy two years; leaving at his death, six male children, two of whom attained to the sovereign power.

To Oghûz Khaun we find ascribed many, if not most of the appellations still retained by the principal Moghûl and Tartar tribes; the enumeration of which, as presented by the author, it may in this place not be improper to introduce. I. During the period in which he was contending for dominion with his uncles, a body of his kindred from whom he had been recently separated, appeared most seasonably to his aid. To these he assigned the appellation of *Eyghûr;* which in the preliminary to the zuffurnâmah, is stated to signify conjunction, and mutual compact. II. In one of the great battles in which he triumphed over his adversaries, a prodigious booty fell into the hands of his followers, and some of them hit upon the construction of a waggon for the conveyance of the spoil. Oghûz Khaun bestowed upon these the appellation of *Kankuly*, that being in the Turkish language the name for a waggon, or perhaps for a wheeled carriage of any description. III. On another occasion, on which he had been unsuccessful in a conflict with Ayeit Borâk, one of the most powerful chieftains of Tûrkestaun, and he had encamped, during his retreat from the field of battle, in a peninsula between the beds of two rivers, a pregnant woman, whose husband had been killed in the recent conflict, was delivered of her infant in the cavity of a hollow tree. The Khaun, in pity towards the helpless, and widowed female, adopted the child for his own, and gave it the name of *Keptchauk*; derived from *Kebouk*, which is said to signify a tree, hollow in the trunk. Seventeen years subsequent to this disaster, Oghûz Khaun triumphed in his turn over the same Ayeit Borâk, and took ample vengeance for his former discomfiture. IV. On his return into Tûrân, from his expedition against the Persian territory, being intercepted by the severest rigors of an inclement winter, and his march impeded by heavy and incessant falls of snow, many of the soldiers dropped to the rear, unable to keep up with the army. To these, when apprized of the circumstance, the monarch applied the term *Khaureik*—proprietors, or perhaps, partners in the snow. V. From the preliminary to the zuffurnamah of the Yezdian, the history of Teymûr so called, it is further related, that while engaged in

one of his expeditions for the subjugation of an adjoining territory, Oghûz Khaun had found it expedient to prohibit that any of his soldiers should under any pretext stray from their standards. It happened, however, that one of the soldier's wives should be taken in labour during the march, and, through the failure of strength and sustenance being unable to proceed, her husband remained to take care of her. When he least expected it, a sheghal, or jackal, passed along the road with a pheasant in its mouth, and the soldier throwing his cudgel at it, the animal dropped its prey; with which, dressing up an excellent *kabaub*, a dish well known in the east, he relieved the hunger of his wife, and enabled her to give nourishment to her new-born infant. The Khaun expressing much displeasure that any circumstance however urgent, should be thought of sufficient weight to authorize a disobedience of his commands, addressed to the husband the term *Khelidje*; which implies, "woman! remain where thou art!" According to another writer in the court of Shâh Rôkh, who dedicated his work to Mirza Ulûgh Beg, the exclamation, to which Oghûz Khaun gave utterance on this occasion, was *Kalauje*, which signifies, "remain behind in hunger." This in the lapse of ages became gradually corrupted into *Khelidje*; but either way, the origin of the tribe of the Kheljies, or Gueltchies, is referred to this man. Habeib-us-seyr.

On the information of the Rouzut-us-uffâ, the author proceeds to state, that in the course of a few generations, the descendants of Oghûz Khaun diverging into four and twenty distinct branches, some of these settled in Khorassaun, and the territory along the Oxus; and their posterity, either through the influence of climate, or the unerring providence of the creator, losing in a great measure, their original cast of features, the neighboring nations bestowed upon them the appellation of *Tûrkomaun;* as much as to say *Tûrkmaunind*—Turk-resembling. By Seyud Jullaul-ud-dein, an Arabian author who composed a treatise precisely on this subject, which he dedicated to Mirza Eskundur the son of Omar Sheikh, and grandson of Teymûr, it is however contended that the Tûrkmauns are a race entirely distinct, and without the slightest affinity to either Turk or Moghûl; notwithstanding this, it is a fact very clearly demonstrated, in the preliminary discourse to the zuffurnamah of the Yezdian, so often referred to on Tartar subjects,

Habeib-us-seyr.

that the Tûrkmauns, or Turcomans, are indisputably descended from Tûrk the son of Yapheth; since in the sequel of the war between Tûrk, and Ghezz the son of Munsug, or Messenje, it is unequivocally asserted, that from the day on which Beighû the son of Ghezz fell in one of the conflicts of that war, an inextinguishable hostility was perpetuated from generation to generation between the Túrks and Tûrkomauns, and still continued to subsist to the days of the Yezdian historian.

Having found repose from his conquests in Tûrkestaun and the Persian territory, Oghûz Khaun, on his return to the seat of his ancestors, at or near Kârakorum, caused a suit of magnificent pavilions of cloth of gold, to be erected, in which he gave, to the nobles and distinguished inhabitants of all the countries subject to his authority, a most sumptuous and splendid feast. Of this the magnitude may be in some degree estimated from the statement, that there were nine tomauns, or ninety thousand sheep, and nine hundred mares slaughtered for the occasion; and that there was a proportionate supply of wine and Kommeiz, (a liquor made of fermented mare's milk) with every accompaniment that could serve to render this display of Tartar festivity, complete in all its circumstances. On the same occasion the monarch is said to have invented the *Sheirah*,* on which to spread the eatables and drinkables provided for the entertainment; he arranged his children and grandchildren according to their stations in his court and army, and treated the whole, without distinction, with extraordinary marks of kindness, and with unbounded liberality.

Of Oghûz Khaun it is further related, that his sons presenting him with a golden bow, and three arrows of the same metal, which they had found during one of their hunting parties, the old monarch allotted the bow to the three eldest, whose names were respectively, Kunn, Aey, and Yeldûz; who divided it, or the metal of which it was composed, betwixt them in three equal shares. From this circumstance they obtained the appellation of Bouzûk, or Bouzuk. The arrows were assigned to the three younger brothers, Keyûg, or Guyûg, Deyauc, and Tengueiz, from which they became distinguished by the appellation of Oujûk; and hence the Tartar tribes have assigned to the line of the

* It was probably a set of painted cloths, since the orientals use no tables. It was perhaps the Soffrah.

Bouzûk a precedence over that of the Oujûk, synonimous with Oujaûk; the bow bearing an analogy to the sovereign power, and the arrows to its agents, the organs of its authority. He lastly ordained that the command of the right wing of his army, by the Arabs called *Meymenah*, and by the Tartars *Beranghaur*, should be always vested in the Bouzûk, while that of the left wing, by the Arabs designated the *Meyesserah*, and by the Tartars *Jûanghaur*, should in like manner invariably reside in the Oujûk, or younger branch; a superiority which he further confirmed by establishing the succession in the elder branch, and by expressly ordaining that the Oujûk should be subject to their authority. Habeib-us-seyr.

4. Kenn, or Kunn Khaun, which is stated in the Tartar language to be synonimous with the sun, succeeded to his father; and equally extended to his subjects the blessings of a just and beneficent reign. Through the advice of his father's ministers, he was prevailed upon to make an equal division of the departed monarch's moveable property between his brothers and their children, assigning to each his proper rank, and Tûmghau, or charter of immunities: by which disinterested and prudent measure, a permanent and unshaken friendship was confirmed through every branch of the family. For the rank and pretensions of every individual being thus unalterably regulated, and distinctly understood, no circumstance could occur to interrupt their harmony; and hence it subsisted unimpaired for a series of years among the descendants of Oghûz Khaun, and the imperial power continued in his posterity, for so many generations. Kunn Khaun died after a prosperous reign of seventy years.

5. Aey Khaun the son of Oghûz Khaun, succeeded to his brother; his name being, in the Tartar language, that also of the moon; and hence possibly the name of the goddess Anaitis. He emulated the example of his predecessor, in the justice and beneficence of his reign; which after it had continued for several years in great prosperity, terminated like that of all other earthly sovereigns, in the grave.

6. Yeldûz Khaun, the son of Oghûz Khaun. The name of this monarch signifying in the Tartar language, a star, his glory is said to have attained its zenith at the death of his father; whose throne having filled for the

Habeib-us-seyr. destined period, he also withdrew to the mansions of unterminating splendor.

7. Mûngaly Khaun, the son of Yeldûz Khaun, was the heir and successor to his father's power; which he exercised with the same virtuous moderation, that so generally distinguished the reign of his ancestors.

8. Tengueiz Khaun, the son of Mûngaly Khaun. The ocean, we are also informed, is known in the idiom of the Turks by the name of Tengueiz. He succeeded to power, at all events on the death of his father; and having supported it to a very advanced age, ultimately resigned it to his son, and withdrew to atone in retirement for the errors of his past life.

9. Aeil, or Eyle Khaun, the son of Tengueiz Khaun, is said to have been the cotemporary of Tûr the son of Feridûn, king of Persia; who formed with Sounje Khaun, the eighth of the Tatar sovereigns recently enumerated, an alliance hostile to his power. In elucidation of this it is represented, that when a period of one thousand years had elapsed after the death of Oghûz Khaun, (we should rather say, from that of Yapheth Oghlan, or Tûrk the son of Yapheth) during which his descendants had reigned with equal splendor and felicity, fortune with her usual caprice, conducted their power at length to the verge of decline; or to that point in the destiny of nations, beyond which they rise no further. At such a crisis, Tûr, the son of Feridûn, the happy monarch of Persian story, having completed the subjugation of the territory on the Oxus, and the adjoining regions of Tûrkestaun, or western Tartary, and formed an alliance with the Tartar monarch above alluded to, advanced in conjunction with him, to invade the possessions of Eyle Khaun. In a great battle which speedily ensued, perceiving, however, that in fair and open conflict their utmost exertions were unavailing, the allied monarchs had recourse to stratagem; and affecting to retire from the field of battle in dismay, halted and encamped at the distance of two farsangs, or Persian leagues, from the positions, which they might have understood to be occupied by their adversary. The very day following, they suddenly recoiled upon the army of the Moghûls, and coming upon them by surprise, obtained a most complete victory; which was succeeded by a slaughter so dreadful and exterminating that, excepting Keyan the son of Eyle Khaun, his mother's brother's

son, Tûkûz, and their respective sisters, not an individual of the whole race escaped the carnage. Habeib-us-seyr.

These four personages, having lain for some time concealed, among the bodies of their slaughtered countrymen, seized the opportunity of night, to mount their horses and fly from the scene of blood. They continued their flight without intermission until dawn of day; when, about that hour, they found themselves at the entrance of a steep and difficult defile, which led upwards into a valley surrounded on all sides by stupendous mountains.* The four illustrious fugitives, after considerable toil and exertion, succeeded however at last in gaining the summit of the pass, when they were transported with indescribable delight at the enchanting landscape which suddenly broke upon their view; a landscape which, in its lovely enamelled meads, in the chrystal and delicious streams that murmured in every direction, in the multiplied groves which presented themselves on every side, embellished at the same time by the most beautiful and luxuriant foliage, and loaded with fruit of the richest flavor and of every description, and enlivened as it was, by the herds of wild animals of the chace, without number, which brouzed and gamboled in its ever verdant glades and recesses, the sister

* So on he fares, and to the border comes
Of Eden, where delicious Paradise,
Now nearer, crowns with her inclosure green,
As with a rural mound, the champain head
Of a steep wilderness whose hairy sides
With thicket overgrown, grotesque and wild,
Access deny'd; and over-head upgrew
Insuperable height of loftiest shade,
Cedar, and pine, and fir, and branching palm,
A sylvan scene, and, as the ranks ascend,
Shade above shade, a woody theatre
Of stateliest view. Yet higher than their tops,
The verd'rous wall of Paradise up sprung:
Which to our general sire gave prospect large
Into his nether empire neighb'ring round.
And higher than that wall a circling row
Of goodliest trees, loaden with fairest fruit,
Blossoms and fruit at once of golden hue,
Appear'd, with gay enamell'd colours mix'd;
——————thus was this place
A happy rural seat of various views;
Groves whose rich trees wept odorous gums and balm,
Others whose fruit, burnish'd with golden rind,
Hung amiable, Hesperian fables true,
If true, here only,' and of delicious taste:
Betwixt them lawns, or level downs, and flocks
Grazing the tender herb, were interpos'd,
Or palmy hillock; or the flow'ry lap
Of some irriguous valley spread her store,
Flow'rs of all hue, and without thorn the rose:
Another side, umbrageous grots and caves
Of cool recess, o'er which the mantling vine
Lays forth her purple grape, and gently creeps
Luxuriant; meanwhile murm'ring waters fall
Down the slope hills, dispers'd, or in a lake,
That to the fringed bank with myrtle crown'd
Her crystal mirror holds, unite their streams.
The birds their quire apply; airs, vernal airs,
Breathing the smell of field and grove, attune
The trembling leaves, while universal Pan
Knit with the Graces and the Hours in dance
Led on th' eternal spring.

PARADISE LOST.

Hubeib-us-seyr.

arts of poetry and painting were alone competent to delineate. Here then, in this sequestered Glen, known to the Tartars by the name of Irgnah, or Irganah Koun, as much as to say Kumter-und—*they are lost*, or rather, according to a manuscript of the Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur, Kummur-tund—*a strong and rugged pass*,* they determined to fix their abode; and having intermarried with their sisters reciprocally, the two chiefs became the origin of a numerous progeny; the descendants of Keyan being known to succeeding generations by the name of *Keyaut*, and those of Tûkûz, by that of *Derelkein*, or *Derleguein*.

When, in the process of time, the two tribes became from their accumulating numbers so multitudinous, that the valley of Irganah Koun no longer afforded sufficient space to contain them, their thoughts were powerfully impelled to devise the means of bursting from their retreat, and of repossessing themselves of the abodes of their forefathers. Their egress was principally obstructed by an enormous range of rocks, composed for the greater part of iron ore. After much careful deliberation, it was ultimately determined to pût the whole mass into a state of fusion; and having for the purpose conveyed to the spot a prodigious quantity of firewood, they proceeded to char the whole; after which having prepared of the skin of the gâozen, or wild ox, nine hundred pairs of bellows, they fired the charcoal, and set the bellows to work. By the blast of so many simple machines, the heat of the fire was at last wrought to the proper intensity, and the ore was perceived, in due time, streaming along the earth in a state of complete fusion. And thus they are said by melting down a part of the precipice with which they were begirt, to have opened for themselves a passage from Irganah Koun. They immediately directed their course to the country of the Moghûls; and having sword in hand expelled their ancient enemies the Tartars, with other adverse tribes, they succeeded in establishing themselves in the possessions of their ancestors; and the natives, who occupied the territory round the mountains of Irganah Koun, soon joining their standards, became ultimately incorporated with themselves.

The Yûrut, or original territory of the Moghûls, thus regained by their posterity, is here described to lie towards the east, far remote from

* We otherwise learn, from Mr. Maurice's history, that Irganah Koun, (or Khaun, as he expresses it) signifies the valley of precipices: and he is probably well founded in his explanation. I have given what appears in my original.

any habitable region, and included within a circumference of eight months journey. Its eastern frontier is, however, said to unite with that of Khâtâi, or northern China, its western with that of the country of the Eyghûrs; its northern adjoins to the territory of Kerkeir, or Krekeir, and Selingâi, and its southern boundary stretches to the limits of Tibet. The natives subsisted by the chace, and their apparel was usually composed of the skins of wild beasts of every description. Habeib-us-seyr.

On the egress of the two collateral tribes from Irganah Koun, and their recovery of the land of their forefathers, the sovereignty of the Moghûl race is said to have been vested in Yeldûz Khaun, the son of Teymûr Taush, who was descended in a direct line from Keyan. This Yeldûz is described to have surpassed in the extent of his power, and in the splendor of his reign; and by the wisdom of his government to have secured to the Olouss (quere eluths) or numerous tribes subordinate to his sway, a state of prosperity and abundance beyond example. Hence it has become an established opinion among those of Moghûl race, that he possesses the surest claim to the Khauniet, or supreme authority, who can most satisfactorily trace his origin to Yeldûz Khaun. *Alankoua*, the illustrious mother of Bûzunjur Kâan, who was the common ancestor of both Jengueiz and Teymûr, was the grand-daughter of Yeldûz Khaun; since, in the often cited preliminary to the Zuffurnamah, or history of Teymûr, she is described to have been the daughter of Tchoubeinah, who was the daughter of Yeldûz Khaun.

The same Alankoua is further described to have been a maid of consummate beauty, and of singular modesty and virtue. "A maid!" exclaims our author in his enthusiasm on the subject, "rather she was "a star of the highest brilliance in the constellation of the Tartarian so- "vereigns; the richest pearl in the casket of imperial magnificence." At the proper age she became, however, one of the wives of her cousin-german, Dûyûn, or Dûbûn Beyan, at this period monarch of the Moghûl tribes; whose residence is stated to have been, indifferently, at Baun, Kalûran, and Toughlan; the channels of three rivers issuing from the mountains of Berghaudûter, on the banks of which he might occasionally have taken up his abode. By her husband she had two sons, Belkêda and Yekjêda. Dûyûn Beyan died, while his wife was yet

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a young woman; and the dowager princess devoted herself with zealous assiduity to the government of her subject tribes, and to the education of her children. In these circumstances one night, when she had innocently retired to her repose, she was surprised by a ray of light suddenly shining through the window of her pavilion, and penetrating her mouth and throat; and her surprise was not diminished when, in a little time afterwards, she found herself pregnant. Hence, the orientals have not scrupled to draw a triumphant comparison between her, and the blessed and immaculate virgin of the Christian dispensation.

When they became, however, apprized of her mysterious pregnancy, the Moghûl tribes were not to be restrained from conveying the most scandalous imputations against the chastity of Alankoua; and she therefore found it expedient to convoke the chiefs of the nation, in order to repel the accusation, and assert her innocence. According to some authorities, and particularly to the compiler of the Jammia-ul-touaurikh, the princess averred on this occasion, that her pregnancy had been the result of a dream, in which, for several nights successively, she imagined that she perceived a person with a dazzling torch in his hand, softly and silently approach her bed, and as softly withdraw; and she added moreover, that if they entertained the slightest suspicion of her veracity, they might watch round her tent, and by the evidence of their own senses convince themselves of the truth of her extraordinary story. Several of the most distinguished individuals of her tribe stationed themselves accordingly, for some nights round her tent to watch the disclosure of this singular mystery; when it is alleged, that they observed a light enter at the top of the pavilion, and shortly disappear through the same aperture. This was received as indubitable testimony of the truth of Alankoua's statement, and forever silenced the invidious remarks of her slanderers.

In consequence of this mysterious, and very suspicious intercourse with the *children of light*, Alankoua became the mother of three sons at one birth, whose names were as follows. 1. Boukûn Kepkein, from whom descended the clan or tribe of Kepkein. 2. Bûssoukein Saultchy, from whom the tribe of Saljût; and 3. Bûzunjur Mûnefauk, the common progenitor of the Khauns of Moghûlstaun. The descendants of these three, whom the Turkish nations believe to have been generated

by the light, they have distinguished by the appellation of Neyrûn, luci- Habeib-us-
geni—sons of light; and they are esteemed the most exalted of the seyr.
Moghûl race.

Bâzunjur Kâan, the son of Alankoua, as soon as he attained to the age of discretion, was raised to the throne of the Khauns with the unanimous concurrence of the heads of the nation; a choice which he gloriously vindicated by the splendor of his virtues. He is said to have been the cotemporary of Abû Mosslem, the champion of the house of Abbas.* After a reign eminently distinguished for its justice, he died, leaving two sons; 1. Bûka, who was the eighth ancestor of Jengueiz, and of his able and faithful minister Kâratchaur Nûyan; and 2. Bûkeia, who had a son, to whom he gave the name of Mâtchein.

Bûka, or Bûga Khaun, the son of Bûzunjur, succeeded to his father; and at his death devised the supreme authority to his son, the next in succession.

Dûtoumnein Khaun, the son of Bûka Khaun, proved also a distinguished example of temperance and justice. By his consort Menûloun, who is described as a woman of singular sagacity and talents, he had nine sons; with whom, on the death of her husband, and with the courage of a lioness, she retired to a high mountain called Noushârgui, or Noushârki, where she entirely devoted herself to the education of her children. Here, in the process of time, she became the mistress of flocks of sheep and herds of cattle without number. Unhappily, while she continued engaged in her secluded retreat and occupations, about seventy Kours, or associations of Turks, each Kour consisting of a thousand families, and all of the tribe of Jellâeir of the branch of Derleguein Moghûls, who had been recently expelled from their habitations at Kalûran, by an irruption of the Khatayans, or Chinese, came to settle near the abode of Menûloun. In this they met with no obstruction; but proceeding to dig up the earth, for the wild or mountain onions which they used for food, they were forbidden to continue the practice, by the agents of Menûloun, because, by the excavations thus formed, they rendered the ground unsafe for the young princes in their equestrian exercises. The Jellâeirians took offence at the prohibition, and watching their opportunity, put the princess to death with eight

* In the early part of the eighth century of the Christian æra.

Habeib-us-seyr.

of her nine children. The ninth, who bore the name of Kaydû, escaped the catrastrophe; being fortunately absent at the time, a suitor for the hand of his kinswoman, the daughter of his cousin german Mâtchein. On intelligence of this base procedure, an agent was dispatched, in the name of Mâtchein, to demand of the chiefs of the tribe of Jellâeir, immediate reparation for the injury. They positively disclaimed any share in the transaction, declaring that the barbarous murder had been perpetrated without the slightest concurrence on their part; and, as a proof of their sincerity, they at the same time seized, and executed seventy individuals known to have been concerned in this perfidious and ungrateful act of violence, delivering up their wives and families in bonds to the mercy of Kaydû; who appeased his vengeance by marking their foreheads with the badge of perpetual slavery.

Kaydû Khaun, the son of Dûtoumnein Khaun, in consequence of these events, and through the support of his kinsman Mâtchein, became the sovereign of his tribe. During his reign he employed himself in forming, from one of the principal rivers of the country, a noble canal, to which he gave the name of *Jeraulû*; and he founded on the banks of it several populous towns and villages. He had three sons, 1. Baysungur, the lineal ancestor of Jengueiz and Karatchaur. 2. Jerkalengûm, from whom the nation of Tanjût, vulgo Tangut; and 3. Haurtchein, from whom the tribe of Seyhout. The grandson of Jerkalengûm, the second of these, whose name was Hamikaud the son of Serûkud, falling when a youth into the hands of the Khatayans, or northern Chinese, was condemned by Altay, or possibly Altan Khaun, the monarch of that nation, to suffer a most miserable and cruel death; being nailed to a log of wood in the form of an ass, by an iron spike driven through his body.

Baysungur Khaun, the son of Kaydû Khaun, succeeded on the demise of his father, and, after having exercised the sovereign authority for the destined period, withdrew to the mansions of futurity, devising the succession to his son.

Toumnah Khaun, the son of Baysungur, was a great and successful monarch, adding considerably to his hereditary dominions by the subjugation of several of the neighboring countries of Moghûlstaun and Tartary. He was the husband of two wives, by one of whom he had seven sons; the other brought him two at one birth. Of these

twins, one was Kubbul, or Kabal, the third ancestor or great grandfather of *Jengueiz*; the other was Katchûly Bahauder, the ancestor in the eighth degree of *Teymûr*. Habeîb-us-seyr.

In this place we are informed, on what is alleged to be the most respectable written authority, that one night during the life of his father, while he was reposing in the arms of sleep, two remarkable dreams occurred to Katchûly, of which the following circumstances are described in detail. First of all, he thought he saw three stars issue from the bosom of his brother Kabal, and successively rise and set, after making the regular circuit through the meridian; the last of these, after shooting out several other stars, which reflected their separate lustre on various countries, disappeared in a stream of refulgence which seemed to illuminate the whole earth. Kathchûly now awoke; but while his mind was yet engaged in tracing some sort of interpretation for his dream, he again fell a sleep, and imagined that he saw seven stars issue in the same manner from his own bosom; and that, after these had successively disappeared, an eighth arose of surpassing magnitude, which also seemed to diffuse its radiance to every quarter of the globe; and from this, like that in the former dream, several minor stars seemed to emanate, and shed their lustre through different regions, in their course through the heavens. In both instances, the minor stars on the setting of their primaries, seemed for some time to cast an equal lustre through the firmanent. Katchûly, when he awoke the second time, perceived that it was break of day; and immediately hastening to his father, proceeded to relate the particulars of both his dreams.

The old prince appeared to experience an extraordinary degree of satisfaction at what he heard; and sending for his other son Kabal, he furnished the two brothers together, with the following obvious interpretation to these singular dreams. The first, he said, indicated that of the descendants of Kabal Khaun, three persons should in order ascend the throne of their ancestors, and that of these, the third was destined to subjugate the greater part of the habitable world; that he would ultimately divide his empire among his children; and that the empire so divided would continue in their possession long after his demise. The second dream he conceived to prognosticate, that of the race of Katchûly seven persons were successively destined to arrive

Habeib ussêyr.

at great power; and that an eighth, animated with the spirit of universal dominion, would also succeed in extending his conquests to the remotest corners of the globe; and finally, that the authority of his chidren, would in like manner continue long established over many regions of the oriental world.

On this, by their fathers desire, the two brothers entered on the spot into a solemn engagement, by which it was mutually agreed that the *Khauny*, or sovereign authority, should be forever established in Kabal Khaun and his descendants; and that the subordinate governments, and the general superintendance of the armies should be permanently invested in Katchûly, and his posterity; and to this effect an instrument was immediately prepared, and finally ratified under the Altumghâ, or imperial seal of Toumnah Khaun.

Kubbul, or Kabal Khaun, the son of Toumnah Khaun, in conformity with the arrangement above adverted to, ascended the throne of the Moghûls, and ultimately obtained by his virtues the enviable title of Alantchung Khaun—nourisher, or father of his people. He is indeed described to have surpassed the whole of his cotemporaries, in clemency and justice, in courage and liberality, and in short, in every quality that could render the character of a monarch estimable and illustrious. Hence, won by the reputation of his virtues, the sovereign of Khatâi dispatched an embassy to solicit his friendship, and invite him to his court. In an evil hour, Kabal Khaun determined to comply with the invitation; and having deputed the government of his hereditary dominions to his brother Katchûly, proceeded accordiagly to the capital of Khatâi; where he experienced from Altan Khaun, the most distinguished and honorable reception. At the grand and solemn carousal, which was given by the Khataian monarch on his arrival, Kabal Khaun could not entirely divest himself of the suspicion of personal danger; and accordingly, every now and then, in the course of their libations he privately withdrew, and plunging his head beneath the stream of the river which ran by, there disgorged the whole of what he had been swallowing, and returned to renew the debauch; much to the surprise of all present, who, not aware of his expedient could not forbear to express their astonishment at the strength of constitution, which could bear such a quantity of liquor without inebriation. Some days

after this, however, when he had been less prudent in his proceedings, Kabal Khaun, in a state of drunkenness, entered the presence of the Khatayan monarch; and seizing him by the beard, applied to him every term of abuse and insult, that he could find language to express. The injury excited in the mind of Altan Khaun a sufficient degree of resentment, but he thought fit for the present to confine it to his own bosom; and his imprudent guest hastening, when he came to his recollection, to express the deepest regret for what had happened, Altan Khaun had the magnanimity to overlook the offence; and presenting him with a rich diadem, and girdle set with gems, shortly afterwards dismissed the Moghûl prince for his own country. But the Khatayan nobles, eager for his destruction, proceeding on his departure to remonstrate with their Khaun, on the impolicy of suffering so formidable a rival, to escape the snare which might be laid to circumvent him, the monarch finally dispatched a messenger to solicit the return of his guest. Kabal Khaun declined the invitation; observing that he had left the chinese court with full permission, and that he was not aware of any particular advantage that could arise from his return. Habeib-us-seyr.

Perceiving that his victim was otherwise likely to elude the toil, Altan Khaun now directed a detachment of troops to pursue, and bring him back by force; but when these had overtaken their object, he contrived to cajole them into a concurrence that he might be permitted to repose, for a short time, at the habitation of a friend, of the name of Satchûly, who resided on the road. By this friend he was cautioned, as his existence depended upon it, not to put himself any more in the power of the Khatayan monarch; and in order to ensure his escape, he tendered him a horse of incomparable fleetness, which he had in his stables, and which he recommended that he should immediately mount and make the best of his way to his tribe. Kabal Khaun gratefully availed himself of the offer; and giving his horse the reins, soon afterwards reached the encampment of his followers, in perfect safety. His pursuers were not long behind him, and were the whole of them put to the sword at the recommendation of Katchûly; and the Moghûl chief was thus fortunately extricated from the hazards, of his imprudent, and adventurous journey.

Habeïb-us-seyr.

By his wife, whose name was Karâkereik, of the tribe of Kunkur, or Kongûraut, Kabal Khaun was the father of six sons, of whom the following are the names of three; Oukein Yerkauk, Kaueilah, and Burtan. The former of these, was a youth of extraordinary personal beauty; but unfortunately straying one day, into the adjoining extensive plains, beyond the protection of his attendants, he was surprised and taken by a troop of Tatars, who delivered him into the hands of Altan Khaun; and he was condemned by that monarch to the same cruel death, as had been inflicted on a former occasion on his kinsman Hamikaud.

Kaueilah Khaun, the son of Kabâl Khaun, succeeded on the death of his father, and is described as a man of extraordinary courage, and bodily strength; the latter of which he possessed to such a degree, that he broke the backs of the most powerful antagonists, with the same facility as he could bend a twig, and his voice was of that compass that he could make himself heard at a seven-fold distance. He conducted a successful expedition, to avenge the death of his brother on the Khaun of Khatâi, whom in a great battle he totally defeated; after which he returned in triumph to his native land.

Burtan, or *Purtan Bahauder*, the son of Kabal Khaun, succeeded to his brother, and equally surpassed all rivalship, in personal prowess and military virtue; and hence his surname of Bahauder—heroic. His uncle Katchûly dying while he was on the throne of the Moghûls, the superintendance of the army was conferred by him on his cousin german, Eirdumtchy, or *tchei*, the son of the departed chief. Eirdumtchei was subsequently distinguished by the title of Berlas, and to him is ascribed the origin of the tribe of that name. Burtan Bahauder was the parent of a numerous offspring; but of these the most renowned, for his intrepid and martial spirit, was *Beysouka*, to whom, on the death of his father, the supreme authority was in consequence assigned.

Beysouka Bahauder, the son of Burtan, is said to have ennobled, or reflected additional lustre on the throne of his ancestors, when he encircled his brows with the diadem of the Moghûl sovereigns. On the death of Eirdumtchei Berlas, leaving a progeny of nine and twenty sons,

the dignities and appointments of the father were continued, by Beysouka Bahauder, to Soghûtchein, the oldest and ablest of the whole. Habeib-us-seyr.

On his return from a successful expedition against that branch of the Tatar nations, by Petis de la Croix called the Sou Moghûls, the wife of Beysouka Bahauder was delivered, at his residence of Deylûn Yeldak, of a son, to whom he gave the name of *Temûtchin;* which is said to have been that of the sovereign of the Sou Moghûls, whom he had recently vanquished and slain. This child, the afterwards invincible JENGUEIZ, his father pronounced to be the star of the dream of Katchûly Bahauder, which was destined to extend its radiance throughout the habitable world. By the same mother with Temûtchin, he had furthermore three sons, Jûjykessaur, Kajiûn, in another place called Eiltcha, and Ountchei, elsewhere Utakein: and he had by a different wife, a fifth son, whose name was Balkouty. Of these four, Jûjykessaur, the former, was remarkable for his courage, and extraordinary stature; as a proof of which, or possibly of the exquisite symmetry of his form, it is alleged that when he reclined on one side, a bow might be passed beneath it, without coming in contact with his body. Beysouka Bahauder quitted this perishable world in the Moghûl year Tengûrneil, the five hundred and sixty second of the Hidjerah;* and his kinsman Soughûtchein, who possessed the principal controul in his government, dying about the same period, the Neyrûn race ungenerously abandoned the children of their sovereign, and united with the tribe of Tanjût; of which more hereafter. Birth of Jengueiz.

We have just seen that the father of *Jengueiz* was Beysouka, the son of Burtan Bahauder; the name of his mother was Oulûn Aykah, or Ankah; and his birth took place at Deylûn Yeldak, supposed to be about ten days journey north of the frontiers of China, on the twentieth day of Zilkaudah, of the five hundred and forty ninth of the Hidjerah.† According to the statement of Shurf-ud-dein Ally the Yezdian, in the Zuffurnamah, this circumstance which was destined to produce such memorable and dreadful events, occurred when the constellation libra was predominant among the heavenly bodies; and when the whole of the seven planets were in conjunction, the head in

* A. D. 1167.

† Twenty fifth of January, A. D. 1155, the second month of the reign of Henry the IId. of England.

A. H. 562. A. D. 1167. Habeib-us-seyr.

the third, and the tail in the ninth degree *of that sign*. A plurality of historians, however, contend that this conjunction of the planets did not take place until the five hundred and eighty first of the Hïdjerah,* when Jengueiz became invested with the universal sovereignty of all the tribes of the Neyrûn race. But the oriental writers in general concur in representing that the portentous infant came into the world grasping in his hand a quantity of congealed blood; which was declared to indicate not only his warlike disposition, but the dreadful slaughter of the human race, of which he was destined to be the instrument.

At the death of his father, Temûtchin had only attained to the thirteenth year of his age, when he was abandoned by the major part of his tribe and family, who went over to the nation of Tanjût. At this period the young prince is described to have dreamt, that having a sword in each hand extended in opposite directions, the point of one seemed to touch the eastern, as that of the other did the western horizon. The following morning when he related the dream to his mother, it was again interpreted to denote the extraordinary power to which he was destined to attain; that he should accomplish the subjugation of the world from east to west; and that the point of his sword would be felt through all the countries extending to both horizons.

It appears, at the same time, that while the immediate ancestors of Temûtchin maintained their authority over the Neyrûn tribes, the generality of the Moghûl and Tatar nations were seldom, or never, subject to one and the same sovereign. On the contrary, as convenience might suggest, one or more nations would associate under the government of a separate and independent ruler. Hence they were engaged in perpetual hostilities, mutually directed to the extermination of one another; and hence, when left an orphan minor on the death of his father, as just related, Jengueiz was abandoned to his destiny, by those whom the obligations of duty and gratitude, should have bound to protect him, at least until he was of age to protect himself. In consequence of this ungenerous defection, the young prince was involved in a train of the most serious difficulties, and for several years exposed to

* A. D. 1185, commencing the third of April. N. B. If this alludes to his assumption of the supreme power, after the subjugation of the Keràeit, that event did not take place until the 590th of the Hidjerah.

the most imminent danger of destruction. At last, perceiving that he was no longer able to contend with his adversaries, with a prospect of success, he finally determined, at the recommendation of Kâratchaur Nûyan, the son of Soughûtchein, a youth not older than himself, for they were both minors at the death of their parents, to throw himself on the protection of Oung-Khaun the monarch of the Kerâeit, whose capital was Kârakorum ; and who is described, both in point of extent of territory, and of the numerous population subject to his authority, as the most potent and formidable of the Khauns of Tûrkestaun. A. H. 562-70. A. D. 1167-74. Habeib-us-seyr.

With respect to the origin of this prince, and of the nation over whom he governed, we find it stated, that at a period more remote, there reigned among the Tartar tribes, a monarch who had eight sons all of a black complexion, and who on account of their colour, received the appellation of Kerâeit, or Kâraeit—black fleshed. From this sable stock then, the subjects of Oung Khaun derived their origin. With respect to himself, he was called originally Toghrel, but this, as the name of a bird of ill omen, he is said to have changed, possibly at his accession to sovereign power, into Oung Khaun ; which latter, as well as *Beysouka*, borne by the father of Jengueiz, is here alleged to signify, the prince of a single territory. His father's name was Kartchaur Koulû Berûk. We shall finally remark that this same Oung Khaun is represented, by Petis de la Croix, as the Prester John of Asia of the Nestorian Christians, in the latter part of the twelfth century.

A system of the closest amity had, at all events been cultivated, for many years, between this monarch and Beysouka Bahauder ; and Jengueiz,* on the demise of his father, had given every proof of a disposition to continue it unimpaired. That which he was, by the pressure of his misfortunes now to give, was perhaps not the least ; and he was not deceived in his confidence. He experienced from the Khaun on his arrival, the most generous attention, with every testimony of favor and esteem ; and his followers met a reception equally benevolent and humane. Jengueiz acquired, in a short time, by the superiority of his understanding, and by his singular talents and sagacity, as well as by his

* Although he did not assume the title until his solemn inauguration, as king of kings, many years subsequent to the present period, this is the name by which, with the author, we shall henceforward continue to distinguish him.

A. H. 570-89. A. D. 1174-93. Habeib-us-seyr.

amiable manners and affability of deportment, the highest degree of confidence with his protector; who was ultimately induced to entrust him with the management of the most arduous, and important concerns of his government, being in all cases invariably directed by his opinion. During the period in which, under these circumstances, he resided under the protection of Oung Khaun, he exhibited on a variety of occasions, the most distinguished proofs of extraordinary courage and consummate abilities. He brought to a triumphant issue the war in which that monarch was involved with his brother Tchankû; he vanquished Tourkein, the chief of the Mekreit, or Merkeit, with his ally Toukta Beiggy; and, much about the same period, the five hundred and seventy-eighth of the Hidjerah, at a place called Kûytenn, he gained a memorable and signal victory, over the associated tribes of Tanjût, Saljût, Konkûraut, and Jellâeir; notwithstanding the intervention of a dreadful snow-storm, which they are particularly described to have brought on, through the influence of the Sung Yeddah, or lapis imbrifer.

In short, at the expiration of about eight years, in which he continued to serve with undiminished felicity and reputation, in the court and armies of Oung-Khaun, the splendid advancement, and daily increasing predominance of Jengueiz, at length excited the jealousy of his envious and malignant rivals. A combination was privately formed to effect his destruction; and it was for that purpose insidiously represented to the Khaun, that his illustrious favorite aspired at independent power, or at least to obtrude himself into the succession, to the prejudice of the princes of his own blood. But the man who distinguished himself beyond all others, in his exertions to hasten the destruction of Jengueiz, was Jamouka, the chief, or prince, of the Jajeraut. His endeavors proved, however, for some time unsuccessful; until addressing his applications to Sankoun, or Sankoum, the son of the Khaun, that prince was persuaded to associate in his hostile designs, and by repeated importunity, ultimately brought his father to coincide. A particular morning was now fixed upon, by Oung Khaun, to attack the person of the obnoxious favorite, when he least suspected the danger to which he was exposed. But, the very day before the design was to be carried into execution, one of the hostile chiefs happening to

make it the subject of a conversation with his wife, it was overheard by two youths of the name of Bâta and Keshlek, who sat without the tent; and who instantly flew to the camp of Jengueiz, to whom they disclosed the circumstances of his danger. Under considerable alarm, Jengueiz entered into consultation with his faithful relative Kâratchaur; and it was determined on the spot to leave their tents standing, and to retire immediately, under cover of the night, to a station called Kellaltchein; at the foot of some of the hills adjoining to the frontiers of Khatâi, or northern China, there to await the issue. A. H. 589-99. A. D. 1193-1202. Habeib-us-seyr.

In the course of the same night, Oung Khaun approached the encampment of Jengueiz at the head of his troops, and observing the tents all standing, directed his archers to ply them with their arrows; until it was finally discovered that their quivers were exhausted in vain, and that the tents had been previously abandoned by their inmates. The Khaun then hastened in pursuit of Jengueiz, whom he attacked in his post with equal obstinacy and animosity. The Moghûl prince continued, however, and in spite of the vast disparity of his numbers, to defend himself until night-fall, when the combat mutually ceased. Jengueiz availed himself of the opportunity, and silently withdrew to the fountain head, or lake of Baljoutah; where, at the recommendation of the prudent Kâratchaur, he proceeded to enregister, for future appropriate titles and dignities, the whole of his gallant associates in the late unequal conflict. Upon the two youths in particular, who had so seasonably forewarned him of his danger, he conferred the title of *Terkhan*; expressly ordaining, that their posterity for nine generations, should be exempted from all questions for their offences, on the part of his sons and successors. From these descended the whole of the Terkhanians who subsequently appeared, during the power of the monarchs of the lines of Jengueiz and Teymûr, both in Khorassaun and the territory on the Oxus.

From the head of the lake Baljoutah, Jengueiz removed, at a proper opportunity, still nearer to the frontiers of Khatâi; taking post on the banks of a certain river, supposed to be the Kâramûran; the yellow river, according to a note in Mr. Petis de la Croix's history.* At a subsequent period he hastened, however, with his little band of four thousand six hundred warriors of tried experience, to the station of Nawerd; from

* Possibly *Feramûran*; since Kâramûran would be more properly, the black river.

A. H. 599. A. D. 1202. Habeib-us-seyr.

whence, for the purpose of amusing, or of laying his vigilance asleep, he dispatched his agents to solicit terms of peace from Oung Khaun. In the process of time, however, after a series of hostilities, which must have been protracted under various circumstances, for a period of nine or ten years, and which, we are here briefly told, produced the utmost desolation through the country of the Kerâeit, he brought the army of the Khaun to a great and decisive battle. Towards the close of the conflict, the horse of Oung Khaun being killed by an arrow, from the bow of Kâratchaur Nûyan, that monarch immediately mounted another, and accompanied by his son Sankoun, made the best of his way from the field of battle, to the court of Tayang Khaun, the monarch of the Naymans; by some of whose principal officers, he was shortly afterwards basely put to death. His son escaped for the present to the country of Kashghâr; to experience, however, at a subsequent period, a similar fate by the hand of a chief of the tribe of Khilije, or Guellitch, of the name of Kellidje Kurrah.

Having thus finally triumphed over the armies of their sovereign, Jengueiz found no further difficulty in subjugating the whole nation of the Kerâeit; and he proceeded, in the five hundred and ninety ninth of the Hidjerah, being then in the forty ninth year of his age, to seat himself, at the station of Thamankohrah,* on the throne of the Khauny; and hence boldly displaying the standard of his power, multitudes of the Moghûl tribes submitted to his authority. This piece of information awakened the most inveterate spirit of hostility in Tayang Khaun, the son of Eynaunje Khaun, the prince, or monarch of the Naymans; who is here stated to have borne the name of Taubkû, until it was changed by the Khaun of Khatay, or sovereign of China, into Tayang Khaun, alleged to signify, son of the Khaun. At all events, he determined to employ the resources of a powerful monarchy for the immediate extirpation of the new sovereign; and for that purpose proceeded to assemble a vast force, dispatching to every quarter of the land of the Moghûls, to demand their co-operation in the design.

On the other hand, apprized of these formidable preparations, Jengueiz hastened to deliberate with his sons, and relatives, and principal Ameirs, on the means of opposing the storm. His half brother Bal-

* Some station probably near his native place of Deylûn Yeldak.

kouty, embraced the opportunity of suggesting to Kâratchaur, that if their sovereign would but march, to anticipate the attack of the enemy on his own territory, *he* would be responsible for the success of the measure. Jengueiz immediately subscribed to the plan; and in the middle of the latter Jummaudy of the six hundredth of the Hidjerah* conducted his troops, accordingly, to seek the Khaun of the Naymans, in the heart of his own dominions. The adverse monarch, who was, at the same time, the father in law of Jengueiz, had however already assembled his numerous legions, and hastened to give battle to the invader. In the dreadful conflict which ensued, he was severely wounded; and withdrawing his person to a pass in one of the neighboring mountains, some of his principal generals followed, to intreat that he would resume his station in the field. But finding him deaf to their arguments, they returned without him, and precipitated themselves in despair upon the troops of Jengueiz; among whom they found a speedy and honorable death. When night came on, Tayang, with considerable difficulty, descended to the foot of the pass, and succeeded in conveying himself to a place of safety. He died however before the conclusion of the year; his son Koushlûk escaping to the country of an uncle, of the name of Bûyrûk.

A. H. 600. A. D. 1204. Habeib-us-scyr.

In the mean time the followers of Jamoukah, who wandered through the Tartar solitudes perpetually harassed by his terrors of the vengeance of Jengueiz, seized their unhappy lord, and delivered him up to his successful rival. For this piece of treason, and foul ingratitude, the miscreants were, by Jengueiz, deservedly punished with death; and for his malicious calumnies with Oung Khaun, and the prince his son, Jamoukah was himself immediately hacked to pieces. These events were succeeded by the entire submission of all the Moghûl tribes, that of Mekreit or Merkeit alone excepted, which was under the authority of Toukta Beiggy. Against that nation, Jengueiz now turned his victorious arms; and, having at the very first onset put a period to the power of Toukta Beiggy, that prince and his son were also driven for protection to the court of Bûyrûk, the brother of Tayang Khaun; while their conqueror continued his successful career into the country of Tangueit,

* February A. D. 1204.

A. H. 602. A. D. 1206. known also by the name of Kashein, which he reduced to subjection with his usual celerity.

Habeib-us-seyr.

By the month of Rudjub of the six hundred and second of the Hidjerah* when the sun should have attained to the mansion of its highest sublimity, in aries at the vernal equinox, and when the hills and plains should have arrayed themselves in nature's loveliest robe, Jengueiz had given directions to prepare for a Kouriltài, or general diet of the states of the empire, so called by the Tartars. A prodigious concourse, consisting of his sons, and generals, and of the majority of the higher, with many of the lower classes from all parts of the Moghûl territory, assembled accordingly, at the appointed period, at the imperial residence. On this occasion, Jengueiz, having caused the great white standard of nine degrees (or tails) to be erected, presented himself on a magnificent throne under the shadow of it, and proceeded to extend to every rank of his admiring subjects, the most liberal proofs of his munificence. He was saluted by an universal burst of acclamation and applause, from the whole of the nobility and grandees of the empire; not an individual of the vast assembly omitting, at the same time, to offer before the throne some token of allegiance, together with his vows for the prosperity and happiness of the monarch. In the midst of this tumultuous agitation of zeal and joy, a Moghûl devotee, or enthusiast, generally known by the appellation of Bût-tongry, but whose real name was Kouktchû, claimed the attention of the assembly; and addressing the monarch on the throne, who had hitherto retained his original name of Temûtchîn, expressed himself briefly in these terms; "by the mysterious authority which I possess, on Temûtchîn, on his sons, and on his kindred, have I bestowed the whole surface of the globe; henceforth therefore, no longer Temûtchin, thy name be *Jengueiz Khaun!*" The title is here expressly said to signify, Shâhshâhan—king of kings; and it was immediately confirmed by a general acclamation of the assembly.

Among other artifices, by which this enthusiast endeavored to impose upon the understanding of mankind, he pretended to possess the secret of diving into their inmost thoughts; that he had, on several occasions,

* March A. D. 1206.

ascended to the skies; and that he spoke from the supernatural knowledge acquired in his visits among the stars in their constellations. But, although sufficiently aware of the grossness of the imposition, Jengûeiz did not on that day conceive it expedient either to check, or molest the proceedings of the impostor. Some time afterwards, however, the same Bût-tongry discovering certain symptoms of an aspiring ambition, which ill became the sanctity which he professed, and obtruding upon Jûjy Kassaur, the brother of Jengueiz, some inquiries of a nature beyond his proper concern, that chief, without ceremony, seized him by the throat, and dashed him with such violence against the earth, that he never rose, or spoke again. It is moreover added, on the testimony of the Jammia-ul-towaurikh, that this Bût, or perhaps Bûhd-tongry was, by a second husband, the son of Oulûn Aykah, the widow of Beysouka Bahauder, and mother of the immortal Jengueiz; that he had rendered himself equally insensible to the effects of heat and cold; and that he was thus capable of sitting naked without apparent inconvenience in the midst of ice and snow; and, finally, that he had fixed his abode on a solitary mountain called Outan karvan, and that he disdained to solicit the means of existence from any human being.

A. H. 602-7. A. D. 1206-10. Habeib-us-seyr.

On the dissolution of the Kouriltâi, at which he may have promulgated the Yaussa, or code of laws, detailed in the 6th chapter of Petis de la Croix's respectable history, Jengueiz hastened to carry his designs into execution, against Bûyrouk, the brother of Tayang Khaun; whom he suddenly attacked, defeated, and killed, on the plains, or hunting grounds of Ulûgh, or Alughtauk. Koushlûk, the nephew of the vanquished monarch, in company with Toukta Beiggy, the Khaun of the Mekreit, betook himself to flight on the fall of his relative. The fugitives were, however, pursued, and overtaken by Jengueiz, at Erdeish, (not the Irtish) where Toukta Beiggy was killed; but Koushlûk again contrived to escape, and claim the protection of Gûrkhaun, a monarch of whom more hereafter; and it was at this conjuncture that the prince of Eyghûr, who bore the title of Eidykout, the lord of power, or ruling prince, impressed by the reports which continually reached him, of the invincible prowess and surpassing magnificence of Jengueiz, suddenly threw off the authority of Gûrkhaun; and hastened to join, and solicit an alliance with the Moghûl monarch, who received him

A. H. 607. A. D. 1210. with distinguished kindness, and ultimately bestowed upon him, one of his daughters in marriage.

Habeib-us-seyr.

The animosities which had so frequently broke out between the Khaugans of the Moghûl tribes, and the monarchs of Khatâi, or northern China,* although composed by temporary cessation, were nevertheless in a state of perpetual effervescence; and now that, in the oriental strain, his armies might be said to out-number the drops in rain, Jengueiz considered, perhaps, that they could not be better employed than in avenging the wrongs of his country by the subjugation of that powerful monarchy. This enterprize he therefore determined to undertake without further delay; but, he first of all thought it expedient to dispatch one of his oldest officers, of the name of Jauffer Khaujah, equally distinguished for his commanding eloquence and sagacity of mind, to convey to Altan, or Altûn Khaun, which appears at this period to have been a title generally borne by the Chinese emperors, a formal demand of allegiance and tribute. The Khâtayan monarch is described to have received the message with equal indignation, and disdain. He desired that it might be made known to the arrogant and haughty Jengueiz, that the dominions over which he governed, had hitherto never been polluted by the footsteps of a foreign adversary; that it behoved him to make an estimate widely different, between the monarch of a powerful empire, and the uncivilized and undisciplined Moghûls, against whom his enterprizes had hitherto been solely directed; and he admonished him to beware of drawing upon himself, a train of calamities and vengeance, of which it was impossible that he could form the slightest conception. But, if in spite of every suggestion of prudence, he was still determined to tempt his fate, by approaching the provinces under his authority, he should infallibly experience to his cost, what a numerous, and victorious soldiery was capable of achieving.

When the obvious result of his embassy had been communicated, by Jauffer Khaujah, to Jengueiz, that monarch, as appears to have been his practice on all extraordinary occasions, ascended a lofty eminence; and there loosing the girdle from his waist, and casting it round his

* Khatâi is the name applied, with great apparent propriety, by De la Croix, to the seven northern provinces of China; as that of Mangi, quere Mâtchein, is to the nine southern provinces.

neck, in the humblest terms implored the Almighty to crown his efforts with victory. He remained on the same spot, engaged in supplication for several days and nights; but descending at last to resume the functions of his power, and having set apart a body of troops for the defence of the Ourdû, or principal seat of government at Kârakorum, he finally proceeded at the head of the main body of the army, towards the Khâtayan territory. Soon afterwards penetrating the frontier of the empire,* he subdued with surprising rapidity the country of Jourânjet, containing, as it is said, the incredible population of seventy thousand tomauns, of ten thousand each (the former would make seven hundred millions, the latter the rather more moderate aggregate of seventy millions); and he added to his conquests by the reduction of many other great and flourishing cities.

A. H. 607-8. A. D. 1210-11. Habeib-us-seyr.

Altan Khaun, on intelligence of this formidable invasion, with an army such as, for multitude, the blue firmament with its thousand eyes, had hitherto never before contemplated, now advanced from the metropolis of Tchengdû, or Tchengtû;† (for it would be difficult to give, from the original, the precise orthography of this and many other Chinese and Tartar names which occur in the history)† and took post at the head of one of the passes of his country. He detached, however, some of his generals with a force sufficiently numerous more in advance; both to observe the frontiers of the province, and, as opportunity occurred, to harass and annoy the Moghûls. The division thus employed receiving unexpected information, that Jengueiz, after forcing one of the cities in the neighborhood, was at this moment engaged without suspicion of danger, in dividing the booty, the Chinese generals conceived it to be one of the opportunities, of which they had been instructed to avail themselves; and they hastened by as expeditious a movement as possible to take the enemy by surprise. They were so far successful, as to come upon the Moghûls while they were preparing one of their meals: but the ever-active Jengueiz, mounting his horse in person on the first alarm, and directing his soldiers to reverse their

*De la Croix states, that the great gate in the Chinese wall, the Sedd-e-Yâjûje of the Arabs, was betrayed to him by Alacous, the Khaun of Ankout. The wall is not even mentioned by our author, which seems rather extraordinary. It is, however, to be observed, that *Avankoh* is the name assigned by some writers to the same wall.

†It will be found, in a subsequent part of the work, that this city lay something to the northward of the modern metropolis of Khaun-bâligh, or Cambalu, or Pekin.

A. H. 608. A. D. 1211. Habeib-us-seyr.

cooking utensils and take to their swords, immediately assailed the Khatayan troops; who gave way at the very first onset, and were defeated with extensive loss.

In the great battle which was soon afterwards fought between Jengueiz, and the Khâtayan monarch in person, the Moghûls were as usual triumphant; Altan Khaun flying in dismay to his capital, whither he was immediately pursued by his conqueror. In this extremity, the Khatayan deliberated with his ministers and principal generals, the names of three of whom, Kiouking, Dioungshah, and Tcheingsang, unequivocally bespeak their Chinese identity, as to the measures which he should adopt to repel the danger. Tcheingsang declared for a temporary accommodation with the invader; and that, if he could be prevailed upon to withdraw to his own country, means might easily be devised to repair the losses, of whatever magnitude, sustained by the invasion. This plan met with the approbation of Altan Khaun; by whom an embassy was immediately dispatched to open a negociation for peace with Jengueiz, and to make him an offer of his daughter Kebkhûr, or Kenjûr, (the Kubcou Catune, or Khâtûn, of De la Croix,) for his bride. The Moghûl monarch, from some motive of present convenience, agreed to a treaty of peace; and, accompanied by the Chinese princess, soon afterwards withdrew to his own territories. Altan Khaun is stated upon this to have consigned the government of Tchengdû, and that part of his dominions, to one of the princes his sons, aided by a council of some of the most distinguished Ameirs of the empire, and to have retired himself to Tayming; a noble city, which had been erected by his father, and which, in loftiness and extent, seemed to rival the stupendous vault of heaven. On the authority of the Jammia-rashidy, and of the preliminary to the zuffurnâmah of the Yezdian, we are further informed that this was a city of forty farsangs, or leagues, in circumference; that it was defended by three prodigious ramparts; and that it was washed on one side by a vast river, of such a breadth indeed, that it occupied an entire day, with the utmost exertion, in the vessels which navigated the stream, to cross it and return from one bank to the other. It is, moreover, stated to have been supplied, in equal abundance, with all the fruits indigenous to both warm and cold climates.

On the removal of Altan Khaun, however, to a remoter part of his dominions, that which he seems to have abandoned soon became a prey to the most alarming disturbances and disaffection; great numbers of the military chiefs, with their followers, displaying at the same time the standard of insurrection and revolt, and disseminating the baneful influence of their disloyalty and treason, throughout the whole of northern China. Thus circumstanced, the son of the Khaun found himself constrained to resign the government of Tchengdû to its fate, and he withdrew from the surrounding convulsions, to join the person of his father; and intelligence of the forsaken situation of the metropolis of Khatâi, being early conveyed to Jengueiz, by the agent of Aboukah the governor of Jûrjah, supposed to be the peninsula of Corea, together with assurances of his master's allegiance and attachment, Mangû, and Samoukah, two Ameirs, or commanders of tomauns, were immediately appointed, at the head of a competent force, to resume on the part of the Moghûl monarch, the conquest of the country south of the wall of China. A. H. 608-10. A. D. 1212-14. Habeib-us-seyr.

These two generals appeared in due time before Tchengdû, of which they immediately formed the siege; and it employed their exertions and vigilance to a protracted period, until, indeed, the resources of the garrison became entirely exhausted. In this extremity, the besieged ventured to apprize their sovereign, in his new capital, of the situation to which they had been reduced; and a numerous convoy under the direction of a chief of the name of Boutekshâi, and three other Ameirs, was dispatched with all expedition to their relief; each of the soldiers and followers carrying three measures of grain, for the supply of the garrison. When it reached a place called Seyning, or some such name, the convoy was however intercepted by a body of the Jengueizian troops; who suffered the escort to pass, but took care to disencumber them of the invaluable supply for the garrison, of which they were in charge. In despair at the circulation of this disastrous intelligence among their followers, two of the Chinese commanders, Kiou Keing, and Tcheing-sang, destroyed themselves by poison; the others effected their escape to Tayming; and these circumstances were followed by the immediate submission of the capital, and the whole of the Khataian territory.

A. H. 610. A. D. 1214. Habeib-us-seyr.

On intelligence of this prodigious acquisition, an officer of the name of Konkû Nûyan proceeded by order of Jengueiz, to Tchengdû, to convey to Kârakorum the long accumulated treasures of the Khatayan monarch; which, in specie beyond all estimate of numbers, and in costly effects without measure, together with the individual, who as treasurer had been formerly vested with the inestimable charge, were now transported entire to the presence of Jengueiz; by whom, with his characteristic liberality, the whole was immediately distributed on the spot, to his armies. The subjugation of Khatay appears to have been completed in the six hundred and tenth, or eleventh of the Hidjerah; soon after which, returning from the frontier of his new conquests to his own capital, the Moghûl monarch consigned the final settlement of the conquered countries, to Moghuly Gûyang of the tribe of Jeilâeir.

Having enjoyed a short interval of repose, the attention of Jengueiz was next employed to carry into execution the design, which he had probably for some time had in view, of extinguishing the rival ambition of Koushlûk, prince of the Naymans, and of subjugating the Kârakhatayan nation with whom he had taken refuge. Before he proceeds, however, to record the events of this expedition, the author supplies us with the following curtailed account of the people who were the ultimate object of it. A short time previous to the period under consideration, the Kârakhtayans were governed by the last of a line of princes, to whom, for reasons similar to those which had bestowed upon the monarchs of Northern China that of Altan Khaun, they assigned the general title of Gûr Khaun. Their ancestors were indeed genuine Khâtayans of the most distinguished class; eighty individuals of whom, together with their kindred and dependents, comprising in the whole a numerous population, some time previous to the birth of Jengueiz, had emigrated from their native country, and appeared on the confines of Kerkeir, or Crequir, north of the peninsula of Corea; but meeting with opposition from the inhabitants of Kerkeir, they passed thence to the territory of Eymil, where they erected a considerable city. This became the resort of the most warlike of the Tartar tribes; of whom a colony of four thousand families was induced not long afterwards, to settle in the vicinity.

At this particular period the city of Balasaughûn, called by the Moghûls, Aghû or Oghûbauligh—the city of beauty, or the beautiful

city, was governed by a Khaun of the race of Afrausiab; whose weakness exposing him to the cupidity of the neighboring tribes, the frontiers of his country were perpetually plundered and laid waste, and in particular, by the Kereik and Kankuly Tartars. To relieve himself from these repeated aggressions, the prince of Balasaughûn determined to call in the assistance of the chief of the Kârakhatayans, who had already assumed the title of Gûrkhaun; and whom he accordingly solicited, through his agent, to come and put himself in possession of Balasaughûn, and avenge his injuries on the predatory and hostile tribes. The Gûrkhaun did not require much solicitation; he hastened to Balasaughûn, divested the imbecile prince of his hereditary authority, and transferred it to himself, with the title of Eylek Tûrkman or, more probably, Tûrkan. He then directed his resources to the subjugation of all the tribes that might prove hostile to his government; after which, he further extended his conquests by the reduction of Kashghâr and Khôten southwards, and, ultimately, by the submission of several of the petty princes of Mawur-un-neher and Ferghânah, westward to the Oxus. It was the same monarch who opposed, and defeated Sûltan Sunjur of the race of Seljûk, about the five hundred and thirty sixth of the Hidjerah, as noticed on a former occasion.

A. H. 610-11. A. D. 1214-15. Habeib-us-seyr.

On the death of this able monarch, his authority appears to have devolved to his widow whose name was Gûyang, or Kûloun, for it is written both ways in the same line; and she was cheerfully obeyed by the nation, so long as she continued to deport herself as a chaste and virtuous matron. But the moment she suffered herself to be led away by her voluptuous propensities, the Kârakhatayans did not scruple to cut her off, together with the associate of her pleasures; and to transfer the authority and title of Gûrkhaun, to the brother of their late sovereign.

Between the second of the Gûrkhauns, and the kings of Khaurezm, occurred those transactions of alternate peace and war recorded in a former page; and it was to him that Koushluk the prince of the Naymans fled for protection, on the death of his uncle Bûyrûk Khaun, and the fall of Toukta Beggy; and the kind and hospitable reception which the fugitive experienced on the occasion, was succeeded by an union

A. H. 610-11. A. D. 1214-15. with the daughter of the Kârakhatayan. All which was but ill-requited in the sequel.

Habeib-us-seyr.

While Jengueiz was absent on his expedition against Khatâi, Koushluk availed himself of the opportunity to represent to his father in law, that his hereditary subjects, the Naymans, had been left too long to wander, like sheep without their shepherd; and that if the proposal met with his approbation, the friend on whom he had conferred such lasting obligations, would now undertake to collect them together, and conduct them to the service of his benefactor. The Gûrkhaun too easily and imprudently acceded to the insidious proposal; and immediately dismissed the Nayman, loaded with distinction and favor, to carry his design into execution. Koushluk conveyed himself without accident to the country of his birth, and was joined, as soon as his arrival became known, by the whole force of the Nayman tribes; and not long afterwards by the prince of the Mekreit, who embraced the opportunity of repairing to his standard. Finding himself at the head of a powerful army, instead of avenging himself on the adversaries of his family, Koushluk, in violation of every tie of friendship and hospitality, proceeded without scruple, to plunder and lay waste the territory of his father in law. And, as if determined to ensure the destruction of his benefactor beyond the possibility of failure, he dispatched to Sûltan Mahommed the Khaurezmian, the message described in a former chapter; inviting him to attack the Kârakhatayan from the westward while he continued hostilities against him from the east: and stipulating, as already observed, that if the Khaurezmian was foremost in his successful exertions to destroy the power of the common enemy, he should compensate himself by taking possession of Kashghâr and Khoten; on the other hand, if success first dawned on the arms of the Nayman, Sûltan Mahommed should cede to him the whole of the country westward of Tûrkestaun, to the Seyhûn or river of Finauket.

In conformity with the plan of operations thus proposed, the Kârakhatayan found himself shortly afterwards exposed to two formidable attacks on opposite quarters of his dominions. The Nayman, who pressed to the scene of action before his ally, was, however, defeated; after which succeeded the battle between Gûrkhaun and the Khaurezmian, already referred to; in which either wing of the contending armies having been

beaten, either through the treachery or misconduct of the sepâhbud, or commander, of the Kâbûdjâmahgan, or blues, on the side of Sûltan Mahommed, both ultimately separated without claiming the victory. But, on returning to his capital of Balasaughûn on this occasion, the inhabitants tired of the yoke of the Kârakhatayans, and expecting that the Khaurezmians were in close pursuit, at once shut their gates in the face of the Gûrkhaun; and proceeded to assail his person with darts and stones, and every species of annoyance that the most determined hostility could have devised. The monarch prepared without delay to reduce them to their allegiance; and at the expiration of sixteen days, succeeded in carrying the place by assault, and to signalize his vengeance, immediately gave orders for a general massacre of the inhabitants. In consequence of this, during three days and three nights, for which the slaughter was continued, forty seven thousand of the most distinguished individuals in Balasaughûn, were put to the sword.

A. H. 610-11. A. D. 1214-15. Habeib-us-seyr.

Such were the circumstances of the Khatayan monarch, when, his treasury being entirely emptied by the expences of the war, an opulent courtier, apprehensive of a claim upon his own wealth, suggested to him the expedient of calling upon his officers, as an equivalent for his disbursements, to deposit the plunder, which they had amassed during the campaign, in the hands of the treasurer of state. To this unpopular measure the Gûrkhaun unfortunately gave his assent; and it hastened the crisis of his destruction. His captains, obtaining intelligence of what was in agitation, alternately withdrew from court under various pretexts, and excited, in different quarters, a general spirit of disaffection, and revolt against his government. The Nayman prince, Koushluk, hastened to avail himself of the general discontent; and like a sudden and unexpected calamity appeared, at the head of his followers, within the walls of Balasaughûn, of which he became immediately master; the aged monarch, deprived of friends and resources, presenting himself, in a posture of silent and humble resignation, before the throne of his ungrateful betrayer. Affecting, however, to be shocked at this public and striking proof of the inconstancy of fortune, Koushluk caused him, in appearance, to be treated with respect and tenderness; although he seized, without ceremony, on every article of his property, whether treasure or cattle, moveable or immoveable.

A. H. 611-12. A. D. 1215. Habeib-us-seyr. Gûrkhaun survived his degradation for a period of two years; at the end of which, and at the advanced age of ninety five he died, after an alleged reign of eighty two years. This appears however to be an inconsistency; and probably refers to the entire duration of the existence of this dinasty, which expired with him.

Having thus attained the climax of his usurpations, Koushluk proceeded in a short time to extend his dominion to the countries of Almauligh,* Kashghâr, and Khoten,† signalizing his government by every species of oppression, rapacity, and violence. In his religion he is described as a rank and inveterate idolater, while his consort professed the doctrines of the Messiah. Hence the malignity, with which they are both accused of having persecuted the advocates of the Mahommedan dispensation. The memory of Koushluk was however rendered particularly odious, because he condemned a distinguished Mussulman doctor, of the name of Alla-ud-dein Mahommed-ul-Husseny, to be crucified at the door of his own college, for having successfully vindicated the tenets of his belief, and retorted upon the tyrant the abuse with which he had presumed to treat the name of his prophet: a circumstance which, at the same time, might inspire some doubt as to the justice of that obloquy, to which the historian seems disposed to consign the memory of this prince, and his consort.

In the mean time, his ally the prince of Mekreit, or Merkeit, on some disgust, separated from the Nayman, and retired among the tribes of Keptchauk; and Jengueiz, apprized of the sudden and unexpected accession to power of Koushluk, hastened to adopt those measures which might most effectually bring it to a termination. Jubbah, or Hubbah Nûyan‡ with several tomauns, was immediately directed to march westward, in order to disconcert the designs of the successful fugitive. Koushluk was at this period employed in the territory of Kashghâr; which he however abandoned, the moment he found that the Moghûl general was arrived on the frontier. Hubbah Nûyan was accordingly suffered

* Said to be in the same degree with Kashghar, 44 north.

† In 42 degrees of north latitude.

‡ This name is pointed Jubbah, throughout the manuscript; but as it is in most European writers laid down as Hubbah, we shall abide by the latter.

to take possession of Kashghâr* without the slightest resistance; and he caused it to be immediately proclaimed through the streets, and market-places, that every person should quietly adhere to the religion of his forefathers, without presuming to molest or interfere with that of his neighbours; but that the followers of Koushluk were to be put to death wherever they were to be found. The Mahommedans were thus relieved from the persecution of their odious oppressors; and a division of the Moghûl troops proceeding in pursuit of Koushluk, cut to pieces every living being, of the Nayman nation, that fell in their way. The prince escaped, however, into the mountainous region of Badukhshaun: betaking himself, in the perplexity of his fears, to the deep glen, or pass, of Saureg-koul, to which there was, unfortunately for him, no opposite egress. Some hunters who frequented these mountains in pursuit of game, were easily engaged by the Moghûls, on a promise that the lives of the captives should be spared, to seize and deliver up to them, the Naymans who were flying from their vengeance. Koushluk, and his remaining followers were accordingly surrounded by the hunters, and soon afterwards taken and consigned to the mercy of their pursuers; by whom the head of the Nayman prince was instantly struck off, and conveyed to their general.

A. H. 612-15. A. D. 1215-18. Habeib-us-seyr.

Subsequent to these events, according to our author, Jûjy,† or Tchûtchy, or Tûshy Khaun, as he is frequently denominated, the eldest of the sons of Jengueiz, was employed in Keptchek, or Keptchauk, to extinguish the last surviving spark of Tartar independence, in the prince of Mekreit, Tûkeina, or Yûkeina, or Tûfikaun, (such is the uncertainty of the manuscript) the successor of Toukta Beggy, who had retreated into that country, on his separation from the prince of the Naymans; and there his career, together with the destiny of his nation, was early decided, by the exertions of the Moghûl prince, who then returned to join his father.

* In the 44th degree of latitude, and 2nd of longitude, east of Greenwich. M. Sharvenfeldt, master of the ceremonies to the king of Sweden, being at Paris in 1691, assured Mr. Petis de la Croix, that he had read in the ancient annals of Sweden, that the Swedes took their original from Kashghâr. Vide history of Genghizcan the great, p. 116, in the notes.

† Born when his father was in the fifteenth year of his age: the name signifies, *happily arrived*. Vide De la Croix's history of Genghizcan.

A. H. 612-15. A. D. 1218-18. Habeib-us-seyr.

Being at leisure from his conquests, and having amply satiated his vengeance on his enemies, in the eastern and northern part of the Asiatic continent, Jengueiz now finally resolved on his expedition against the dominions of Sûltan Mahommed of Khaurezm; from whom, in the murder of the defenceless merchants, and subsequently of his embassadors, at Otraur, as formerly described, he had received the most wanton, and atrocious provocation. Before we conduct him, however, on his memorable and sanguinary career, it may be useful to insert, from de la Croix's history, a sketch of the state of Asia, at the period of this fearful irruption.

"The Indians," adverting to the nations of Hindûstaun, "were governed by many kings, the most powerful of whom was the king of "the Patans (at Dehly). The southern China, which was called "Mangi, had its particular monarch; and the northern, that is to say "*Cathay*, was under the Moguls, as were also both the *Tartarys*, the "east and north, with a great part of the west, and of *Turquestan*. The "Sultan *Mehemed* possessed also several parts of *Turquestaun*, and "all *Transoxiaua*; besides which he was master of the best part of "the empire of *Persia*, called by the Persians *Iran:* and all the *Corassane*, all the frontiers of India, the country of the *Medes*, which was "called *Azerbijana*, and the Persian *Hircania*, otherwise called *Irac* "*Agemi*, were dependent upon him. The ancient *Persia* called *Fars*, "of which *Schiraz* was the capital, and several other provinces, lived "under his government. In a word, the sovereigns of the ancient empires of Persia, and the *Medes* and *Parthians*, were almost all become "subject to him, and paid him tribute.

"*Georgia* and the countries adjacent had their own particular princes "who were independent. As for the great Armenia, its king paid tribute to the king of *Carizme*. The Califf *Nasser* reigned in *Bagdad*, "over *Chaldea*, otherwise called *Irac Araby*, over a part of *Mesopotamia*, the three *Arabias*, and some other countries of *Persia*. The "*Atabequite* princes of *Mousel*, improperly called *Niniveh*, the descendants of the great *Noureddin* prince of Syria, possessed almost "all the rest of *Mesopotamia*; but the civil wars caused by the minority of *Nassereddin* and by ambition held these princes in arms one "against another. At this time the successors of *Saladin* were also

" very powerful, one part of Syria had submitted to them, and Egypt A. H. 615.
" acknowledged them for sovereigns. A. D. 1218.

" The Sultans of *Iconia* of the third branch of the Seljukides, go- Petis de la Croix.
" verned in *Asia minor*, or *Anatolia*, which the orientals call *Bilad-*
" *erroum*, that is the country of the new Romans; *Azzeddin Keicaous*
" reigned there. The sceptre of the empire of *Constantinople*, which
" as yet bore sway in some parts of Asia, was at this time in the hands
" of the French, who had made themselves masters of it, A. D. 1203.
" Heg. 601.

" The Christian affairs in *Palestine* were at this time in a very ill posture;
" they had lost the city and kingdom of *Jerusalem*, which, with many
" others, were taken from them by *Saladin* A. D. 1187—Heg, 583.
" and there remained in their hands but some few places, as the city of
" *Acre* or *Ptolemais* which *Philip Augustus* king of France, aided by
" *Richard* king of England had conquered, according to the account of
" *William* of *Tyre*, in 1191 or 1192. As also the city of *Tyrus*, *Cæsarea*,
" and *Tripoly* in Syria. This was pretty near the state of affairs in Asia
" at the time of the Moghûls irruption in 1218 and 1219. While *Lewis*
" the son of *Philip Augustus*, according to Calvisius, was employed
" against the Albigenses*". History of Genghizcan the great, p. p.
156, 157.

* Henry IIId was king of England.

CHAP. XI.

A. H. 615-17. A. D. 1218-20. Habeib-us-seyr.

SOME time in the six hundred and fifteenth of the Hidjerah, his armies being assembled, and his preparations complete, Jengueiz set his countless myriads in motion, westward, for the territory on the banks of the Jeyhûn; by a route which, together with the period consumed in the march, the author has entirely omitted to determine. On his arrival, however, in the neighborhood of *Otraur*,* on the banks of the Seyhûn, or Jaxartes, in the forty-fourth degree of latitude, and about the sixty third of longitude, he consigned the siege of that place to his second and third sons, Tcheghatay, and Ouktay; and detaching his eldest son, Jûjy, towards Jûnd on the one hand, and Alak Nûyan, towards Finauket, and Khojend on the other, he proceeded himself, accompanied by his fourth and favorite son, Tûly Khaujah, by the orientals entitled, by way of eminence, Ulûgh Nûyan—*the great Ameir*, on the way towards Bokhâra.

Appearing unexpectedly before the walls of Zarbouk, or Zarnûk, the inhabitants ventured to shut their gates against him, with the generous design of defending themselves, while they had arms in their hands; but being dissuaded from their purpose, by the intervention and arguments of a Mahommedan chief in the service of Jengueiz, whose name was Daneshmund, they ultimately forbore hostilities, and were admitted to some species of capitulation by the Moghûl conqueror. Their walls were however levelled with the ground, and their young men compelled to attend the army; which now proceeded to Nûr, a city between Samarkand and Bokhâra, which submitted on similar terms. But, in this instance, the inhabitants were sternly admonished, for the future, to confine themselves to less perilous, and humbler habits of

* It is also obvious to remark, that the author has omitted to notice the action which took place on the march to the Sêyhûn, between the Khaurezmian Sûltan, and a division of the Moghûl army under Jûjy Khaun, as mentioned in the history of the kings of Khaurezm; but in which, according to de la Croix, Jengueiz commanded in person.

life—to the employments of husbandry, and the care of their flocks and herds; for that their dwellings and all they contained, were to be immediately resigned to spoliation. They were not in a condition to resist; and all that belonged to them became, accordingly, the prey of the Moghûls. Jengueiz now proceeded without obstacle to *Bokhâra*; in the neighborhood of which he is here said to have encamped, in the early part of the six hundred and fourteenth of the Hidjerah. In the summary prefixed to his reign by the author, he is however stated to have quitted Kârakorum in the 615th, and to have reached Bokhâra in the commencement of the 617th of the Hidjerah; to this latter date we shall take the liberty of adhering.

A. H. 617. A. D. 1220. Habeib-us-seyr.

This celebrated city, lying, according to de la Croix, in the fortieth degree of north latitude, and about a day's journey north-east of the Oxus, is alleged to derive its name from a similar word, signifying in the language of the Magians, or ancient Persians, the mart, or emporium of the sciences; and it is, indeed, at the period under consideration, described to have been the resort of science, learning, and genius, from every quarter of the oriental world. But, whatever its splendor and renown, it was now destined, like the gem in his signet, to be on all sides enclosed by the countless host of Jengueiz. Nevertheless, on the very first night of its investiture, the Khaurezmian garrison, to the number of twenty or thirty thousand, under three of their generals, attempted to surprise the camp of the Moghûls. But as the guards of the besiegers, like the unslumbering fortune of their sovereign, were ever on the watch, the design was frustrated, and the greater part of those employed to carry it into execution, cut to pieces. The ensuing day, divesting themselves of all idea of further resistance, the principal inhabitants of Bokhâra threw open the gates, and in all their classes, proceeded to implore the mercy of Jengueiz.

Immediately mounting his horse, the Moghûl monarch now entered the devoted city; and approaching the principal mosque, struck with its splendid appearance, demanded, if that was the palace of the Sûltan. Being answered in the negative, and that it was, on the contrary, an edifice consecrated to the worship of the supreme God, he introduced himself, nevertheless, mounted as he was, into the interior of the building; and proceeded without checking the reins of his bridle, until he

A. H. 617. A. D. 1220. Habeib-us-seyr.

came to the meksûrah, or more sacred part. Here he dismounted, and ascending the steps of the mumber, or pulpit, there seated himself with the utmost unconcern, cooly giving orders to his soldiers. The most essential of these was, since the adjacent plains were entirely destitute of forage of every description, that they were not to lose a moment, to secure provender for their horses. The Moghûls proceeded, accordingly, to throw open the doors of the magazines and granaries. They scattered abroad the sacred sections of the Korân, from the coffers in which they were deposited, and applied them, instead of straw, as litter for their horses; and after this, they compelled the venerable Sheikhs, and doctors of the law of Mahommed, to hold their chargers by the bridle, while they proceeded to circulate the goblet, and to divert themselves with the barbarous strains of their Moghûl music.

In the mean time, Jengueiz repaired at his leisure to the Eidgâh, (the edifice generally erected without the walls of the town for the celebration of the principal festivals) where he had directed the whole population of Bokhâra to be assembled to receive his commands. Ascending the tribunal, he first addressed himself in prayer to the most high; after which, having expressed himself in terms of severe reproach against the Sûltan of Khaurezm, he thus concluded. "Men "of Bokhâra! you have been guilty of enormous crimes; hence the "wrath of God, of whose vengeance I am the instrument, hath employ-"ed me against you. Of all the property of this city that is visible, "it would be needless to require an account. That which I demand "is the unreserved, and immediate surrender of all that lies concealed." The opulent inhabitants hastened, in consequence, to place at the discretion of their conquerors, the whole of their treasures, and effects of every denomination; which were taken possession of without abatement, and yet without the application of the torture in any instance to force a discovery. But, an order having been early issued by Jengueiz, that the adherents of the king of Khaurezm should be entirely expelled the city; and it being unhappily discovered that many persons of this description had found protection with the inhabitants, the indignation of the vindictive monarch was awakened, and he directed the town to be immediately set on fire. Thus, the buildings being in general cased or covered with wood, in the course of a single day, this

noble and celebrated city was consumed to ashes; nothing indeed escaping the conflagration, but the cathedral, or principal mosque, and such of the public edifices as were constructed of burnt brick. The warlike youth of the town were then commanded to attack the citadel, which still held out for the Khaurezmian; and this being also after a considerable resistance, ultimately reduced, every individual who had borne arms in its defence, was put to the sword, and the women and children condemned to slavery. The castle was levelled with the ground; and it is said that one of the inhabitants, who had escaped into Khorassaun, being desired to describe the events of which he had been witness, replied in these words: "*They came—they exfodiated—they bound —they massacred—and they consumed.*" Than which five words, concludes the author, the Persian language does not furnish terms to delineate more briefly, or accurately, the fate of Bokhâra, on its conquest by the Moghûls. The same, or similar words, have been, however, by others applied to the subsequent rapid and exterminating course of these fierce invaders, through the provinces of the Persian empire; to which the destruction of Bokhâra was but the melancholy, and fearful prelude.

A. H. 617. A. D. 1220. Habeib-us-seyr.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ASIATIC

Recurring to the operations of Tcheghatay and Ougtay, who had been charged with the reduction of Otraur, the narrative proceeds to relate, that those princes no sooner appeared in his vicinity, than Ghâeir Khaun, the governor, with not less than sixty thousand horse under his orders, conceived it prudent to confide his safety to the strength of his fortifications; rather than to the hazard of an open conflict in the field of battle. He provided, however, with activity and vigilance for the defence of the place. At the expiration of five months, the situation of the besieged, notwithstanding every precaution, verged on extremity; and at such a crisis, they were abandoned by Karautchah Haujeb, (Cariacas of De la Croix) one of the Khaurezmian generals, who had been expressly appointed by his sovereign to provide for the support of Ghâeir Khaun; but who now entered into a correspondence with the Moghûls, and one night quitted the city by the gate of the Sûfikhaunah, (the convent of the mystics perhaps) which he had probably betrayed to the besiegers. Be this as it may, the Moghûls poured into the town on the same night; Ghâeir Khaun

A. H. 617. A. D. 1220. Habeib-us-seyr.

with twenty thousand of his bravest troops retiring into the citadel. Next day, having loaded him with deserved reproach for his base ingratitude to his king, the Shahzâdahs put the traitor Karautchah to death; and driving the whole population of Otraur to the adjoining plain, there butchered them without mercy.

They now commenced their attack upon the citadel, which was ably and gallantly defended by the governor; who employed his numerous garrison, in bold and frequent sallies to disturb, and retard the operations of the Moghuls, until the greater part had perished sword in hand, in the honorable discharge of their duty. The siege had been in this manner protracted for the space of a month, not without material loss to the besiegers, when the latter at last succeeded in penetrating into the castle; the warlike associates of Ghâeir Khaun being reduced to two persons only. With these, however, taking post on the terrace of one of the dwelling houses, he continued to defend himself, and keep the enemy at a distance with bricks and stones, until he saw his two faithful companions lifeless by his side. The Moghûls had been cautioned, at all hazards, to take the obnoxious governor alive; hence they forbore to assail him with their darts or arrows. But they at last accomplished their object by mere dint of numbers, and they seized and effectually secured his person, as they had been directed to do. The citadel was immediately rased to the ground; and the surviving inhabitants, with the exception of the mechanics and artificers, who were reserved for transportation to the Moghûl territory, were all put to death. Tcheghatay and Ougtay then proceeded across the Seyhûn, to rejoin their father's camp, which they found in the vicinity of Samarkand. The governor of Otraur suffered the death to which he had been long destined, in the Kouki Serrâi, a country palace not far from that city.

It has been already observed, that on the arrival of the Moghûl armies on the Seyhûn, Jûjy Khaun was detached in the direction of Jûnd, or Jond;* a city on the borders of Tûrkestaun, at a short distance from that river. In his route towards that place, his march appears to have led him through the neighborhood of Sughnauk, or Saganac; to dissuade

* De la Croix, on the authority of the Rouzut-us-suffâ, reports "that it was out of this "city, and some others in the same country, that twenty Scythian embassadors went to meet Alexander,—reproached him with his ambition &c."

the inhabitants of which from unavailing hostilities, he dispatched a merchant of Bokhâra, now in the employment of Jengueiz, of the name of Hussun Hâjy. This person had, however, scarcely entered the town, and before he had well explained the object of his mission, when he was assailed by the licentious and misguided multitude, and, to the cry of the tekbeir, immediately put to death. An act of such daring and unwarrantable violence naturally excited in the Moghûl prince the utmost indignation; and he hastened, with the fury of an angry lion, to avenge the outrage, calling upon his soldiers not to relax in their exertions, until they were masters of the place. The Moghûls exerted themselves with more than ordinary zeal. In two days the wretched city was subverted to the very foundations, and every living creature put to the sword. Having consigned the ruins of Sughnauk to the son of Hussun Hâjy, the march of Jûjy was next directed to Ouzkund, (situated in the latitude of forty four) which capitulated without resistance; and thence, retrograde as it would appear, to Asaush, Ashaush, or Taushkent; the inhabitants of which, making a determined and gallant defence, were for the greater part cut to pieces.

A. H. 617. A. D. 1220. Habeib-us-seyr.

These sanguinary executions being described to Kûtlûg Khaun, the governor of Jûnd, with circumstances of aggravated horror, appear to have deprived him of that firmness, with which it was necessary to brave the approaching storm, with any prospect of success; and he prudently withdrew into Khaurezm. On this, an officer of the name of Tcheihtemûr (Gitmur of de-la-Croix) was deputed on the part of the Moghûl prince, to confer with the Jûndians; but, perceiving among the people, indications which menaced his life, the agent by some seasonable piece of address, contrived to elude the design, and returned without delay to his general. On the fourth day of Suffur of the six hundred and seventeenth* of the Hidjerah, Jûjy presented himself, before the town; of which the inhabitants, after securing the gates, are said, like unconcerned spectators, to have taken their seats on the ramparts; and, as if they had been fastened to their posts by the operation of enchantment, to have looked quietly on, while the Moghûls laid their bridges across the ditch fixed their ladders to the walls, and scaled the parapets; and descend-

* Ninth of April, A. D. 1220.

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ing to the interior of the works, proceeded without the smallest molestation, to open the gates to their fellow soldiers from without. This done, the population was as usual driven, like cattle for the slaughter, to the adjoining plain; and their property swept off by a general pillage. But, as they had forborne all shew of resistance, the lives of the inhabitants were in this instance spared, with the exception of two or three unfortunate miscreants, who had spoken with insolence to Tcheintemûr. The government of Jûnd was conferred on Khaujah Ally Ghejendwauny; after which, Jûjy also proceeded to rejoin his father.

The reduction of Finauket, (or as it is sometimes called Tûnkaut) and Khojend, had been allotted to Alak, or Elak Nûyan. Of the former city, which is said to lie in the forty third degree of latitude,* dependent on Alshaush, the garrison was, for the greater part, composed of Kankuly Tartars; who, with their governor Eylenkû Mêlek, retired within their works, immediately on the approach of the Móghûl general. They were shortly afterwards invested by the enemy, and, for three days, manfully exerted themselves in the defence of the place; but, at the expiration of that short period, requesting to capitulate, they evacuated the town on the fourth, and were on the spot immolated in their own blood. The operations of Elak Nûyan were next employed against Khojend, a well known and respectable city on the Seyhûn, in 41-25 of latitude, and within seven days journey of Samarkand, on the side of Ferghaunah. The place was, at this period, under the government of Teymûr Melêk; than whom, the wide extent of the Khaurezmian monarch's dominions did not then furnish an abler, or a braver prince. He had, moreover, in his train one thousand warriors of established renown, each of whom might boast that he was inferior only to the most distinguished heroes of Persian story. With these, he is ultimately said to have retired into the citadel, constructed in the middle of the stream; from which, with indefatigable activity, and to their infinite loss and inconvenience, he continued for a long time to harass, and annoy his Moghûl assailants. After all, when reduced to the last extremity, he embarked the whole of his family and followers, in seventy covered boats, on the Seyhûn, or river of Khojend; each of which

* It is described by the orientals as a most delightful place of residence. See de la Croix's History.

had been previously overlaid, in order to protect them against the darts and fire-works of the enemy, with a composition of clay and vinegar. He stationed himself in one of the last of the vessels, and committed the whole, with the fleetness of the morning breeze, to glide along the stream. A. H. 617. A. D. 1220. Habeib-us-seyr.

As soon as his departure became known to the Moghûls, they pursued, with equal perseverance and activity, along the banks of the river, from which they perpetually assailed him with darts, and every species of missile; while he repelled, with the skill of an archer who never missed his aim. Until, either designedly or by accident, his little armament took the ground, at a particular spot, probably on the left bank of the river. Here he disembarked, and continued his retreat by land; occasionally halting to make head against his pursuers, while his family and baggage, made the best of their way to a place of safety. At last, the whole of his escort having perished, and his family secured beyond the reach of the enemy, he found himself entirely alone; with not more than three arrows in his quiver, one of which was without a head. In this forlorn and hopeless situation he rode on, though very closely pursued by three Moghûl troopers; when, observing the pertinacity with which they seemed to press upon him, he made a short turn round, and lodged his headless arrow in the eye of one of his pursuers. The others drew off upon this, and suffered him to continue his retreat without further molestation into Khaurezm; where he ultimately arrived in safety.

From Khaurezm, at a subsequent period, Teymûr Mêlek retired into Persian Irâk, and ultimately into Syria; where he continued until these dreadful calamities had exhausted their violence. Impelled by the desire of revisiting the land of his birth, he then returned to the neighboring province of Ferghaunah; from whence, at a proper opportunity he conveyed himself to Khojend. Here, he learnt on inquiry that, having accompanied the person of Bautû, the son of Jûjy Khaun, in his progress through that country, his son had been put in possession of his property. With this son he sought, and obtained an interview; at which he demanded whether, if fortune restored his long lost parent, he thought he should recognize him. The son replied, that at the period of their separation, he was but an infant at the breast of his nurse; but, that there still existed in the place an individual, in the

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humble condition of a slave, to whom his features might yet be familiar. This slave was accordingly sent for, and he without hesitation acknowledged the identity of his former lord. The circumstance of his re-appearance soon circulating through Tûrkestaun, Teymûr Mêlek, in the hope that he might be permitted to participate in the liberality of that magnanimous monarch, who had by this time succeeded to the throne of Jengueiz, conceived the design of proceeding immediately to the presence of Oûgtay Kâân. On his journey, it was his misfortune to meet with Kedkaun Oghlan, one of the numerous offshoots of the imperial family, by whom he was directed to be immediately manacled; and who in that state proceeded to question him, as to the various conflicts in which he had been engaged. The brave old chief had accordingly commenced the recital of his exploits, when, accident, or his evil genius, ushered to the spot the very Moghûl in whose eye he had lodged the headless arrow, on his retreat from Khojend; and, as *he* also proceeded to interrogate him on the same subject, with a freedom, or insolence, to which he was little disposed to submit, Teymûr Mêlek was not to be restrained from replying with equal haughtiness and asperity; which awakening the displeasure of Kedkaun Oghlan beyond all moderation, that prince discharged an arrow with such force through the body of the unfortunate Khaurezmian, that he instantly breathed his last. The siege of Khojend, and the adventurous retreat of this gallant chieftain, have been given more in detail by the elder De-la-croix, in his history of Genghizcan; but we have conceived it sufficient to adhere to the above brief narrative, derived from the original statement of Khondemeir, the author of the work now before us. It remains to add, that having completed the reduction of Khojend, Elak Nûyan like the other generals, proceeded towards Samarkand; in the neighborhood of which, Jengueiz had been, now for some time, encamped with the main body of his armies.

The city of Samarkand, which Jengueiz was at this period proceeding to reduce, is said, by De la Croix, according to the determination of Ulûgh Beg, to lie in the fortieth degree of north latitude, in the ancient Sogdiana; both the territory by which it is surrounded, equally celebrated for its fertility and amenity, and the river which passes under its walls on the north side, being known to this day, by the name

of Soghd. During the winter, in which he fatally resolved on the separation and dispersion of his force, Sûltan Mahommed had left, notwithstanding, for the defence of this noble city, a body of one hundred and ten thousand men; and the multitude of its population is moreover described to have been such as to surpass the powers of calculation. But, in order to enable them the more vigorously to resist the formidable attack with which they were menaced, the multitudinous garrison, assisted by the inhabitants, added to the ordinary defences of the town by a line of breastworks and intrenchments, if not an entire rampart, with which they surrounded it at different points; and the ditch being made to communicate at the extremities with the river, it could of course be at all times filled with water. A consideration of these circumstances is said to have operated with Jengueiz, to employ himself and the princes his sons, in the previous reduction of Bokhâra, and of the other cities of Transoxiana, and Tûrkestaun. But when his mind had been set at rest by the accomplishment of these minor undertakings, he no longer delayed the execution of his design against Samarkand; before which he appeared, in tremendous force, in the latter part of Zilhudje* of the six hundred and seventeenth of the Hidjerah, fixing his head quarters in the Kouk, or Gougserrâi, the country palace in the neighborhood of that city, already mentioned; where he was successively joined by the princes and his other generals, on the termination of the services on which they had been severally employed.

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Having enjoyed a short, and unmolested repose of two days, Jengueiz was suddenly, and resolutely assailed in his quarters on the third, by the Khaurezmian generals; who succeeded in cutting to pieces a great number of the Moghûl troops, and retired in triumph into the town, with a multitude of prisoners. But, on the fourth day, Jengueiz at the head of his whole army, attacked the place on all sides, with such irresistible impetuosity, that the garrison no longer thought it safe to trust themselves without the gates. On the fifth night, a difference of opinion arose among the besieged; part evincing a disposition to capitulate, while the other, faithful to its engagements with the king of Khaurezm, persevered in a determination to resist to the last extremity.

* February, A. D. 1221.

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At the dawn of the ensuing day, however, the Kauzy, with the Shaikh-ul-isslaum, or patriarch of the believers, at the head of a party of the nobles, came out of the town; and being conducted to the presence of Jengueiz, implored his mercy for themselves and fellow citizens. The Moghûl monarch assured them, as far as their own persons were concerned, of perfect safety from the effects of his impending vengeance, and permitted them to return into the city; of which, without further security, they immediately threw open one of the gates, called the gate of the Nomauzgâh—place of prayer, or mosque. The besiegers instantly poured into the town; and having set apart the Kauzy and Shaikh-ul-isslaum, and fifty thousand of their friends and dependants, and driven the remaining population according to custom, to the plains without the gates, betook themselves to the usual scenes of pillage and outrage. On the day following, they proceeded to attack the citadel; of which the governor, Alep Khaun, perceiving no other prospect of relief, with one thousand of the bravest of the garrison, with minds prepared for death, nobly cut his way through the ranks of the assailants; and, on the borders of Persian Irâk, ultimately joined his master, with the appalling intelligence of the lost state of Transoxiana. Jengueiz became master of the citadel, on the same day on which Alep Khaun succeeded in effecting his escape from it. Nearly thirty thousand of the Khaurezmian garrison with their officers, were put to the sword; thirty thousand of the citizens, and manufacturers, or merchanics, were selected by the conqueror, and divided between his sons and relatives, for the purpose of conveying the arts of peace and luxury among the uncivilized tribes of Tartary; and, taking from the most opulent of the surviving inhabitants, a contribution of two hundred thousand dinaurs, as a ransom for their lives, he appears to have been satisfied without exposing them to further molestation.

While he was preparing for the siege of Samarkand, intelligence was conveyed to Jengueiz, that Sûltan Mahommed, with a splendid escort, and a mind oppressed with alarm, was flying through Khorassaun towards Irâk Ajem; in consequence of which Jubbah, or Hubbah Nûyan, Soweydâi Bahauder, and Touktcher, or Touquer, another Moghûl chief, with thirty thousand horse, or three tomauns, were immediately dispatched in pursuit of the fugitive monarch. Their instructions were

to prosecute their march with the utmost celerity, and without allowing themselves the smallest respite, until the inveterate foe of their sovereign was in their hands; in the event, however, that they should find themselves overmatched by superior force, they were to avail themselves of some advantageous position, and to transmit an immediate report of their danger. In conformity with these instructions, the three Moghûl captains drew off towards Khorassaun, and separately crossed the Amûyah, or Oxus, about the end of the latter Rebbeia of the six hundred and seventeenth of the Hidjerah;* the two former generals, with their divisions, proceeding towards Herât. Being met by an agent with assurances of submission from Amein Mêlek, the prince or governor of that city, these two appear to have passed on, without molesting the place; but Touktcher, the other commander, taking the same direction, and coming before Herât, after his collegues had left it, obstinately closed his ears against every thing that the prince could allege in proof of his recent accommodation, and immediately commenced hostilities for the reduction of the town. Being however killed by an arrow, this noble city escaped for the present, the Moghûls hastening on the death of their leader, after Jubbah and Soweydâi; whom they overtook in the neighborhood of Zawah, a city then of moderate size, said to lie in the thirty sixth degree of latitude, between Herât, and Neyshapûr. The Moghûl generals had required from the inhabitants a supply of forage and provisions, and had been peremptorily refused. But, as they were in haste to prosecute the object of their march, they were defiling from the neighborhood, without resenting this hostile spirit on the part of the town; when the silly inhabitants proceeding from their walls to insult them, with expressions of obscene and abusive ribaldry, the indignation of the two chiefs was roused, and they determined to chastise the insult. They instantly countermarched, and invested the town; and having made themselve masters of it in the course of three days, they massacred the whole of the inhabitants; and, that a vestige might not remain to indicate that the spot had ever been the residence of a human being, they broke up, and consumed to ashes every article that they could find either in, or belonging to this ill-fated town.

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* Beginning of July 1220.

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After this severe example of vengeance, they proceeded to Neyshapûr, placed by De la Croix in the same latitude with Tûsse, that of thirty seven north; the latter city being however considerably to the north east. Neyshapûr appears for the present to have escaped the cruelties of these barbarians; Jubbah Nûyan there separating from his collegue, and directing his march for Mazanderaun by the route of Jowein; while Soweydâi took that of Tûsse, where, on his arrival, he made a dreadful slaughter of the inhabitants. From thence he proceeded into Raudegan, which for the delight he experienced in its beautiful rural scenery, its meads and meandering streams, he was induced to spare. But, for this temporary departure from the ordinary course of desolation, he made himself ample amends by the atrocities in which he indulged, soon afterwards, at Jenûshaun and Esfrâein, and latterly at Dâmaghaun; on the licentious and disorderly multitude of which towns, he inflicted the direst calamities. Having marked his course through Mazanderaun with the same desolating ravages, and left a part of his division to besiege one of the castles of that country, in which the family of Sûltan Mahommed had taken refuge, Jubbah Nûyan drew off to the left into the territory of Râi, or Rey, (the Rages of scripture), situated in thirty five degrees thirty five minutes of north latitude, four days journey from Neyshapûr; being joined shortly afterwards, in the same territory, by his collegue Soweydâi.

At this period, the unhappy city was rent asunder by the inveterate animosities prevailing between the two sects of Shaffai and Haneifah; who persecuted each other with mortal and unrelenting hostility. Hence, on the approach of the Moghûls, the Shaffaites hastened to join them, urging the generals to destroy one half of their native city, because that half was occupied by the rival sect. The town was accordingly no sooner in possession of the invaders, than the wretched Haneifites were immediately butchered without mercy. The opposite sect were not, however, suffered to enjoy their triumph for many days; for the two generals, not unjustly, reasoning that little faith was to be reposed in a description of men who could devote their fellow citizens to the slaughter, with such unsparing malignity, without much ceremony, dispatched them to the same *bourne* with their detested rivals.

Soweydâi now proceeded northward to Kazvein, situated in thirty seven north, between Râi and Ebher; Jubbah moving westward, in

the direction of Hamadaun. On his arrival at Komm, said to lie in thirty four degrees forty five minutes north, about midway between Kazvein and Isfahaun, the latter general, still at the wicked suggestion of rival sectaries, here described to be *Sûnnihs*, caused the whole population of the place to be put to the sword. He consented, however, on his arrival in the neighborhood of Hamadaun, to some species of accommodation, with Mejid-ud-dein the son of Allâ-ud-doulah, of the race of Ally. But, directing his course towards Gorzroud, and Khorremabad, he converted the former into a heap of smoking ruins, and the latter, from the mansion of delight, into the abode of melancholy and woe; enclosing the inhabitants of Nihawend on the other side in the very web of pain and wretchedness, and exhibiting in every country which he found abandoned by its legitimate protectors, and this he discovered at almost every step, the same dreadful lessons of slaughter and desolation. At Kazvein, Soweydâi, on his part, was sufficiently active in extending the sweep of extermination; having put to the sword not much less than fifty thousand of the unresisting inhabitants. After which, these two wandering and unrestrained hyœnas again reunited, to pass the winter of the six hundred and eighteenth of the Hidjerah, on the boundaries of Râî.

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Early in the spring, they proceeded in concert to invade the province of Azerbayjaun; exhibiting the ordinary scenes of pillage and massacre, at Zenjaun, Ardebeil, and Soraut; and from this latter place they hastened in full career to Tebreiz, the destruction of which was, however, for the present averted by a magnificent ransom forwarded to the Moghûl generals by Atabek Ouzbek the governor; who conceived it prudent, perhaps on any terms, to purchase their forbearance. Part of the following winter, that of six hundred and nineteen,* they passed in cantonments, or quarters, at Moghan, on the banks of the Kûrr and Oras; but, before the season was expired, they crossed into Gûrgestaun, or Georgia, where they committed deplorable havoc among the natives. In the course of the same year, they signalized their barbarous rage at Meraughû, Hamdan, and Khoui, Selmauss, Nakhtchûaun, Beylekaun, and Shamaukhy, all in the neighborhood of the rivers just alluded to;

* A. D. 1222.

A. H. 618. A. D. 1221. extending their inroads at the same time, as far as they had an opportunity, into the territory of Shirvaun.

Habeib-us-seyr. The Moghûl captains began at last to direct their views to the plan, which they had probably long since had in contemplation, of penetrating to their native country, through the Shirvanian Derbund. Being, however, entire strangers to the road they proceeded to remove the difficulty by the following expedient. An intelligent agent was dispatched on their part to the prince of Shirvaun, who had shut himself up in one of the impregnable strong-holds of the country, to assure him that they harboured no designs hostile to his government; and to propose that he should send to their camp some respectable person, with whom they might come to an explanation of the past, and to a solemn engagement for the future. Rejoicing at a proposal, apparently so moderate and pacific, the prince of Shirvaun immediately deputed ten of his principal officers, to confer with the Moghûls. The moment they reached the camp of the invaders, the head of one of the deputies was struck off, and the remainder apprized, that if they honestly pointed out the road which led through the pass of Derbund, their lives would be safe; otherwise, the fate of their associate inevitably awaited them. Intimidated by the prospect of immediate destruction, the men consented to become the guides of their betrayers; whom they conducted accordingly, without further obstacle, to Derbund. Here again, the Moghûls having glutted themselves with blood and spoil, passed onwards on their march into Tûrkestaun; leaving on their way, among the Alans, and in the territory of Orûs (of the Russians) the same fearful memorials that had marked their progress through Khorassaun and Irâk. They had probably by this time crossed the Volga, or Attel, and they availed themselves of the opportunity to transmit to Jengueiz, who was now returned to his hereditary dominions, a narrative of their proceedings. This has carried us far beyond the regular course of the history; and we shall now pause to remark in the words of our original, that from the above rapid detail, may be formed some estimate of the terror impressed by the irresistible might, and impetuosity of the Moghûl armies; say rather, of the height to which the wrath of an avenging God had been excited against the nations of that period of time; for, to the wrath of God alone could it be ascribed, that of nearly

one hundred potentates of no ignoble rank, who then governed in the fertile and populous regions of Khorassaun and Irâk, with soldiers unnumbered under their authority, and resources inexhaustible at will, not one was inspired to make as much as a single effort, to combat and oppose the ferocious herd of barbarians, who thus desolated with impunity, and covered with blood and massacre, a land which, in beauty and improvement might, at least, be justly said to rival the boasted productions of Chinese painting, if it did not excite the envy of heaven itself.

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When he had allowed himself a repose of some days, after the capture of Samarkand, Jengueiz detached his three eldest sons, Jûjy, Tcheghatay, and Ougtay, to reduce the province of Khaurezm. Jûrjauniah, by the Tartars called Ourgunje, was the noblest of its cities, and, at the period under consideration, the metropolis of the Khaurezmian monarchy. According to De-la-Croix, on the authority of Abûl Feda, it lay in the forty-second degree of north latitude, on the western side of the Oxus, and about six short days journey from the Caspian: and it was, according to our author, the assemblage of every thing that is excellent, whether in arts or arms, to a degree, beyond which it would be impossible for the imagination to form an idea. At the tremendous crisis, which was now approaching, the government of this superb city had devolved to Khemartekein, a near relative of the mother of Sûltan Mahommed; and the defence might have been expected to be in proportion to the vast, and important interests consigned to his charge.

With an army, which like the awful visitations of heaven, is said to have far surpassed the ordinary measure of human calculation, the three imperial princes, in conformity with their father's instructions, entered Khaurezm. The advanced, or light troops, appeared in sight of the capital; and they were proceeding to drive away the cattle from under the very walls, when the Khaurezmians, deceived by the apparent insignificance of their numbers, issued from the gates both horse and foot in formidable strength, and impetuously assailed the Moghûls. The latter, in order to lead them the more effectually into the snare, retired with all the appearances of alarm and dismay; occasionally, however, making a stand against their unsuspecting pursuers, until they drew them to the Baugh-e-khorrem; a pleasure garden about a farsang, or

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league, from the suburbs, where the main body of the advanced guard of their enemies, lay in ambuscade for their reception. The Khaurezmians were from every quarter immediately attacked with equal fury and impetuosity They fled in their turn, and were pursued with dreadful slaughter into their very gates; the Moghûls entering pell-mell with the fugitives into the streets of the town, without abandoning the pursuit until they reached the quarter called the Tunnowerah, or quarter of the bakers;* when, the sun then setting, they conceived it prudent to withdraw to their main body; the loss of the Khaurezmians, from sunrise to sunset on this fatal day, being estimated not far short of one hundred thousand men.

Two days subsequent to this event, the city was formally invested, on every side, by the whole of the Moghûl army; but, before they commenced the operations of the siege, the three princes invited this, and the neighboring towns of Khaurezm, to submit peaceably to the authority of Jengueiz. Such proposals were, however, not destined to produce the slightest effect; those to whom they were addressed, proceeding by every method which they could devise, or put in practice, to harass and annoy their besiegers; who, on their part, employed their utmost activity and exertions, to counteract and repel the efforts of the besieged. Hostilities had thus continued with mutual destruction, and the siege been protracted for a period of considerable duration, to the great injury of the city, which had been in many quarters either consumed or laid in ruins, by the stones, and pots of burning naphtha, discharged by the Moghûls from their warlike machines, when the design was conceived of cutting off, or diverting to another quarter, the branch, or canal of the Oxus, which supplied the town with water. Three thousand men were accordingly set at work to execute the design, when it was discovered by the Khaurezmians, who hastened without delay, and in great force to attack the workmen; the whole of whom, after some resistance, they succeeded in cutting to pieces.

Animated by this partial advantage, the Khaurezmians exerted themselves with redoubled vigor and activity in the defence of their capi-

* It was probably in the suburbs, for the Moghûls would scarcely have withdrawn if they had once penetrated into the city.

tal; and a serious misunderstanding, about the same time, arising between the princes Jûjy and Tcheghatay, a period of five months was consumed, before the Moghûls had made any material advancement towards the reduction of the place. This want of harmony among the brothers was no sooner made known to Jengueiz, than he transmitted instructions that the command of the siege should be immediately transferred to Ougtay; and that the two elder brothers, with the whole of their subordinate generals, should submit without reserve to the authority of that prince. The attention of Ougtay was first directed to bring about a reconciliation between his brothers; and that point accomplished, and discipline and order restored, which had been recently weakened by a clashing of interests and authority, he hastened by a steady and well concerted plan of operations, to urge his arduous undertaking to a conclusion. A most sanguinary and destructive contest immediately ensued; and the Moghûls gradually working a passage through the fortifications, and successively beating the Khaurezmians from house to house, and from street to street, found themselves at last, after a most memorable and gallant resistance, in entire possession of the ruins of this great metropolis. The surviving inhabitants were then driven like cattle, according to custom, to the plain without the walls; about one hundred thousand of the mechanics and manufacturers were set apart, and the younger men, women, and children, condemned to slavery; after which, the remainder of the garrison and inhabitants were consigned, in lots of four and twenty each, to the soldiers of the Moghûl army, for slaughter; and it is said that the victims thus sacrificed in cold blood to the demon of vengeance, exceeded a hundred thousand human beings. In the Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur it is positively stated, that the number of the soldiers employed in this horrible butchery was one hundred thousand; and that of the slaughtered, two million four hundred thousand, which surpasses all belief. The capture of Ourgunje took place some time in the six hundred and eighteenth of the Hidjerah, and is described with ample detail, in De la Croix's history.

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Those, continues our author, who have undertaken to be the narrators of these tristful and sanguinary events, proceed to describe, that after he had detached his sons to the conquest of Khaurezm, Jenguez

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passed the spring of the year (618) on the confines of the territory, if not in the vicinity, of Samarkand; having it in his contemplation to possess himself of, and to demolish, the fortress of Termed, at the passage of the Jeyhûn, in the thirty-seventh degree of latitude. He removed his camp, however, to pass the summer at Nakhsheb, and there continued until about the autumnal quarter; when he finally drew his armies towards Termed. Confiding to the strength of their works, but more particularly to the waters of the Oxus, by which they were surrounded, the inhabitants of this place had determined on an obstinate defence; and accordingly when the Moghûls approached within range of their missiles, they found themselves assailed by vollies of stones, darts, and every species of annoyance. Every effort of superior force, skill and activity, became therefore necessary to hasten their subjugation. In the short space of ten days, the town was reduced to a heap of ruins, its towering ramparts overthrown into the stream of the Jeyhûn, and every individual of the inhabitants, without distinction of sex, rank, or age, put to the sword. On this occasion it is said, that the Moghûl soldiers being about to put one of their female prisoners to death, she assured them, that if they spared her life she would put them in possession of a pearl of inestimable value; and unhappily acknowledging that she had swallowed the jewel, these monsters in human shape immediately ripped up her belly. The example was instantly followed throughout the town; every inhabitant living, or dead, being cut up and mutilated in the same manner, in the expectation of finding some similar deposit. After this important capture, which secured him the passage of the Oxus, Jengueiz withdrew his army to the territory of Languert and Semaunah, where he passed the winter of six hundred and nineteen; while a division of his troops was employed in Badukhshaun to compel the submission of that country, or to cover it with desolation in case of resistance.

In the spring of the year, Jengueiz proceeded by the passage of Termed, across the Jeyhûn, directing his march for Bâlkh; which, according to De la Croix on the authority of Abûlfeda, lies in thirty six degrees forty one minutes north, in a most fertile plain four leagues distant from the mountains, and eight only from the celebrated river just mentioned; being watered by the Dehak, a tributary stream which dis-

charges itself into that river, at the distance of about twelve leagues. Hence, it is sometimes said to be situated on a branch of the Jeyhûn, or Oxus. At this eventful period of its history, it is described to have been of such extent, as to contain, either within the body of the town, or the contiguous villages, not less than twelve hundred Mahommedan places of worship, and the same number of public baths, for the accommodation and recreation of the inhabitants; and it was at the same time the abode of fifty thousand Seyuds and Shaikhs, professors of the law, and ministers of religion. As soon as they were assured of the approach of Jengueiz, the magistrates and principal inhabitants, bearing the most costly and magnificent presents, hastened to meet him; but, Sûltan Jullaul-ud-dein having about this crisis, at Gheznein, assembled a respectable force, with which he seemed preparing for some important object of hostility, both their presents, and their early offers of submission in behalf of their trembling fellow citizens, availed them nothing. The whole population of the town, and district, were drowned in their own blood, by the fury of the inexorable Moghuls.—"The noble city," said one of the poets, "he laid as "smooth as the palm of his hand—its spacious and lofty structures he "levelled in the dust."

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Having completed the destruction of Bâlkh, the tabernacle of the true faith (Kebtah-ul-isslam) as it is sometimes denominated by the orientals, Jengueiz, after detaching his youngest son Tûly Khaun, to extend the circle of desolation and havoc through the noble province of Khorassaun, proceeded to form the siege of Taulekan; in thirty seven degrees twenty five minutes north, between Bâlkh and Merû, about seven days journey from the former city, and from its situation on the precipitous mountain of Nûkrakôh, the silver mountain, esteemed one of the strongest places in Asia. Here, he experienced from the garrison, the most formidable resistance; neither could he accomplish the reduction of it, until the expiration of the seventh month of the siege; after he had been rejoined by Tûly Khaun from his tour of desolation, and by the other divisions of his army which he recalled to his aid. The fortress was however ultimately carried by assault; and, as might have been expected, every individual it contained put to the sword. The Moghûl monarch was now on his march towards Gheznein, to

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check the designs of Jullaul-ud-dein, which appear to have given him considerable uneasiness; but his progress was again suspended by the unexpected and obstinate resistance of the strong fortress of Bamian, situated on a mountain, at the foot of which is said to run one of the branches of the Oxus; in thirty four degrees five minutes north, about ten days journey from Bâlkh, and eight from Ghezneín. This place, after a most determined and sanguinary defence, was however also in the end, carried by storm; and every living creature, both man and beast, put to death, in order to gratify the vengeance of the wife of Ougtay, one of whose sons had fallen during the siege.

Jengueiz now prosecuted his march, without further obstacle to Ghêznein, and from thence to the banks of the Indus;* where he defeated Jullaul-ud-dein, in the manner formerly noticed in the abridgement of the Khaurezmian history. Balasâghûn, or rather Bala Nûyan, one of his generals, with two tomauns, was afterwards detached across the Indus; and that fearful instrument of his vengeance, having carried plunder, slaughter, and desolation, to the gates of Mûltaun and Lahour, returned at the proper period to rejoin his sovereign.

At the period already adverted to, when he had reposed from the work of destruction and massacre at Bâlkh, it will be recollected that Tûly Khaun was detached by his father to invade Khorassaun. The prince led with him, on this occasion, a division of eighty thousand horse, here expressly stated to be just one tenth part of the army of Jengueiz; the total of which must therefore have amounted to eight hundred thousand fighting men. Thus formidably accompanied, Tûly first presented himself under the walls of Merû-shahjahaun, in thirty seven degrees forty minutes north; five leagues below, or to the northward, of the city of the same name on the same river, and equally distant, that is twelve days journey, from each of the four celebrated cities of Neyshapûr, Herât, Balkh, and Bokhâra.

The city of Merû was at this time governed by Shurf-ud-dein Mûzuffur, ocasionally entitled Mejeir-ul-mûlk; one of the most distinguished members of the court of Sûltan Mahommed the Khaurezmian, with a numerous garrison of veteran soldiers, and with abundant means

* In September, A. D. 1221, according to that account—it should probably be a year later.

of defence and subsistance. Thus prepared, the moment the Moghûl prince displayed his numerous legions before the town, Mejeir-ul-mûlk, at the head of his garrison, resolutely sallied out, and attacked the invaders; of whom, in the course of less than half an hour according to some writers, he cut to pieces to the number of a thousand men. Not less surprised, than exasperated at an instance of daring intrepidity, to which he had not recently been accustomed, Tûly prepared to retaliate with equal fury, and more fatal effect. He put himself at the head of some of his bravest troops; and assailing the garrison in the midst of their imagined triumph, instantly drove them back with equal slaughter and celerity into the gates of the town.

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According to other authorities, the son of Jengueiz, having lain before Merû in a state of inactivity for six days, on the seventh directed a general attack upon the gate of the Shehrestaun, or exterior wall of the city; from which a small body of the garrison had the audacity to sally out upon the assailants. They were, however, repulsed at the first onset; their adversaries continuing to press upon their defences until night-fall, and then resting upon their arms without drawing back, until day light should enable them to renew their attack. On the eighth day, Mejeir-ul-mûlk conceiving, however, that resistance was no longer availing, adopted the sudden resolution of submitting; and dispatched Jummaul-ud-dein, one of the most discreet and virtuous of the inhabitants, to implore the mercy of the besieger. He received, in reply, every assurance of safety and indemnity, and having provided, in specie and valuables, a most superb and costly present, repaired without further delay to the pavilion of of the Moghûl prince. He had scarcely entered, when he was called upon to furnish without reserve, and on the spot, a list of the most opulent of the inhabitants; and having accordingly wrote down the names of two hundred, the commissioners of the spoil proceeded into the town, to exact their property from the individuals thus distinguished for plunder. The Moghûl troops were then employed for four days successively, in expelling the wretched inhabitants from the city; and when that was accomplished, and about four hundred artificers, and a few boys and girls, had been set apart for other purposes, the residue, both male and female, old and young, were distributed in lots of three and four hundred each, to the merciless soldiery; by whom, it is incredible to relate, they were all butchered

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with unpitying, and unrelenting cruelty. On this occasion we are further apprized, that a certain Seyud Ezz-ud-dein, a native of Nissa, was employed, with several assistants, for the space of thirteen days, from morning till night, to take an account of the slain at Merû; and that, of those who belonged to the body of the city alone, exclusive of the adjoining villages, the number of those who perished, amounted to a thousand thousand, and three hundred thousand, and a fraction.

Having satiated their thirst for blood in the massacre of the inhabitants, the Moghûls proceeded to demolish the buildings of Merû; and when that was effected, Tûly Khaun consigned the government of the melancholy ruins, with authority to preside over such as might yet venture to appear in any quarter, to a certain Zeia-ud-dein Ally, who had been excepted from the general slaughter of his countrymen, from a consideration of his secluded habits, and retirement from the world; a Moghûl of the name of Barmauss being however nominated to superintend the revenue of the depopulated waste. Tûly then took his departure for Neyshapûr; and the remnant who had escaped the carnage gradually issuing from the ravines, and caverns in the earth, into which they had conveyed themselves, had restored to the town a considerable population; when a band of the savage barbarians, who had by some means or other remained in the rear of the Moghûl army, unexpectedly entered the place; and, determined not to forego their share of human butchery, required that every inhabitant should repair to the plain without the city, with each as much grain as he could carry in the skirt of his vest, for the supply of the detachment. By this cruel device, a further proportion of the inhabitants was deemed to perish by the swords of these atrocious exterminators. A little afterwards, an officer of the name of Yauness, who had separated from the division of Jubbah Nûyan, and who appears to have retained some vestige of the feelings of humanity, arrived among the ruins of Merû; and exerted himself in some degree, to heal the wounds, which were yet bleeding from the barbarity of his countrymen. In the mean time, Zeia-ud-dein had been drawn towards Serkhess, by the disturbances which had been excited in that quarter, under Pehlewaun Abû Bukker Diwaunah; and Barmauss had also quitted the town, on his way to Bokhâra; when, unhap-

pily ascribing the departure of the two chiefs, to some intelligence of the approach of Jullaul-ud-dein the Khaurezmian, which had compelled them to abandon the place, a few infatuated miscreants from among the inhabitants, without further deliberation, struck up their kettle drums, and displayed the standard of revolt. Barmauss, who was still in the neighborhood, though upon this he forbore to re-enter the town, yet failed not, before he proceeded on his journey, to cut to pieces every living being whom he found without the gates. A. H. 619-20. A. D. 1222-23. Habeib-us-seyr.

The city was soon afterwards taken possession of by Koushkein, with a party of the adherents of the Khaurezmian Sûltan's; and he also thought fit to exhibit an example of vengeance, however feeble, by putting to death the wretched Zeia-ud-dein, who had recently returned from the expedition to Serkhess. But, intelligence of these transactions being soon conveyed to Jengueiz, two Moghûl commanders with five thousand men proceeded from Nakhsheb, by order of that monarch, to complete the extirpation of the devoted Merûzians. By these, the town was carried on the first onset, and not much less than one hundred thousand of the inhabitants added to the list of former massacres; such a population having in this short period re-assembled among the ruins. The slaughter over, these commanders passed on to some other quarter; leaving one of their companions, of the name of Aukmelek, properly attended, to dispatch the unhappy few, whom hunger or want might compel to creep from their hiding places. This barbarian, after exhausting every device to complete the destruction of the devoted inhabitants, as a last expedient, directed one of his followers to give the summons to prayer. Deceived by the unexpected call, the melancholy remnant which had shrunk from the dreadful spectacles that surrounded, into the caverns and sewers beneath the city, once more ventured to raise their heads; and were in an instant doomed to share the fate of their slaughtered fellow citizens. In short, the destruction was so nearly complete, that of the vast population of this ancient and magnificent city, not more than four hundred individuals, of every class and description, were left alive.

It appears, that at the period when Tûly Khaun was about to proceed towards Merû, Toghatchaur Gûrekan, who is by some considered as a younger brother of Kâratchaur Nûyan, had been dispatched by Jen-

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gueiz, with ten thousand horse, in the direction of Neyshapûr, situated in thirty seven degrees of latitude, and about twelve leagues from Tûsse. Mejeir-ul-mûlk Khowaufy, and Zeia-ul-mûlk Zouzeny, two nobles of the court of Sûltan Mahommed the Khaurezmian, and most eminent among the natives of Khorassaun, presided in the town; and were both equally impelled by their confidence in a numerous and resolute garrison, and in the resources of every kind with which the place was abundantly supplied, to defend it to the last extremity. Thus animated, in spite of the previous appalling examples, they proceeded to plant, and arrange the various warlike machines on the towers and ramparts, in order to repel the assaults of the enemy. Of this an opportunity was not long wanting. Toghatchaur laid siege to the city; but being killed by an arrow on the third day of the attack, the Moghûl troops abandoned the undertaking, immediately on the death of their general; and separating into two distinct divisions, the one directed their course for Subbuzwaur, where they massacred seventy thousand of the Mûssulman inhabitants, and the other for Tûsse, which became the scene of similar enormities.

Tûly Khaun being, however, at leisure from the desolation of Merû, was no sooner apprized of the death of Toghatchaur, than he determined on employing the force at his disposal in the reduction of Neyshapûr; and he immediately commenced his march in that direction, detaching a division of his army on before, in charge of the catapultæ and implements of siege, while he followed with the main body; every individual of which, because the country in the vicinity of Neyshapûr was composed of solid rock, he directed for several stages, to carry with him a quantity of stones, for the supply of the warlike machines. Hence, when the Moghûls in taking up their stations before the walls, deposited their burdens in enormous piles, in the view of the inhabitants, Mejeir-ul-mûlk and his garrison, were not at a loss to discover that they were now to contend with a more formidable description of men, than those whom they had recently repulsed, and, that they were not likely to get rid of them so speedily. The contemplation of such a spectacle seems, at the same time, at once to have dissipated the generous resolution of resistance; since it was immediately determined under the impression of terror produced by it, to dispatch the Kauzy

of the province, to the presence of Tûly Khaun, in order to intercede for mercy in behalf of the unhappy Neyshapûrians. The Moghûl prince was, however, inexorably deaf to their supplications, detaining the Kauzy a prisoner in his camp. On Wednesday the twelfth of Suffur, (A. H. 618)* in the morning, hostilities commenced on both sides, with equal fury and animosity, and continued without intermission until the Friday following. Towards the close of that day, the besiegers had succeeded in filling the ditch in several places; and, completing their passage across to the Khaukreiz, or fausse bray, from thence effected a breach in the principal rampart. On Saturday night, the walls swarmed with the enemy; and the next day, pouring with united force, into the devoted city, the Moghûls proceeded to the usual work of pillage and blood. The garrison continued to defend themselves to the last, from the porticos and principal buildings. Mejeir-ul-mûlk the governor, when resistance appeared to be no longer availing, attempted to conceal himself, either in the gallery of a mine, or in some excavation of the earth; but, being soon discovered and dragged to light, and making use of harsh and intemperate language to his captors, he was dispatched by the most cruel and painful death that the spirit of vengeance could devise.

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Resistance being at an end, and the Moghûls entire masters of the city, the inhabitants, both male and female, were driven according to custom to the plain without the walls; and there, with the exception of about forty mechanics, and most ingenious manufacturers, who were exempted from the slaughter, perished the whole of them by indiscriminate butchery. The daughter of Jengueiz, and widow of Toghatchaur (hence the title of Gûrekan, son in law,) then entered the town; and to avenge the death of her husband, left not the vestige of a living creature in the place. It was now laid under water for seven days; and the foundations of every building thus sapped, the whole city was finally levelled with the earth, and the site sown with barley. A work entitled the the history of Khorassaun, is here cited to inform us, that it occupied twelve days to number the bodies of those who perished at Neyshapûr; and it is affirmed, that exclusive of women and children, they

* Fifth of April, A. D. 1221.

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amounted to the horrible total of one million seven hundred and forty seven thousand. Tûly Khaun now returned to carry his designs against Heraut into execution, leaving a detachment of his troops to destroy the wretched remnant, that might yet have escaped the frightful massacre just recorded. And, should the number of those, who, on this and other occasions, fell a sacrifice to the indiscriminate vengeance of the Moghûls, appear to surpass the bounds of credibility, we have unfortunately to add, what is but too probable, that the whole population of the surrounding country might have crouded within the walls of the principal cities, for protection against the exterminating fury of their invaders; and thus served to accumulate an hundred-fold the sad list of victims immolated by the sword of the destroyer.

Having acquitted himself as above, in the entire desolation of Neyshapûr, Tûly disclosed the design of proceeding next against the celebrated metropolis of Herât; the supposed Aria of the Grecian historians, situated in thirty four degrees thirty minutes north,* and two leagues from a mountain still distinguished as the resort of Magian superstition. In the requisite series of marches he arrived accordingly, and pitched his camp among the delicious lawns, and groves of Meshertû. From thence he dispatched an agent, of the name of Zenbûr, to the magistrates of this splendid city, to require that the governor, the Kauzy, the Khateib, or public orator, and all the most distinguished inhabitants should repair to meet his standard; "in order that under "the shadow of *his* protection, who was the most powerful of earthly "monarchs, they might screen themselves from the effects of that awful "visitation which had swept off so many myriads of their unhappy fel-"low subjects." Mêlek Shums-ûd-dein the Jûrjanian, with a garrison not far short of one hundred thousand strong, had by this time assumed the government of the place, on the part of Sûltan Jullaul-ud-dein; and receiving the message with a burst of indignation, proceeded, with a violence equally unwarrantable and unavailing, to put the agent to death; proclaiming aloud, that he trusted the sun would never rise on that day, on which he should be compelled to submit to the impious and detested barbarians.

* It is but justice to remark, that the situation of places is, throughout, taken from De la Croix's history.

When the report of this frantic and useless piece of barbarity, was circulated in the camp of the Moghûls, it produced an universal buzz of rage and resentment; and they obeyed, with the eagerness of blood hounds, the commands of their general to surround the city. Mêlek Shums-ud-dein stood most gallantly to his defence; and, for the space of seven days, and to their heavy and mutual loss, the most extraordinary proofs of intrepidity were exhibited on both sides; no less than seventeen hundred Moghûls of distinguished rank falling in the early days of the siege. But, on the eighth day, exposing himself at the head of his troops with more than his usual forwardness to repel the attacks of the besiegers, Shums-ud-dein was transfixed by an arrow, and expired in the heat of the conflict. This fatal misfortune was succeeded by one still more fatal, in the dissensions which immediately broke out in the city; the adherents of Jullaul-ud-dein, and the immediate dependants of the Jûrjanian declaring their resolution not to cease from hostilities while a spark of life continued to animate their bodies, and the Kauzies, the lawyers, and others the most distinguished and opulent inhabitants, evincing on their part, a disposition to capitulate.

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The salubrity and mildness of the climate, the beauty of the gardens and surrounding scenery, and the delightful fragrance shed on every side by the multiplied variety of odoriferous shrubs and flowers, had, in the mean time, softened even the austere and rigid nature of the son of Jengueiz; and he conceived a repugnance to involve this superb, and favorite city, in the destruction which had visited the rest of Khorassaun. On that day, therefore, on which he discovered in the inhabitants a disposition to treat, he approached, with two hundred horse, to the edge of the ditch, near the gate of Feyrouzabad; and taking off his helmet, announced aloud to the people on the works, that the person who spoke to them was Tûly Khaun, the son of the king of kings; that if they were willing to accept of terms by which they might secure their lives, they would immediately cease from hostilities, and submit to his authority; and that, on engaging to be responsible to his agents, for the payment of one half only of the revenues which they had furnished to the officers of the king of Khaurezm, he would be their pledge for the clemency and generosity of his august parent. He confirmed the promises by the most solemn oaths, adding, that if they threw open their

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gates without further resistance, they should experience from him, in every respect, the most just and benevolent treatment. After witnessing from the lips of the prince himself, a language so singularly moderate and unexpected, the citizens immediately ceased hostilities, and abandoned all idea of further resistance; and, among the first who presented themselves before the Moghûl, with assurances of submission, was the provost of the weavers, at the head of one hundred of the trade, each bearing nine pieces of manufacture of the most beautiful fabric, and costly materials. After which, the principal inhabitants in their several classes, also came out of the town; and were treated with a condescension and humanity, perhaps beyond their hopes. The mercy of Tûly Khaun was however withheld from twelve thousand of those more immediately attached to the service of the prince of Khaurezm, whom he caused to be put to death; this ended, the inhabitants were exposed to no further molestation. The government of the city was conferred upon Mêlek Abû Bukker, a Moghûl officer of the name of Mengatay being appointed imperial commissioner; all which being satisfactorily arranged, the prince no longer delayed to join his father, who was still engaged in the arduous siege of Taulekan, of which we have already spoken.

The reader of these pages, if haply they should ever fall into the perusal of any, may here perhaps congratulate himself on the exemption of this admired and splendid city, from the cruel desolation which had laid its neighbours in the dust. Alas! his horrors will experience but a short suspension. It was destined that Herât should share the fate of it's sister cities to the utmost circumstance—should swallow the bitter draught of affliction to the very dregs.

Mêlek Abû Bukker, and his collegue Mengatay, had exerted themselves with considerable zeal in promoting the welfare and repose of the people entrusted to their care; and the inhabitants had engaged with extraordinary confidence in re-edifying the buildings which had been injured during the late siege, and in resuming the culture of their lands: but a circumstance was about to occur, which drew upon them in its direst horrors, the common lot of Khorassaun. On this head the author has presented us with two relations, in some points materially different from each other. The first, and that to which the author

of the Teymûrian Zuffurnamah has given the preference, is the following. Mêlek Abû Bukker, and Mengatay had continued to exercise their authority but for a few days, or for some comparatively short period, when rumours of unexpected victories, gained by Sûltan Jullaul-ud-dein the Khaurezmian, obtained circulation in Khorassaun. Hence, it was rashly concluded by men of narrow comprehensions, that no longer able to contend in the field of battle with his enterprising antagonist, Jengueiz would withdraw into the Tartarian solitudes, with the same expedition and rapidity as he had emerged from them. In consequence of such rash and absurd misconceptions, the Moghûl governors and agents in every part of the province, were indiscriminately devoted to destruction; and it was under the influence of the prevailing mania that, notwithstanding the benevolence of their administration, the magistrates set over them by Tûly Khaun were put to the sword by the people of Herât

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But, the account to which, by the adoption of it into his laborious work of the Rouzut-us-suffâ, the venerated father of our author is said to have given the stamp of truth, he submits to his reader in the subjoined particulars. During the period in which Tûly Khaun was employed in carrying pillage and slaughter through Khorassaun, the Moghûls were frustrated in every attempt to make themselves masters of the fortress of Kaliouss, subsequently known by the name of Neirahtû; and afterwards, when the departure of that prince to rejoin his father had been ascertained, a report being conveyed to the garrison of the same fortress that the people of Herât had pledged themselves to their new masters for the reduction of the place, and that they were busily engaged in preparations for the siege of it, the jealousy of the Kalioussians became alarmed; and it was resolved, in the course of their deliberations, that some device should be immediately put in practice to create, between the Moghûls and the men of Herât, such a subject of animosity as it might be difficult, if not impossible, to reconcile, or appease. For this purpose, they fixed upon a man whose name, or perhaps the adjunct to it, was Sâheb, remarkable for his daring and intrepid spirit, whom, with eighty desperados of a similar texture of mind, they directed to proceed to Herât; where, by whatever means they found practicable, they were to dispatch both Mêlek Abû Bukker, and his collegue

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Mengatay. Having accordingly obtained admission into the city, under the disguise of merchants, the assassin and his accomplices, in order to carry on the deception, amused themselves for some time in traversing the streets and squares, in the pursuits of their pretended avocation; until one day, that Abû Bukker and Mengatay were riding without suspicion of evil at the foot of the rampart, or fortifications of the town, they availed themselves of the opportunity, and put them both to death with their knives and daggers. In conformity with the proverb, "the "wish is cause sufficient," the whole city immediately flew to arms, and put to the sword without exception all who had been attached to the murdered magistrates; after which they proceeded to vest the government in Mêlek Mûbaurez-ud-dein Subbuzwaury, and an Arab chief of the name of Abdurraihman.

When Jengueiz became informed of this sudden act of violence, on the part of the people of Herât, his indignation may be better imagined than described; he discharged however, the first effusions of it upon his son, whom he bitterly reproached as the origin of the mischief, by his misplaced lenity, in diverting from the inhabitants of that turbulent city, the vengeance to which he had destined them. Eiltchigaday, or Eiltchikdâi Nûyan, with a fresh body of eighty thousand horse, was then ordered to repair the error; with express and positive injunction, when he should have reduced the devoted town, not to spare the life of a single human being. Eiltchigaday marched accordingly and encamping at a convenient distance on one side of the place, allowed to his soldiers the interval of a month, to prepare their materials for the siege. In the mean time, he was further joined by reinforcements from different quarters, to the number of fifty thousand men. Neither were Mûbaurez-ud-dein and his associate, on their part, less attentive in their preparations to repel the formidable attack which menaced them; exacting from the inhabitants, from the highest to the lowest, a solemn engagement, to decline no sacrifice, to omit no exertion, in the defence of all that could make existence valuable; but of all things to beware of that fatal disunion which, on the recent occasion, had produced the surrender of their independence.

At the expiration of the stated period of a month, Eiltchigaday proceeded to assign to his officers their respective stations opposite to the

principal gates of Herât, posting at the same time on each face of the town a powerful division of thirty thousand men; threatening the severest punishments to those who failed in the discharge of their duty; and holding out the noblest and most liberal encouragements to those who bravely and honorably acquitted themselves. The attack of the city was immediately commenced on four separate points. A. H. 619-20. A. D. 1222-23. Habeib-us-seyr.

For six months and seven days, to which the siege was now protracted, and during which, both the attack and defence were supported with infinite valour, and mutual slaughter, but little progress appears to have been made towards the reduction of the town; until some time in the latter Jummaudy of the six hundred and nineteenth of the Hidjerah,* when, the Moghûl general having carried on his assaults without intermission for several days successively, although with the loss on each occasion of five thousand of his bravest troops, the revetement of the rampart began to be perforated in several places by the repeated impetus of the warlike machines; and the mines which the besiegers carried on under cover of their tents† were now approaching the foundations of the principal towers. In these circumstances, a part of the wall to the extent of fifty cubits suddenly gave way, and overwhelming one of the tents in which the Moghûls were at work, four of their most distinguished officers perished under the ruins. Three days afterwards, the garrison, reduced to the vérge of despair, by the scarcity if not the total failure of the means of subsistance, became evidently languid in their exertions; and of this, on one of the Fridays of the month just mentioned, in the morning, Eiltchigaday immediately availed himself, to storm and take possession of the tower, called the Bûrj-e-khauk-ber-serr, subsequently designated the "*tower of ashes*;" and from thence pouring sword in hand into the unhappy city, his soldiers proceeded with more than their ordinary ferocity to massacre the whole of the inhabitants, without the exception of male or female, old or young; neither, for the space of seven days and as many nights, were the infuriated barbarians engaged in any other employment than that of pillage and slaughter, and conflagration and ruin: during which

* July, A. D. 1222.

† This is equivocal; their battering rams were probably wrought under cover of tents.

A. H. 619-20. A. D. 1222-23. they are said to have immolated to the number of one million six hundred thousand persons, and upwards.

Habeib-us-seyr. Having accomplished his bloody errand, Eiltchigaday Nûyan withdrew to the territory of Heratroud; but, lest a vestige should remain alive of the miserable inhabitants of the late flourishing metropolis, he dispatched, on his arrival at the town of Oubah, a body of two thousand Moghûls back again, with orders to hasten to join the spirits of their slaughtered fellow citizens, such of the melancholy remnant as might have ventured to creep from concealment. These remorseless barbarians returned accordingly, and to the fearful list of slaughter, added that of three thousand persons more, who had unhappily re-assembled among the ruins of their country. To close this mournful detail, the historian proceeds to relate, that, of the whole population of Herât, not more than sixteen individuals survived, by concealing themselves either in the drains, or channels, in the dome of the principal mosque, one of whom was Mowlana Shurf-ud-dein, the Khateib, or public orator, or preacher, of the village of Jeghartaun; and that when the Moghûls had finally quitted this scene of devastation and blood, one of the sixteen issued from the mosque, and seated himself before the slab of what had been a confectioner's shop; where, after looking for some time wistfully round him, and perceiving no human being but himself, he at last ventured to exclaim aloud, "heaven be praised a man may be permitted once more to "breath in safety!" after this, they were gradually joined by four and twenty other persons, from different places in the adjoining territory; and for the period of fifteen years, exclusive of these forty individuals, not a human being was to be found in the whole extent of this once magnificent city and its dependencies. The forlorn remnant took up its abode beside the principal mosque and college of Sûltan Gheyauth-ud-dein the Ghourian, where they subsisted for some time, it is said, on the dried flesh of the carcases of the slain; until, by exploring the granaries and stables, and collecting, grain by grain, a few measures of wheat and barley, they proceeded by such means as they could devise, to cultivate a small piece of ground for its reception, and secured a scanty crop for their first harvest. They elected the above-mentioned Shurf-ud-dein, to preside over their infant community; and they continued to exist, under various difficulties and discouragements, until

the period at which, on succeeding to his father's power, Ougtay Kâan determined to restore their beloved city; and for that purpose dispatched from his court, accompanied by other respectable persons, Ezz-ud-dein Mûkuddum, with instructions to rebuild and repeople the long neglected ruins of Herât. A. H. 620-21. A. D. 1223-24. Habeib-us-seyr.

Jengueiz, either by himself or his generals, had thus satiated his vengeance, in the manner which we have briefly attempted to describe, and in the entire subversion of every thing that constituted the strength and glory of the Persian empire, when he conceived it expedient to deliberate with Kâratchaur and others his ministers and principal generals, on his future proceedings. To the majority it appeared advisable, that his son Tcheghatâi should be immediately detached to the borders of Mekraun, in order to lay waste and destroy the approaches from Hindûstaun through that province; while prince Ougtâi should be employed with a similar object, to over-run the whole territory to the Indus. Thus, in the event that Sûltan Jullaul-ud-dein should attempt to return in either direction, he might find himself entirely destitute of the means of subsistance for his army. The mandates of Jengueiz were issued in conformity with this plan of operations; and the two princes, each with a powerful division of troops, hastened to carry it into execution. In the spring of the year (620), the Moghûl monarch finally resolved on returning to his native dominions; and taking the same road by which he had entered the province of Ghez nein, that of Tokhârestaun, he proceeded to Baklaun or Bakalaun, in the same territory, where he passed the summer. In the commencement of autumn, he recrossed the Jeyhûn and marched to Samarkand; where he remained during the winter, or cold season of 620-21.

The princes Tcheghatâi and Ougtâi proceeded, on the other hand, to complete the designs of their father's vindictive policy, with their usual promptitude and precision; and having carried pillage, and massacre, and desolation, through the greater part of the countries exposed to their fury, and destroyed among other places, in particular, the city of Gheznein, they returned, at the termination of this predatory sweep by separate routes into Transoxiana, and went into winter-quarters at Bokhâra. The short relaxation which they now enjoyed from the fatigues of war was devoted to the field sports of hawking and hunting;

A. H. 621-24. A. D. 1224-27. and they are said, on this occasion, to have furnished their father at Samarkand, with a weekly supply of fifty ass-loads of game.

Habeib-us-seyr. At the conclusion of the cold season, and the opening of the beauties of spring,*Jengueiz took his final departure for the country of the Moghûls; giving direction that the captive dowager, Tûrkan Khâtûn the mother of Sûltan Mahommed the Khaurezmian, with the wives and women of that once powerful monarch, should be conducted, in cruel triumph, at the head of his columns of march, while the misfortunes and ruin of her house were proclaimed, with every circumstance of humiliation, through the countries so recently subject to her authority. On the banks of the Seyhûn, both Tcheghatâi and Ougtâi rejoined the camp of their father; which, after passing that river, was subsequently removed to the plains of Baklanyauzy, in the neighborhood, as it would appear from De la Croix, of Tonkaut, or Finauket.

In consequence of the jealousies which subsisted between him and his brother, Jûjy, or Tchûtchy Khaun, after the reduction of Khaurezm, had marched with his division into Keptchauk Tartary, eastward of the Volga. From thence he was now summoned, to complete on his side, the arc of the grand circular hunt, (Jerkah)† which his father and brothers, with the main body of the army, were gradually proceeding to carry on from the banks of the Seyhûn. At the station of Oukâeir, where the different points, or extremities, of the enormous circle became united, Jengueiz first advanced to the slaughter of the infinite variety of wild animals which had been driven together towards the centre; and having killed with his own hands a heap of deer and antelope, and in short of every species of game, until he became weary of the sanguinary amusement, he consigned the remainder to the disposal of the shâhzâdahs of the imperial family, and of the other generals. When the whole became also satiated with this species of slaughter, the animals that survived were liberated to their native solitudes, variously marked according to the fancy of the liberators.

At the termination of the imperial hunt, Jûjy Khaun, who had laboured for some time under displeasure, was restored to his father's,

*A. D. 1224.

†According to De la Croix the circle on its earliest formation, is called *Nerke*. See his description of this magnificent amusement, in Cap. VII. of his history.

presence, whose hands, submissively kneeling, he was permitted to kiss. Among the vast and splendid display of presents, which he offered on this occasion to the acceptance of his father, was a lot of one hundred thousand valuable horses, of which twenty thousand were all of one colour, grey—(Khink). A. H. 621-24. A. D. 1224-27. Habeib-us-seyr.

Jengueiz passed the summer season* (621) at the same station of Oukâeir,† having there convoked an extraordinary Kûriltâi, or general diet of the states of his immense dominions; at which the only transaction noticed by our author, is the punishment of some Eyghûrian chiefs. And in the month of Zilhûdje, the last of the six hundred and twenty first year of the Hidjerah,‡ after an absence of about six years, this mighty monarch returned to his imperial residence of Kârakorum.

He was however suffered to enjoy but a very short repose from the fatigues of this memorable expedition. During the severity of the same winter, reports successively came in, of the disaffection and rebellious designs of Sheiderkû or perhaps Sheidazkû, the prince of Tangueit, or Neiket, otherwise called also Kashein, north-west of the Chinese frontier; and of his activity in assembling vast bodies of troops for purposes manifestly hostile. Jengueiz did not hestitate a moment to forsake the festivities of his capital, and to proceed at the head of his troops to anticipate the designs of his adversary; who advanced, on his part to oppose him, with an army of not less than five hundred thousand fighting men. Of the dreadful battle, which, at a subsequent period, terminated this war, the author furnishes no other description, than that, through the operation of that eternal destiny which in all things sustained the grandeur of Jengueiz, the Tangutian was defeated, with the loss of the greater part of his army; that among the Moghûls there prevails a ludicrous persuasion, that for every hundred thousand killed in battle, one of the slain will be found standing on his head reversed; and that on this occasion three of those who perished on the side of Sheiderkû, were found in that position. Hence it is inferred that the number of those who fell, on the part of the vanquished monarch amounted to three hundred thousand. After this dreadful and

* July, August, 1224.

† A plain seven leagues in extent, in the neighborhood of Tonkaut; according to De la Croix.

‡ December, or January, A. D. 1224-25.

A. H. 622-24. A. D. 1225-27. Habeib-us-seyr.

sanguinary discomfiture, Sheiderkû retired to the fortress of Artakia, perhaps Arbaka, among the mountains bordering his country to the westward, between it and the territory of the Eyghûrs; while Jengueiz proceeded without interruption, to extend his destructive ravages to the whole of the country of Kashein, now abandoned to his mercy.

When he had glutted his troops with pillage and slaughter, on the dominions of his adversary, Jengueiz drew them westwards, in the direction of Jûrjah (Jûrje) and Tengnaush. The prince of the former country hastened, however, to avert the approaching storm, by early assurances of submission, and by a dispatch of presents suitable to the grandeur and power of his formidable assailant. Among the articles which composed this splendid offering to disarm a tyrant of his vengeance, is said to have been a tray of pearls, of the finest water and beauty; which Jengueiz directed to be distributed on the spot, to such of his soldiers as had their ears perforated for the reception of such a jewel; and it is further stated, that while the imperial attendants were carrying into execution the orders of their sovereign, several of the Moghûls, whose ears had not previously undergone the necessary operation, proceeded without ceremony to bore and mangle them with their knives and packing needles, in order to possess themselves of these precious ornaments. A circumstance which is possibly described to attest, at the same time, the brutality and avarice of these ferocious tribes. There was, however, such abundance of the article, that a prodigious surplus undisposed of, still remained among the treasures of Jengueiz.

The agents of Sheiderkû, or Sheidezkû, hastened in the mean time from Artakia, with proposals from their master to submit himself to the mercy of Jengueiz, and even to appear in person in his camp, at the expiration of one month, provided the Moghûl monarch would solemnly engage to spare his life. To this engagement, Jengueiz did not scruple to pledge his faith, at the moment that he harboured the most deliberate design to violate it, whenever the credulous prince should put himself in his power. But, the health and strength of this great and ferocious conqueror were now rapidly declining; and he perceived that the period was fast approaching, in which all the views of earthly grandeur and ambition, must finally terminate.

At this solemn crisis, he called together around him his sons, and brothers, and the other princes of his blood, at the head of whom appeared his sage and faithful counsellor Kâratchaur. Having dispatched some preliminary admonitions, in which above all things, he strenuously recommended a spirit of harmony among themselves, as the firmest basis on which to preserve unbroken the glorious inheritance which he was about to leave them, he addressed himself exclusively to his three sons, Tcheghatâi, Ougtâi, and Tûly Khaun, all of whom were present, and demanded, in the event they conceived such a designation advisable, whom in their opinion they thought he should nominate to succeed him? the royal brothers at once declared, that by inclination and duty, they were equally disposed to submit to any arrangement, that might accord with their father's sovereign pleasure. Jengueiz then pronounced, that to the bulk of his dominions, and to the throne of the Khauns, he vested the succession, without alternative, in his third son Ougtâi; and causing an instrument to that effect to be drawn up on the spot, he immediately required that his other sons, and his brothers, should affix their signatures to it, engaging themselves, under every contingency, and with unfailing zeal, to be obedient to the authority of that prince. The territory of Tûrkestaun westward, with Mawur-unneher or Transoxiana, he at the same time allotted to Tcheghatâi. Then calling for the covenant between Kabal Khaun and Katchûly Bahauder, attested under the great seal of Toumnah Khaun, he delivered it into the hands of Tcheghatâi; with a solemn charge, that in conformity with the stipulations of that venerated engagement, he should in all things govern himself by the counsels of Kâratchaur Nûyan, whom he admonished him to consider, in every respect, his associate in wealth and power, and to whose guidance and discretion he now finally consigned him. To all this, Tcheghatâi pledged himself faithfully to conform.

A. H. 624. A. D. 1227. Habeib-us-seyr.

This important arrangement dispatched, Jengueiz finally required that his death, whenever that awful consummation which he daily looked for should have taken place, might as long as possible be kept a secret; and, as if he were desirous to the last that his glories should be steeped in blood, but ostensibly that his children might succeed to their inheritance, undisturbed by external hostility, he commanded that when Sheiderkû, relying on the faith of the recent treaty, should quit

A. H. 624. A. D. 1227. Habeib-us seyr.

the safeguard of his asylum in the mountains, and appear in the camp of the Moghûls, he should be instantly put to the sword, together with the whole of his followers. Shortly afterwards he expired; but it would be difficult to coincide with our author and his muse, in the remark "that the eyes of this tremendous conqueror were no "sooner closed, than it might be forgotten that he was ever born," although few will be disposed to question, that there were millions who lamented that he ever saw the light.

The dissolution of this fearful instrument of the vengeance of an offended God, is said to have taken place on the fourth day of the month of Ramzaun, of the six hundred and twenty fourth of the Hidjerah* corresponding with the Tengûzeil, or year of the mouse; if that be the first of the twelve-year cycle of the Moghûl kalendar, exhibited in De la Croix's history, remarkable for being also the year of his birth, and of his accession to sovereign power. He had nearly attained to the seventy fifth Lunar year of his age; having lived exactly seventy two Solar years, six months and two and twenty days, and held the universal sovereiguty of the Tartar nations, for a period of five and twenty Lunar years.

Of wives and concubines he his represented to have entertained upwards of five hundred; of whom the pre-eminence is assigned to the following five princesses in particular. 1. Burtah, or Purtah Koutchin, the daughter of Zei Nûyan, chief of the Konkoraut, or Congorat nation. 2. Kenjû, or Kebkhû Khatûn, the daughter of Altan, or Altûn Khaun, of Khatâi. 3. Goury, or Gouzi Sûrun, the daughter of Tayang Khaun. 4. Beysûloun, perhaps Ouisoulougine, the daughter of Oung Khaun. 5. Tchankû, or Jankû Kûloun (Koulan Khatûn of De la Croix) the daughter of Tairasûn (a Moghûl, Khaun or chief of the Merkeite). Of these five illustrious ladies, the precedence is again allotted to Burtah Koutchin, who bore to her august consort, four sons and five daughters. The male children to Jengueiz are, however, on the authority of the preliminary discourse to the Teymûrian Zuffur-namah, represented as nine in number in the whole; of whom the four sons of Burtah Koutchin, have obtained a very distinguished place in the history of nations. These were 1. Jûjy, or Tchûtchy, or Tûshy. 2. Tcheghatâi, or Zagatay. 3. Ougtâi, or Oukdâi, or Octai. 4. Tûly. The former,

* Sixteenth of August, A. D. 1227.

and the two latter, under their father's authority, presided with different titles, in the principal departments of the state. Jûjy, the progenitor of the Khauns of Keptchauk, and the Crimea, was grand huntsman, and master of the revels. Ougtâi superintended in the department of civil affairs; and Tûly Khaun, hence probably entitled Oulûgh, or Ulûgh Nûyan, *the great Ameir*, presided over, and regulated all things relating to the safety of the camp, and the administration of the armies. A. H. 624. A. D. 1227. Habeib-us-seyr.

The author concludes his summary of the acts of this wonderful man, by describing that Jengueiz professed himself of no particular religion, or mode of faith; and that he equally avoided either molesting, or giving the preference, to any one profession of belief beyond another; on the contrary, that he treated with respect and humanity the learned and the pious of all religions; rendering this his medium to the favor of that Eternal King, whose nature is superior to all wants and imperfections, and whose beneficence surpasses measure, as much as his power transcends all magnitude. To Jengueiz are finally ascribed most of the laws and usages observed to the days of the author, among the Moghûl tribes; and, from an anecdote with respect to his son Ougtâi, it would appear, at the same time, that he was totally unacquainted with all other languages than his own. A native of Bokhâra, of the name of Mahmûd Yelwauje, held a distinguished, if not a principal employment in the Vizzaurut, or ministry, of this great monarch.

Soon after the death of Jengueiz, like the wild animal which voluntarily steps into the snare of the hunter, the unfortunate Sheiderkû presented himself in the camp of the Moghûls; and, in strict conformity with the dying injunctions of their father, was immediately cut to pieces, by the Shahzâdahs, together with all that accompanied him. They then returned to the imperial residence of Kârakorum; in the neighborhood of which, at the foot of a tree, expressly marked out for the purpose by himself, one day during a hunting party, they committed the remains of their august and renowned parent, to the narrow chamber of the grave. In a very short time, the spot which encircled the tomb, was so overgrown with trees and shrubs, planted in all probability by the hands of those who venerated the immortal spirit which reposed there, as to become equally impenetrable to the winds of hea-

A. H. 624. A D. 1227. Habeib-us-seyr.

ven, and inaccessible to the curiosity of man; nothing human, being thus further permitted to imprint its footsteps upon the hallowed sod which covered the ashes of the invincible Jengueiz.

Before we resume the legitimate course of the narrative, the reader may, perhaps, be disposed to lend his attention a little further, while we briefly dispatch the history of the immediate successors of this magnanimous monarch, in the remoter regions of the east.

It has already been seen, that the title to the succession was distinctly decided in favor of the third son, Ougtâi,* by the express and solemn judgment of his father; and he appears to have proved himself a prince of singular talents, benevolence, and virtue, selected by the goodness of providence to heal those wounds inflicted on the still bleeding nations, by the avenging power of his predecessor. Nevertheless, after discharging the last solemn duties to the remains of the departed hero, the Shahzâdahs separated to their respective places of residence, without coming to any express resolution on the subject of the sovereign authority.

Two years subsequent to this separation,† the leading branches of the family of Jengueiz re-assembled, however, from different parts of Moghûlstaun, in order to form a general diet of the states of Tartary, at the imperial Ourdû of Kârakorum. Among those enumerated to have met on this important occasion, were Bâtû, and his brothers the sons of Jûjy Khaun, from Keptchauk; Outakein, Balkouty, and Eyltcha, the brothers of Jengueiz, from the provinces to the eastward; and Kâratchaur from Peishbâligh, on the part of Tcheghatâi; Ougtâi, and Tûly Khaun, with the younger children of Jengueiz, being already on the spot. The dying instructions of that monarch, and the elevation of his third son to the throne of the Moghûls, by the title of Ougtâi Kâan were now made the subject of serious deliberation; and that prince was urged by the unanimous voice of the august assembly, to invest himself without futher delay, with the supreme and sovereign power. Ougtâi, at first, appeared to decline the arduous task, alleging

*In the same and in different manuscripts, this name is indiscriminately written Ouktâi and Oukdâi; we have chosen that which appears in the text, as conveying the nearest resemblance of the original. European writers have however in general made it Octai.

†About A. D. 1229.

at the same time, the superior claims of his elder brother Tcheghatâi, and the pre-eminent talents of his uncles; the debate being thus protracted for a period of forty days. On the forty first day, however, as soon as the sun had ascended his golden car in the azure vault of heaven, the whole of the Shahzâdahs with the princesses of the imperial family, and Nûyans, declared in a body to Ougtâi, their equal repugnance and inability to proceed, in any respect, contrary to the express and solemn decision of their late venerated sovereign; and that it therefore behoved him to waive these scruples more specious than solid, and to charge himself, since there was no alternative, with the security and happiness of that countless mass of nations, which extended over so vast a proportion of the habitable globe. Ougtâi no longer resisted their united importunities; but nodding a reluctant assent, the Shahzâdahs, in conformity with the practice of the Moghûls on similar occasions, immediately cast loose the girdles from their waists; and, Tûly Khaun taking his brother by the right hand, while his uncle Outakein supported him on the left, the whole proceeded, at the hour agreed upon by the astrologers, to seat him on the throne of his father, accompanying the ordinary vows and congratulations, with a shower of gold and jewels which they scattered upon his head. The princes and Ameirs then bent their knees to the earth, nine times; after which, agreeable also to the custom of their forefathers, they repaired to a spot without the imperial residence, and again knelt three times, with their faces towards the sun. They finally returned to the presence of Ougtâi, to partake in the scenes of festivity and joy, usual on such occasions; while the gates of the imperial treasury being thrown wide open by the new sovereign, a distribution of presents, in jewels, and specie, and costly habiliments, immediately took place, to an incalculable amount.

A. H. 626. A. D. 1229. Habeib us-seyr.

OUGTAI KAAN, Ist of the successors of Jengueiz.

When the attention of the monarch, and his court, was sufficiently disengaged from the dispatch of these important preliminaries, the wisdom of Ougtâi was directed to compose the disorders which had arisen in some of the remoter provinces of the empire. Among others employed to assert, and vindicate his authority, throughout the regions of Tartary and the territories of the Persian empire, was Jermaughûn Nûyan; detached, about this period, with three tomauns, or thirty thousand horse, into Irâk and Azerbâijaun, to oppose the designs

A. H. 627. A. D. 1230. Habeib-us-seyr.

of Sûltan Jullaul-ud-dein. This chief, as well as others who proceeded on similar errands to different quarters, at the same time, returned at distant periods, crowned with victory, and loaded with spoil.

In the former month of Rebbeia* of the six hundred and twenty seventh of the Hidjerah, Ougtâi, accompanied by his brothers Tcheghatâi and Tûly, engaged in an expedition to complete the conquest of China; the emperor Altan Khaun, who continued to support his authority at Tayming, having probably about this crisis, evinced the design of recovering his hereditary dominions to the northward. When they had proceeded for some marches together, Tûly Khaun was detached with an advanced division of two tomauns, to enter China by the route of Tibet; Ougtâi in person, with the main body, taking the right hand, or perhaps more correctly, the direct road into the enemy's territory. The division under Tûly Khaun appeared first before a city upon the Feramûran, or white, or perhaps yellow river, which after a siege of forty days, he succeeded in taking posssesion of. From thence, after exhibiting the customary scenes of pillage and slaughter, he continued his march towards the metropolis of Tayming. In the pass of Dutûngfan Kehlika, (perhaps Kentacla) he appears to have been hemmed in by one of the Chinese generals, at the head of one hundred thousand horse; after having been driven for some time on the way towards Khatâi, or northern China. On this occasion, Tûly is described to have had recourse to the mysterious influence of the Sung yeddah, or lapis imbrifer, to relieve him from his perilous situation; and this is said to have actually produced so prodigious a fall of snow, that the Chinese army, rendered incapable of exertion by the severity of the cold, was for the greater part cut to pieces: thus, according to our author, though without explaining wherefore, exhibiting in another shape, the judgment anciently inflicted on the sinful countrymen of Lot. Be that, however, as it may, the obstacles thrown in the way of Tûly Khaun on this occasion, appear for the present to have prevented the attack of Tayming; since he must have immediately deviated from his original course, to rejoin the main body of the army under Ougtâi, who caressed him with fraternal kindness on his escape from his perilous

*January, February, 1230.

expedition. Koutûlkû, or Koutûkou Hurreby, a commander of high distinction in the Moghûl armies, was chosen upon this, to proceed with a powerful force to the reduction of the Chinese capital, and finally to terminate the authority of Altan Khaun. A. H. 627-31. A. D. 1230-34. Habeib-us-seyr.

Ougtâi returned shortly afterwards to the Yûrut, or seat of his ancestors; but, his brother Tûly was seized with his last illness, and died on the march homewards, on this occasion. He was, as we have already seen, the fourth son of Jengueiz, the inseparable companion of his enterprises, and his faithful counsellor under the most difficult contingencies of his arduous career. He left eight sons; four of whom, by the same mother, who was the daughter of Jankû or Tchangû, a christian prince, the brother of Oung Khaun. These were Mangû, Koublâi, Artekbûka, and Hûlaukû Khaun. The names of the others would be unimportant.

In the mean time, Koutûlkû, the Moghûl general, appeared before Tayming; and was attacked, and defeated by an immense multitude which issued from the gates of that city. A report of his misfortune was conveyed to his sovereign without delay by the general; and a reinforcement, numberless as the sands of the desart, was immediately dispatched to his aid. By this, Koutûlkû was enabled to resume the wonted superiority of his nation, and, having soon afterwards beaten the Khatayan armies out of the field, to invest the then metropolis of the Chinese monarchy. Subdued by his apprehensions, Altan Khaun, or the prince who bore the title, embarked, in these circumstances of his capital, on the great river by which it was protected on one side; and for the present withdrew from the danger. But, being unceasingly pursued by the persevering and indefatigable Moghûls, he was at last shut up in one of the remoter cities of his dominions, without the possibility of further escape; and there, cut off from all hope of deliverance from the rancour of his enemies, he took his final resolution. Having seated one of his Kourtcheis, or guards, on the throne of the Chinese monarchy, he deliberately cast himself, together with his wives and children, into the bosom of the burning pile; in which he was immediately consumed to ashes. According to others he put a period to his life and misfortunes by hanging himself. The whole empire not long afterwards, submitted in consequence, to Koutûlkû; and prodigious riches

A. H. 631-33. A. D. 1234-36. Habeib-us-seyr.

became, as might be well conceived, the lot of the victorious Moghûls; and, when the triumphant conclusion of the undertaking was made known to the imperial Ougtâi, he hastened to provide for the security of the new government, by dispatching Mahmûd Yelwauje, the Bokharian formerly adverted to as one of the ministers of Jengueiz, with a code of laws and orders for its permanent regulation.

The complete subjugation of the Chinese monarchy, on the death of Altan Khaun, by the sons of Jengueiz, is here stated to have occurred in the former Jummaudy of the six hundred and thirty first of the Hidjerah;* about six years and six months after the demise of that great conqueror. In the course of the same year, Ougtâi having erected for himself at Kârakorum, a palace of extraordinary magnificence, each of the Shahzâdahs, and principal Ameirs proceeded to follow his example, by raising, contiguous to, and in the quarters round it, superb and lofty structures, decorated with all the skill and exquisite workmanship, for which the artists of Khatay and China, now assembled at the imperial residence, have ever been so justly celebrated. Two years afterwards, namely, in the six hundred and thirty third of the Hidjerah,† his nephew Bâtû the son of Jûjy, his own son Guyûg, or Gayûg, with Mangû the son of Tûly, and Mûngaotoury, and Paydaur, the sons of Tcheghatâi, proceeded by the directions of Ougtâi to reduce the several countries of Rûsse, or Muscovy, Tchirkess, or Circassia, Bulghaur, north of Keptchauk, and lastly of Kashghar. In a period of seven years, during which they were employed in these widely extended operations, they are said to have been triumphant in every quarter; returning at the expiration of that period, covered with glory to the court of Ougtâi; and it was probably during this expedition, which took place between the 1236th and the 1243d of the Christian æra, that Bâtû carried his ravages through Poland, and Moravia and Hungary, to the banks of the Danube.

About the same period, the six hundred and thirty third year of the Hidjerah, an officer of the name of Arghûn Aka, or Aga, of the tribe of Ouairat, brought up in the civil, or financial department of the army, and enrolled among the macebearers of the court, was appointed to the government of Khorassaun. This nobleman, soon after his arrival

* February, A. D. 1234. † A. D. 1236.

in his province, undertook in one of his dispatches to describe to his sovereign, some faint outline of the melancholy desolation which still covered the territory of Herât. The heart of Ougtâi long inured, as he had been, to the most dreadful scenes of havoc and blood, had by this time begun to expand to the sentiments of benevolence to which he was disposed by nature. He became impressed with an earnest desire to restore from its ruins, that once splendid and beautiful city; and gave orders that Ameir Ezz-ud-dein, the provost of the weavers, who with five hundred of his trade, had been formerly transported into Tartary, on the submission of the inhabitants to Tûly Khaun, should immediately proceed into Khorassaun; accompanied by fifty of his fellow exiles, expressly charged to employ their utmost exertions in rebuilding their native place, and in restoring cultivation to the surrounding solitude. A Moghûl chief of the name of Kereik was their associate, with a patent for the government of Herât, and letters addressed to the people of Khorassaun in general; calling upon them to be ware of exhibiting the slightest neglect in promoting the benevolent design. In the six hundred and thirty sixth of the Hidjerah,* Ezz-ud-dein and his associates reached Herât, and commenced without delay, and with the utmost activity, the work of restoration. The exertions of patriot zeal, and benevolent policy, were in a short time recompensed. The long lamented city rose again majestic among the ruins, and rapidly resumed the resemblance, at least, of her former stateliness, and extensive population.

A. H. 633-36. A. D. 1236-39. Habeib-us-seyr.

Many conspicuous and striking proofs are further related of the enlarged understanding, benevolent disposition, and extensive liberality of Ougtâi; but it will be sufficient for the design of these pages to introduce the two following instances; the first, as it refers to the extreme dread of thunder ascribed to the Moghûls, in the XXth article of the code of laws, exhibited in his history, by De la Croix; and the second, as it is represented, on the authority of the Rouzut-us-suffâ, to have but a short time preceded, and in some respect perhaps to have hastened his death.

By a law of the Moghûls, the people are strictly prohibited from sitting in their ponds and rivers, either to bathe or even wash their hands; from carrying water in vessels of gold or silver; and from spreading

*A. D. 1239.

A. H. 636. A. D. 1239. Habeib-us seyr.

their linen when washed, on the open plains to dry, during the day time, whether in spring or summer; their country being subject to dreadful thunder-storms from the commencement of the one season to the close of the other, and it being the national belief that all the above circumstances, (either by the exhalations produced in disturbing the waters, or some other cause unexplained) had a tendency to increase the violence, and frequency of those phœnomena. Hence, as Ougtâi and his brother Tcheghatâi, were one day on their return from a hunting party, they came unexpectedly upon an unfortunate Mussulman while bathing himself; and Tcheghatâi was proceeding to execute summary justice, by putting him to instant death, when moved by an inherent sentiment of compassion, Ougtâi interceded for the man, by stating that the day was far spent, and that he was not then at leisure to inquire into the circumstances of his offence. He therefore suggested the propriety of committing him for that night, to the custody of Dauneshmund Hâjeb, one of the grooms of his bedchamber; and that it would be time enough to put the law in force against him, on the following day. Tcheghatâi was prevailed upon to agree to this arrangement, and the man was accordingly consigned to the care of Dauneshmund, who conveyed him to his own quarters. The same night, Ougtâi dispatched a person in whom he could confide, to deposit a bâlesh of silver* in that part of the river, in which the man had been found bathing himself; while another person was employed to instruct the delinquent, when he should be brought the next day for trial, to allege in extenuation, that being a man in indigent circumstances, and all his wealth comprised in a single bâlesh of silver, he was overcome by his apprehensions of losing it, when he perceived himself suddenly surrounded by a strange body of cavalry; and that he therefore plunged into the stream where he had hidden it.

Next morning, in conformity with the directions of Tcheghatâi, Dauneshmund conducted his prisoner to the presence of Ougtâi; where, to the questions put to him, as to the motives by which he had been actuated to violate the known laws of the empire, he made the reply in which he had been previously instructed; and some of the attendants were ordered to the spot, to search for this obvious proof of his truth or false-

* A coin of the value of about four shillings; the bâlesh of gold being of the weight of eight methkals, and two daunkahs, each methkal or meskal, equal to a dram and a half.

hood. The bâlesh was found, in the same place in which it had been deposited, and laid before the monarch. On this Ougtâi proceeded to declare, that he did not conceive there existed a human being who could deliberately venture to set his laws at defiance; and that this wretched creature, smarting under the excess of poverty and want, had therefore probably been induced to risk his life for the preservation of a single piece of silver. Then directing ten more pieces to be added to the original bâlesh, he gave the whole to the Mussulman; and dismissed him, with a caution to beware in future, of committing himself by a similar transgression. A. H. 630. A. D. 1239. Habeib-us seyr.

The next instance exhibits a similar trait of benevolence, combined with a strong tincture of superstition. A Moghûl shepherd had the greater part of his flock destroyed, in the course of a single night, by the savage depredations of a wolf; and he ventured on the morning which followed, to describe to the imperial Ougtâi, the cruel mischief by which he had been thus stripped of his property. The monarch desired him to console himself, for that the destroyer must soon be taken. It so happened that a band of wrestlers, or athletæ, who were travelling from Khorassaun to exhibit their performances at the court of Ougtai, should seize the wolf, and bring it with them into the presence of that monarch. Assigning to the athletæ a reward of one thousand bâlesh, Ougtâi sent for the shepherd; and telling him, that the death of the wolf could avail but little to repair his losses, at the same time made him a present of one thousand sheep, and set the ferocious marauder at large: but some greyhounds which lay on the watch, immediately tore the wolf to pieces. The Kâan appeared considerably disturbed by the latter circumstance; and as a sort of retaliation for blood, causing the dogs to be also destroyed, retired to his pavilion under extreme depression of mind. To his courtiers he explained, that perceiving in himself some strong symptoms of approaching debility, and decline of health, he had conceived the idea that by rescuing some living creature from the jaws of death, heaven might in compensation be disposed to prolong his life. But, since the wolf had not been permitted to escape, it was manifest that the propitiation was rejected, and that he must shortly prepare to die. His conjecture proved well founded. Not many days elapsed before he was confined to the bed of sickness; and he

A. H. 639-42. A. D. 1242-44. Habeib-us-seyr.

expired shortly afterwards; justly lamented by his subjects, some time in the six hundred and thirty ninth of the Hidjerah, after a reign of about thirteen years.

From an inspection of the map, it will not be disputed that Ougtai was possessed of the greatest monarchy that ever appeared on earth; since he was paramount sovereign of all the countries from the southern limits of China to the mountains of Irâk Ajem, extending from the forty seventh, to the hundred and twentieth degree of longitude, and from the twenty second to the fiftieth degree of north latitude.

GUYUG, or GAYOUG Khaun, the son of Ougtâi, second of the monarchs of Kârakorum and Kalûran, of the race of Jengueiz.

In the zenith of his power, Ougtâi is described to have declared his eldest son Koutchû by Tûrakeina Khatûn, heir apparent to his vast possessions; but that prince dying before his father, his son Sheiramûn, an infant, was in his stead nominated to the succession. This minor, on the death of Ougtâi, his grandmother Tûrakeina, the common mother of all the children of the deceased monarch, placed upon the throne of the Moghûls, taking upon herself the arduous task of administering in his behalf the affairs of the empire; and, by her consummate skill and sagacity, as well as by a seasonable distribution of favors and rewards, succeeded in producing a temporary submission to her power, in the armies, and the people in general. The dowager had, however, about her person a female captive of the name of Fâtima, a native of Tûsse, or Mush-hed-e-mûkodsah, who possessed her confidence in a pre-eminent degree, and whom she consulted in the most secret concerns of her government. This imprudent preference excited, in many of the Ameirs and principal officers of the court, a spirit of jealousy and envy towards its object, that, at a convenient opportunity, did not fail to disclose itself.

GUYUG KHAUN, IId of the successors of Jengueiz.

At the expiration of about three years, during which the destinies of the ûlous, or family of Jengueiz, continued at the discretion of Tûrakeina, Guyûg Khaun returned to Kârakorum, from the expedition in which he had been engaged against Circassia, and the territory of Bulghaur. With all his power, he declined however for the present, to assume the imperial authority; which he left, to be exercised unimpaired, in the hands of his mother. In the mean time, that princess had dis-

patched to every quarter of the empire, to summons the different chiefs subordinate to the Jenguizian succession, to the general assembly which she was about to convene at the imperial residence. A numerous concourse, composed of the princes, nobility, and most distinguished orders of natives, from every part of the vast territory between the frontiers of Syria and Keptchauk, and the utmost limits of China, with the exception only of Bâtû the son of Jûjy, who was hostile to the interests of Guyûg Khaun, accordingly met at Oordû, or Ourdûbâligh, the designation frequently given to Kâra korum, as the city of the Ourdû, or imperial encampment; where it required an equipment of two thousand tents, with a vast provision of every article of subsistance and luxury, to accommodate, and entertain the variegated and splendid multitude. A. H. 643. A. D. 1245. Habeib-us-seyr.

When the diet, by the presence of those who were destined to form it, appeared complete, the Khauns, and principal members of the imperial family proceeded to determine, which of the individuals of the race of Ougtâi, they should permanently invest with the supreme power; and, as it was now perceived that Kouſan, the son of that monarch, was incapacitated by some personal infirmity, and his grandson Sheiramûn by childhood, from the adequate exercise of the functions of imperial authority, and the dowager Tûrakeina, as well as Seyûrkoukteny, the widow of Tûly Khaun, were both in favor of the claims of Guyûg, the other branches of the imperial stock, and more powerful Nûyans, were without much difficulty brought to coincide. Guyûg Khaun, in the latter Rebbeia of the six hundred and forty third of the Hidjerah,* and at the moment indicated by the astrologers, was accordingly seated on the throne of the Kâans, with the customary formalities; his cousin german Mangû, the son of Tûly Khaun, holding him by the right, and another of the august family of Jengueiz, by the left hand. This was followed by a liberal display of munificence, on the part of the new sovereign, and by several days of festivity and rejoicing; after which, it was found expedient to investigate with some severity, the occurrences which had taken place since the demise of the late Kâan.

It has been already noticed that a Khorassaunian female, by her influence with the dowager Tûrakeina, had rendered herself extremely

* September A. D. 1245.—Kholaussut-ul-akhbaur.

A. H. 643. A. D. 1245. Habeib-us-seyr.

obnoxious to some of the great officers of the empire; whose jealousy she had excited by availing herself of her favor with her mistress, to interpose in the affairs of government. While their attention was engaged in solemnizing the installation of Guyûg Khaun, his brother Koutan, or Goutan, became dangerously disordered; and one of the dissatisfied Nûyans contrived to persuade him, that his distemper was the effect of witchcraft, or sorcery on the part of Fâtima. The weak prince, on his journey homewards, dispatched a message to inform his brother accordingly, that the disorder under which he languished, had been produced by the diabolical practices of the Persian favorite; and expressing a confidence, that if the result was fatal to his existence, the sorceress would not be suffered to escape the punishment due to her crimes. Not long afterwards, the death of Koutan was actually announced; and Tcheighâi, one of the generals, who had acquired an unbounded influence in the councils of the emperor, became extremely urgent, that the matter might be made the subject of immediate, and serious scrutiny. A letter was upon this conveyed to Tûrakeina, from the emperor her son, requiring that Fatima might be sent to his presence. The dowager, on various pretences, at first eluded the demand; but the emperor becoming more peremptory in his applications, she was ultimately constrained to deliver up her favorite: and, as that princess died in the course of a very few days, the investigation of the charge against Fatima, was prosecuted with unmitigating severity. At last, by keeping her for several days exposed in a state of hunger and nakedness, and otherwise menacing her with punishments still more aggravated, they finally succeeded in extorting from her a confession of her guilt; and this innocent and defenceless female was thereupon condemned to suffer immediate execution.

It was next discovered, that some time previous to the arrival of Guyûg Khaun at Kârakorum, Ounj, or Outchakein, or Outakein Nûyan, the brother of Jengueiz mentioned in a former page, and the aged sire of eighty sons and grandsons, had approached the same metropolis, with acknowledged views on the sovereign authority. And, as in the course of the investigation which followed, the venerable chief appears either not to have disavowed or at least to have made but a slight exertion to exculpate himself of the design, several of his principal fol-

lowers were condemned to atone with their lives, for the offence of their leader. The Moghûl and Tartar chiefs, who had met at Kârakorum for the purpose of attending the general diet, were now dismissed to their respective governments; and the agents of several of the powers, still suffered to exist in Tûrkestaun, and Persia, and other parts of Asia, took their leave at the same time, loaded with honors and rewards, while others were treated with extreme disdain and indignity. Among the former we find mentioned the governor of Hâleb, or Aleppo, the brother of the Seljûkian Sûltan of Rûm, or Anatolia (Key Khossrou IId) who received a patent of distinction, with a magnificent Khelaut, or dress of honor. A message of severe reproof was, on the other hand, dispatched to the Khalif of Baghdâd (Ul Mûstaussem b'Illah), in consequence of some complaint transmitted against him, by Sheiraumûn, the son of Jermaughûn Nûyan, then employed at the head of the Moghûl troops in Persian Irâk.

A. H. 643. A. D. 1245. Habeib-us-seyr.

At the period under consideration, we are informed that Kedauk, and and Tcheighâi, the former Atabek, or preceptor, or governor of Gûyûg Khaun, and the latter Ameir-ul-ûmra, premier grandee, and lieutenant general of his armies, were both christians; and, that by perpetually holding up to the admiration of their sovereign, its doctrines, these men at last succeeded in leading him, to evince a decided preference in favor of the religion which they professed. Hence, the whole influence of the government being exerted to promote, and encourage the christians, they flocked in great numbers to the court of the Kâan, while their adversaries, the disciples of the Korân, experienced the most mortifying and degrading depression, from the predominance of their detested rivals; it being indeed represented, according to our author, that no Mussulman durst venture even to address himself to a christian in an elevated tone of voice. In this crisis of their prosperity, the christians are accused of having obtained, through the medium of the two ministers, Kedauk and Tcheighâi, a decree for the emasculation of every Mahommedan, throughout the empire of Guyûg Khaun; but one of their leading men, while bearing from the court of the monarch the obnoxious decree, for the purpose of announcing it, being fiercely assailed by the dogs in the street, they seized him by, and tore to pieces the very organs, of which he was preparing to bereave the adverse sect. A judgment so striking deterred

A. H. 643-44.
A. D. 1245-46.
Habeib-us-seyr.

the christians from prosecuting their insolent designs against the Mahommedans; nay further, it rendered them cautious of repeating even the names of those, over whom they had so recently, and haughtily presumed to domineer.

Such a statement as the above might lead us to a belief, that the Prester John of Asia, the problematical christian sovereign so much spoken of in the latter end of the twelfth, and beginning of the thirteenth century, is to be sought for in Guyûg Khaun, the second of the successors of Jengueiz, and the subject of the present article; who had probably acquired a pretty intimate knowledge of christianity, during the expeditions in which he was for several years engaged, on the borders of Circassia, and the Russian territories. The character has however, perhaps on better grounds, been by others assigned to Oung Khaun, the sovereign of the Kerâeits; whose brother Tchangû, or Jaunkû, the father of Seyûrkoukteny Beiggy, and maternal grandfather, of Mangû, Kûblâi, and Hûlaukû Kâans, is expressly acknowledged to have been a christian. On this point, the author of these pages confesses his incompetence to give an opinion. He will only presume to remark, that the resemblance is more striking in Guyûg Khaun and his government, than he has been able any where else to discover, in the course of his researches in Persian history.

Not long after he had vindicated his claims to the succession, and in other respects firmly established his authority, Guyûg Khaun determined on an excursion westward, to visit the territories on the Jeyhûn; and he accordingly departed from Ourdûbâligh, at the head of his army, and accompanied by every requisite for pleasure, or recreation, in the concluding year of his life. Contrary to the practice exhibited by his tremendous progenitor, every city, and town, which lay in the direction of his march, experienced on this occasion, either from his treasury or his wardrobe, the most extensive proofs of a bounteous and munificent disposition: but, continues our author, the splendor of the imperial standard had no sooner shed the lustre of its beams on the territory of Samarkand, than his progress, like that of all of mortal kind, was suddenly arrested by the hand of death; about the latter Rebbeia of the six hundred and forty fourth of the Hidjerah,* after a short reign of one year.

* August A. D. 1246.

In spite of the inveterate prejudices of the Mahommedan writers, they are constrained to acknowledge, that in the justice of his administration, in the paternal care with which he laboured to promote the welfare and prosperity of his people, and in his extensive and universal benevolence, he closely imitated the illustrious example of his father. A. H. 644. A. D. 1246. Habeib-us-seyr.

MANGU Kâan the son of Tûly Khaun, third of the monarchs of Kârakorum and Kalûran, of the race of Jengueiz.

When the life of Guyûg Khaun thus unexpectedly terminated in the neighborhood of Samarkand, the fabric of that stupendous power, which had been erected by the talents and prowess of Jengueiz, began to give way to the spirit of discord; which at this period seems to have more clearly manifested itself in the final separation of many of the princes of the imperial blood, each with different views and projects of ambition, to their respective governments. But of all the princes of the race of Jengueiz who flourished at the same crisis, Bâtû or Bâtûi, the son of Jûjy Khaun, the sovereign of the boundless plains on the Volga, and Borysthenes, on whom the Tartars have conferred the title of Sâein Khaun, surpassed in the magnificence of his court and the grandeur of his power. Independent of these grounds, he might nevertheless, as the representative of the elder branch of the family, have proceeded without materially incurring the implication of arrogance, to exercise the privilege of which he now availed himself, to demand in Keptchauk, the presence of the whole of the Shahzâdahs of the kindred of Jengueiz, the most powerful of the Nûyans, and other chieftains of the Moghûl tribes; in order to seat on the throne, that individual whom they conceived most worthy of the imperial dignity. Some of the princes, however, violently opposed this usurpation of power; contending that the legitimate abode of the Jenguizian authority, being at Kârâkorum, a journey to Keptchauk, was on their part as unnecessary, as it was subversive of established precedent. At the same time, many thought it prudent to appear by their representatives, while others proceeded in person to assist at the diet thus convoked in Keptchauk. Among the latter class, influenced by the counsels of his mother, Seyûrkoukteny Beiggy the daughter of Tchangû, or Jaunkû, the brother of Oung Khaun, by religion a *Christian*, and a woman of singular liberality, talents and virtue, was Mangû the son of Tûly Khaun; whom

A. H. 644-49. A. D. 1246-51. Habeib-us seyr.

she persuaded, however the majority of his kinsmen seemed disposed to the contrary, to hasten, accompanied by his brothers to the presence of his kinsman Bâtû. Mangû experienced from the Khaun of Kep-tchauk the most flattering reception, that prince affecting to discover in his countenance the most evident indications of an exalted destiny; and immediately declaring, that of all the princes of the blood of Jengueiz, this young man* appeared to him the best qualified to succeed to the sovereign power. And, in this opinion, most of those present being brought to concur, Bâtû without further debate put off his tiara, and his girdle from his waist, and on his bended knee proceeded on the spot to do homage to his kinsman. It was then determined, that in the course of the ensuing year, Mangû should be solemnly enthroned in the presence of a general diet of the states of the empire, to be convened, for that purpose, at the ûlûgh yûrut or imperial residence of Kârakorum.

MANGU KAAN, IIId of the successors of Jengueiz.

Soon after this, Bâtû dispatched his brother Berkah Oghûl, with Bouka Teymûr and a great army, to conduct the Kaan elect to the metropolis of Kalûran, and to secure the general acknowledgement of his authority. Here, in pursuance of their plan, they proceeded on their arrival to circulate to the different parts of the empire, letters to expedite the meeting of the Kuriltâi, or general convention; but, as the arrangements for adjusting the succession were openly disapproved of by Beissûmenka the son of Tcheghatâi, by Sheiraumûn the son of Kûtchûi, and by Bâtû Oghûl the son of Guyûg Khaun, they peremptorily refused to obey the summons; declaring that the blood of Ougtâi was alone worthy of the imperial dignity; and conveying at the same time, by their respective agents, to the Sâein Khaun a formal protest against the assumption which he had exercised, in thus disposing of the sovereign power. These obstacles produced in the final determination of the diet, a delay of nearly four years; and Berkah Oghûl becoming at length weary of the tedious suspense, wrote to his brother, requiring further instructions, in what manner to proceed, in order to bring the matter in which he was engaged to a favorable termination. He was directed in reply, to seat his cousin Mangû on the throne of Jengueiz, without regard either to the assent or dissent of the Shazadahs; and to strike

* At this period he might be about two or three and thirty.

off the heads of those who persisted in opposing the measure. This hastened the point to a decision. Mangû Kâan was enthroned without further delay, and with the usual formalities, in the presence of those who had long since concurred in his elevation; and he gave on the day of his accession a strong proof of his universal benevolence, by extending the effects of it, as far as possible, even to the brute creation, which on that day he entirely exempted both from labour and slaughter.*

A. H. 649. A. D. 1251. Habeib-us-seyr.

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC

The family of Ougtâi Kâan, and the Shahzadahs adverse to the succession of Mangû, were in the mean time forming a conspiracy to subvert his power; and for that purpose were clandestinely approaching the imperial residence, accompanied by a number of waggons secretly loaded with arms. An attendant of the Kaan's, in search of a stray camel, falling however, unexpectedly, upon the camp of the malcontents, became acquainted with the design in agitation, and hastened to convey the intelligence to his sovereign. Mengasaur Nûyan, one of the imperial generals, with a body of two thousand horse, was immediately detached to throw himself in the way of the Shahzâdahs, and to ascertain the truth of the report. This chieftain succeeded in surrounding the camp of the conspirators, one morning, before he could be observed; and sent to inform the princes that their intentions had been represented at court, in such colours, that in order to remove the unfavorable impression, it behoved them to appear without delay in the presence of the emperor. Sheirâmûn and his associates, when they recovered from the first moments of surprise, solemnly protested that their design in approaching the metropolis, was actuated by the most innocent, if not the purest motives; and with these assurances mounting their horses, accompanied the general without hesitation to the presence of Mangû. After entertaining them with sumptuous hospitality for a period of three days, that monarch proceeded in person on the fourth day, to examine into the truth of the facts alleged against them. The guilt of the Shahzâdahs was sufficiently substantiated; and Kedauk, the christian minister recently ad-

* For one week nevertheless, during which the festivities of the installation continued on this occasion, the consumption of the court is said to have amounted to two thousand waggon or cart loads of liquor, three hundred horses and oxen, and two thousand sheep.

A. H. 649-51. A. D. 1251-53. Habeib-us-seyr.

verted to, who had held the most distinguished employments, both under Ougtâi, and Guyûg Khaun, together with seventy thousand individuals concerned in leading the princes astray, suffered by the sword of the executioner.

Having thus set his mind at rest, with regard to those who were hostile to his authority, Mangû Kâan now dismissed the princes Berkah Oghûl, and Bûka Teymûr, with suitable presents, and acknowledgements of their important services, to his kinsman Bâtû. The government of the eastern provinces of the empire, including the conquered part of China, for it does not yet appear to have been entirely subdued, was continued to Mahmûd Yelwauje; while the son of that minister, Mûssâoud Beg, was invested with the Vizzaurut of Transoxiana. The great provinces of Khorassaun, Irâk Ajem, and Azerbayjaun, were assigned in permanence to Arghûn Khaun; who was accompanied, unfortunately, by Shurf-ud-dein, a Khaurezmian scribe, or notary, of the most arbitrary and unprincipled character, as commissioner to superintend the collections. By an ordinance issued under the authority of Mangû Kâan, a levy of four thousand bâlesh had been fixed on these provinces, as a composition for arrears of tribute; and the Khaurezmian, immediately on his arrival, employed his son to exact from the inhabitants ten dinaurs, for every one, of the authorized contribution; and his scheme of oppression was prosecuted with such unrelenting obduracy, that these noble provinces were again soon desolated by the ordinary train of distress and dispersion.

The authority of Mangû had, at the same time, not long been consolidated on a basis of security, and the affairs of Tûrkestaun, of the country of the Moghûls, and the territory on the Oxus, finally terminated to his satisfaction, when, about the six hundred and fifty first of the Hidjerah, in consequence of some statements which reached him, through Kauzy Shums-ud-dein the Kazveinian, relative to the usurpations of the schismatical zealots of Almowut, and to the pride and arrogance of the Khalif Mûstaussem, he resolved to dispatch his brother Hûlaukû, into the provinces of the Persian empire. This circumstance would lead us immediately within the natural limits of our design; but as it might be unsatisfactory to dismiss the history of the monarchs of Kârakorum,

however brief, in a manner so abrupt, we shall intreat the indulgence of the reader, to the completion of the series. A. H. 651-53. A. D. 1253-55.

Having sent Hûlaukû to secure and extend his dominions westward, the views of Mangû Kâan were next directed to the final subjugation of China; and for this enterprise he selected his brother Kûblài, proposing to follow in person at a convenient period. An embassador was however employed in the first instance, as on former occasions, to require that the Fughfûr, or monarch of that great country, whose name is stated to have been Tchoukan, perhaps Tchoukang, should acknowledge himself tributary to the Moghûl. Hence it would appear, that the Tartar conquests had not previously extended beyond the northern part of China. Otherwise it would be difficult to account for the high sounding and indignant reply of the monarch; in which the ambassador is charged to inform his master, that the limits of the land which acknowledged his authority, far transcended the measure of the imagination, and that the number of his armies was only exceeded by that of the drops in the ocean; that if the Moghûl valued the permanence of his power, he would confine himself to the territory already subject to his authority. but beware of precipitating himself and his people, into an abyss of tribulation and sorrow, of which he could form no conception. This proud message furnished fresh stimulus to the ambition of Mangû; and, in the six hundred and fifty third* of the Hidjerah, he accordingly approached the Chinese frontier, at the head of an army of sixty tomauns, or six hundred thousand men. When he reached the banks of the Ferâmun, probably the Feramûran, or yellow river, he caused the unfortunate Sheiraumûn, the grandson of Ougtâi, and Khaujah Oghûl, and Bàtû, the sons of Guyûg Khaun, to be cast into that river, and drowned. On the frontiers of ulterior China, after evincing his prowess, and the superior force of his arms, in the subjugation of numerous cities and places of smaller importance, his career was at last arrested by a fortified mountain of prodigious height and circuit, and furnished, in the utmost abundance, with every requisite for subsistance and defence. Habeib-us-seyr.

This formidable post was immediately invested by the Moghûl armies; and a siege commenced which, notwithstanding their utmost activity

* A. D. 1255.

A. H. 654 59. A. D. 1256-67. Habeib-us-seyr.

and exertion, they found themselves foiled in every attempt to bring to a successful termination—winter and spring elapsed without either a cessation to their labours, or any reasonable prospect of the reduction of their adversaries' impregnable position: and the heats of summer, bringing with them a pestilential disorder, swept off the besiegers in alarming numbers. In these circumstances, and in the belief that it would enable him to escape the contagion, Mangû Kâan had recourse to frequent and protracted inebriety; but he found it in vain to contend, or temporise with his destiny. The contagion at last reached him, and after eight days illness conveyed him to his grave, some time in the course of the six hundred and fifty fourth of the Hidjerah.

KUBLA, or KUBLAI KAAN, the son of Tûly Khaun, fourth of the monarchs of Kârakorum and Kalûran, of the race of Jengueiz.

KUBLAI KAAN, IVth of the successors of Jengueiz.

At the period of his brother's death, this prince was employed in the northern part of China, or Khatâi, of which he probably held the government; and in consequence of the dissensions which now prevailed among the descendants of Jengueiz, did not succeed in establishing his authority until some time in the six hundred and fifty eighth of the Hidjerah. On his departure for the Chinese expedition, Mangû Kâan had consigned the protection of the imperial residence of Kârakorum to his second brother, Artekbouka. Hence on the demise of Mangû, that prince had an opportunity of asserting his claim to the sovereign dignity; which he determined to support by immediate hostilities against his elder brother Kûblâi. In three great battles, which took place between the rival brothers, Artekbouka was beaten in the two first, but victorious in the last; and Kûblâi, yielding to his adverse fortune withdrew into Khatâi. But, by one of those unlooked for vicissitudes so frequent in the events of human life, the power of Artekbouka being destroyed in a contest with Alghû Khaun, the Tcheghatayan monarch of Almauligh, that prince became a suppliant for the protection of the brother whom he had so mortally injured; and to whom he now made a voluntary surrender of his person. The empire of Kârakorum with the entire of the dominions of Jengueiz, became thus ultimately and permanently vested in the hands of Kûblâi; who punished his brother by confining him to a narrow enclosure, or wall of Arabian thorns interwoven, in which he perished at the expiration of a twelve-month.

Soon after he had finally established his power, Kûblâi determined to resume the designs of subjugation against the Chinese territory; of which, after a succession of campaigns he ultimately rendered himself complete master. In Khatâi, not far from Tchengdû, the ancient metropolis of the Khauns, we find that he now proceeded to erect the celebrated city called by the Moghûls Khaunbâligh, (or Cambalu,) the Pekin of the moderns, within a square, of which each face is described as four farsangs, or leagues in length; and moreover, that he connected his new metropolis, by a canal of forty days' journey in length, with the Zeytoun, here said to be the river which forms the boundary between China and Hindûstaun. It was probably the *Chaitom* or *Tchaytam*, of which name there appears a river in the maps, about that distance, west-south-west of Pekin. He thus formed with that remote peninsula, a communication which led into the heart of Khatâi; the merchants of India bringing the produce of their country, in vessels along the canal, to the very centre of Khaunbâligh, which, in the lapse of a very short time, became a most populous and flourishing city. A. H. 659-93. A. D. 1261-94. Habeib-us-seyr.

The death of Kûblâi Kâan appears to have taken place about the six hundred and ninety third of the Hidjerah,* when he had attained to the age of eighty three, and after a reign of five and thirty years. He left a progeny of twelve sons.

Teymur, entitled Ouljaytû Kâan, the grandson of Kûblai, and fifth of the monarchs of Kârakorum, of the race of Jengueiz.

While he was yet in possession of health and power Kûblai had publicly declared his son Jeimkeim, heir to the throne of Jengueiz; but that prince dying before his father, the succession was settled on his son Teymûr, not less distinguished for his failings, than for his love of justice. At the period of his father's death, Teymûr was absent on the borders of western Tartary, superintending the equipment of the armies about to be employed against Shahzadah Keydû; an able and warlike prince, one of the grandsons of Ougtâi Kâan, who had recently become extremely formidable in that quarter. The mother of Teymûr, however, took charge of the government in the absence of her son; and dispatched Nausser-ud-dein Abû Bukker, entitled, Sâman, and Teymur Kaan, Vth of the successors of Jengueiz.

*A. D. 1294.

A. H. 694. A. D. 1295. Habeib-us-seyr.

sometimes Beyan Kînjan,* (one of the four ministers of finance of the deceased monarch, and a descendant of Seyud Ajel of Bokhâra) governor of the Chinese province of Karatchang, in the reign of Mangû Kâan, to hasten his return to the capital. The prince proceeded without delay, on intelligence of this event, towards Khaunbâligh, which he reached some time in the six hundred and ninety fourth of the Hidjerah. He was immediately enthroned, by the whole of the Shahzâdahs, and Nûyans, or principal nobility on the spot, with the title of Ouljaytû, or Ooljaytû Kâan, and gave ample display to the scenes of festivity, and to the munificent liberality, usually exhibited on similar occasions. Among those to whom he continued the dignities and appointments held under his grandfather, he particularly distinguished the Mahommedan minister Saman Kinjan recently adverted to, whose power and respectability he considerably advanced; whom in all matters of revenue he directed to be implicitly obeyed; and who retained by his sovereign's express instructions, the simple designation of his father and grandfather, *Seyud Ajel*. The government of Kârakorum, and of the patrimonial inheritance of Jengueiz, he consigned to his elder brother Kumlai, and that of Seinkout, to his cousin german Abendah Oghûl, another of the grandsons of Kûblâi Kâan.

The war with Shahzadah Keydû, which had gradually assumed the most alarming aspect, was entrusted to the management of Kouktchû, the son of Kouz Gûrekan; the imperial residence being at this time, to all appearance, permanently transferred to the new city of Khaunbâligh. It has been already intimated that Teymûr Kâan was the slave of particular failings; and it is now recorded to his praise, that all the attention which he could spare from his intemperate indulgences, was entirely devoted to repress the iniquitous usurpations of tyrannical violence, and to enforce the administration of justice. From the earliest period of life, he had, however, to a degree of frenzy, been addicted to wine; from which he was not to be reclaimed either by admonitions, or by any mode of restraint imposed upon him, by the paternal care of an anxious grandfather. Hence on the death of Kûblâi, and his consequent accession to the sovereign power, he became an absolute slave

† Kinjan, or Kibjan, was the appellation bestowed upon his four finance ministers by the emperor Kûblâi; as Tchinsang was the title conferred on his four principal ministers of state.

to this his ungovernable propensity, consuming day and night without intermission, in the same intemperate course of indulgence; and in this, in defiance of the remonstrances of his best friends, he persevered until at the expiration of six years, these gross and brutal excesses produced upon him their natural effect, an incurable paralytic disorder, under which he, however, languished to the twelfth year of his reign, when he died. During the latter period, the government was administered by his consort, assisted by the advice of the principal ameirs of the empire.

A. H. 694-707. A. D. 1295-1307. Habeib-us-seyr.

Of the remaining monarchs of Kârakorum, of the race of Jengueiz, fourteen in number, it will be sufficient with the author, to subjoin the annexed list of names.

VIth. Kûshilâi, the son of Jenisek the son of Termah the son of Jeimkeim, the son of Kûblâi Kâan. VIIth. Tûktâi, or Tûguiâi, the son of Kûshilâi. VIIIth. Bayzy or Tâizy the son of Touleg, or Noulek, on whom his subjects conferred the title, or surname of Beylektû. IXth. Noushiraun, perhaps Noushirvaun, the son of Dara, during whose reign, notwithstanding the many virtuous and amiable qualities which are said to have adorned his character, the authority of the Kâans of Kârakorum, became convulsed by the most serious disturbances. Xth. Tougateymûr, the son of Teymûr Kâan. XIth. Tensûr, or Beissourdaur. XIIth. Aynkah, or Aykah, the son of Tensûrdaur. XIIIth. Eyleng Kâan. XIVth. Keytemûr, or Guytemûr. XVth. Arekteymûr. XVIth. Eyltchy Teymûr Kâan. This prince, for some time, attended the court of Teymûr. We learn however, according to our author, from the introductory discourse to the Zuffurnamah of the Yezdian, that the prince who visited the court of the great Teymûr bore the name of Taizy;* who, on the death of his patron (in the 807th of the Hidjerah†), returned to the ûlughyûrut, or imperial residence near Kârakorum, where he ascended the throne of the Kâans. But an insurgent, of the name of *Tutkour*, having revolted in Khatâi, some time previous to the accession of Tâizy, and ultimately rendered himself entire master of the greater

A. H. 707-807. A. D. 1307-1405.

* Taizi Aglen, or Oghlan, of the race of Octai, is mentioned as being present at the court of Teymûr, a little before the death of that monarch at Otraur. Vide history of Timur Bec. chap. 29.

† A. D. 1405.

A. H. 807. A. D. 1405. Habeib-us-seyr.

part of the Chinese empire, the successor of Jengueiz was reduced to confine himself to the original Yûrut, or territory of his ancestors, here expressly stated to refer to Kalmauk and Karakorum. XVIIth. Altâi Kâan, of the line of Artekbouka, the third son of Tûly Khaun. XVIIIth. Werdâi the son of Melekteymûr. XIXth. and last, Adâi the son of Arekteymûr. These two latter princes are also stated to have been descended from Artekbouka, and like him, according to De la Croix, not to have been numbered among the Kâans; our author indeed finally remarks, that the Tâizy recently mentioned, having been killed, after a short reign, the dominions of his ancestors were taken possession of, by the chiefs of the tribe of Oueyraut.

CHAP. XII.

AT the close of the fifth chapter, the reader will have witnessed the final extinction of the *Khelaufut*, in the person of the unfortunate Mûstaussem; whose possessions, with the whole of the territory westward of the Oxus, then devolved to HULAUKU KHAUN, the fourth son of Tûly Khaun, and Ist of the Persian monarchs of the race of Jengueiz. A. H. 656. A. D. 1258. Habeib-us-seyr.

Having decided the fate of Baghdâd then, in the manner which we have attempted to delineate in the preceding pages, Hûlaukû returned into Azerbâijaun. At Meraughah, in the latter end of Rudjub*, he received the submission of Budder-ud-dein Lûlû, prince of Mossûle, at this period in his hundredth year, and whom on that account he treated with particular kindness and distinction. He was honorably dismissed to his principality, during the succeeding month of Shabaun. Not long afterwards, the envoys of Hûlaukû proceeded by his instructions, into Syria, to demand the submission of several chiefs who governed in that province, part of which was still subject to the authority of the Egyptian Sûltans. These agents returned however to their sovereign, after an ineffectual discharge of their mission; and in order to vindicate the claims of superior force, the Eyle Khaun immediately determined to conduct his armies into the country. During his absence, to secure the allegiance of the prince of Mossûle, he required that Mêlek Sâlah the son of that chief, should be sent to bear him company on the expedition; and on the arrival of the young chief in his camp, he married him to Tûrkan Khâtûn, the daughter of Sûltan Jullaul-ud-dein the Khaurezmian.

HULAUKU KHAUN, Ist of the Persian monarchs of the race of Jengueiz.

On the twenty second of Ramzaun,† Hûlaukû proceeded on his march towards Syria; but on entering the province of Diaurbekir, he detached the Shahzâdah Yeshmout to attack the fortresses of Miafaurekein, and

* July, A. D. 1258. † September 20th, A. D. 1258.

A. H. 656. A. D. 1258. Habeib-us seyr.

Mardein, while the reduction of Amida, or Hamid, was entrusted to Melek Salah. He advanced in person against Roha, or Edessa, which surrendered on capitulation; but the cities of Nessebein, and Harran, (Carrhæ) which had presumed to resist his power, he consigned over to plunder and slaughter. After this, he appears to have experienced no obstacle until he reached Aleppo; under the walls of which, before the gate of Antioch, he now encamped, directing his generals with the several divisions under their orders, to occupy the approaches to the other gates. The operations of the siege commenced without delay; and the Moghûls, having in a short time forced a passage into the city, through one of the gates called the Baub-ul-ferauk, indulged without controul in their ordinary ferocious excesses. The citadel continued to resist for some days longer, but ultimately shared the fate of the town; the whole of the inhabitants, with the exception of some manufacturers and mechanics, being put to the sword without mercy.

On the reduction of Aleppo, or Hâleb, Hûlaukû proceeded to the attack of a place in the neighborhood, to which the author has not conceived it expedient to assign a name, but which is described as possessing great strength and extent. When driven to extremity the garrison however, sent out to propose to the Moghûl monarch, that a certain Mûssulman, of the name of Fakher-ud-dein Sauky, now employed about his person, and formerly known to the inhabitants, might be allowed to confer with them; and to announce that they were willing to surrender, provided this person would engage on oath, that their lives and property should be safe. Whatever were his intentions as to the performance, the scruples of Hûlaukû were not of a nicety to withhold any engagement; and he accordingly authorised the person they had fixed upon, to accede, without hesitation, to whatever terms they might think proper to demand. In such circumstances, it was not difficult to come to a conclusion; the conditions were formally ratified, and the garrison, relying upon the solemn pledge which they had received, unwarily descended from their posts; when orders were issued by the inexorable Hûlaukû, that they should be instantly cut to pieces, even to the child in the cradle, and the infant at its mother's breast; all which being carried into execution, not a single individual was suffered to escape, but an Armenian goldsmith, who was spared in consideration of his

exquisite skill in his profession. Fakher-ud-dein, the wretched instrument of this barbarous and detestable piece of treachery, was constituted governor of Aleppo; but having, at the expiration of a very few days, rendered his conduct suspicious to the Moghûl, he was also condemned to die, and his government transferred to Zeyne-ud-dein, a native of Khawauf. A. H. 656-58. A. D. 1258-60. Habeib-us-seyr.

Warned by the fate of Aleppo, and of the castles in its vicinity, the people of Damascus hastened, through the medium of certain Bulgharian merchants who had settled among them, to convey, to the court of Hûlaukû, a most splendid display of presents, with offers of prompt submission and allegiance. Keybouka Nûyan was immediately dispatched, on the part of the Eyle Khaun, to take possession of the capital of Syria, and was received by the inhabitants with every outward demonstration of respect. In the mean time, intelligence reaching Hûlaukû of the death of his brother Mangû, during the expedition into China, he appears to have felt it as a stroke of severe affliction, and it seems to have occasioned his sudden return into Azerbâijaun. Keybouka remained, however, at Damascus; where he continued to administer the government with considerable success and reputation; until unexpectedly attacked, and made prisoner by Seyf-ud-dein Kodouz, or Todouz, the third Maumlûk Sûltan of Egypt, by whom with the greater part of the Moghûls who composed his garrison, he was subsequently put to death.

It was formerly observed that on his arrival in Diaurbekir, Hûlaukû detached his son Yeshmout, with a division of the army, to invest the important fortress of Miafaurekein, at this period under the government of Melek Kaummil. Accordingly, having conducted his troops to the neighborhood, the Shahzadah conveyed a message to that chief, inviting him to submit without resistance. In reply to his message he was informed by Mêlek Kaummil, that recent examples were too flagrant, to admit of the slightest reliance on the professions of a Moghûl; witness the treatment of the unfortunate Mûstaussem, of Rokken-ud-dein the Issmâilian, and of many other unhappy princes; whom his ferocious countrymen had no sooner cajoled into their power by their insidious promises, than they basely put them to the sword without compunction, or otherwise made away with them, by devices still

A. H. 656-58. A. D. 1258-60. Habeib-us-seyr.

more cruel. That for his own part, so long as a spark of life continued to animate his frame, he was resolved never to abandon the ramparts of his fortress. From the tone of this reply, the Moghûl prince was taught to prepare for the operations of an arduous siege.

On the other hand, in encouraging his troops to a gallant defence, Mêlek Kaummil desired them to be assured that all the wealth, of which he was master, was entirely at their disposal. He thanked heaven, that he was a stranger to the sordid and avaricious spirit which had led the wretched Mûstaussem, instead of generously applying it to the preservation of his independence, to accumulate gold and treasure for his own selfish gratifications. The hope of reward thus held out to them, and the confidence that their wants were abundantly provided for, united the garrison in the resolution of opposing to the attempts of the enemy, the most manful and determined resistance; and they were, not long afterwards, fiercely assailed on every quarter. In modern times we have heard of cannon-shot meeting in the air, and being shattered to pieces in the concussion; and in the course of the siege of Miafaurekein, the author remarks, that instances frequently occurred, in which the stones impelled from the adverse catapultæ, on *Manjeneik*, of the besiegers and the besieged, were shivered by a similar concussion.

At the expiration of the second year, to which the siege was protracted, the garrison became, however, so straitened, as to be reduced at last to eat their horses, and some, of stronger appetites, even to subsist on the carcases of their fellow soldiers. In this extremity, Melek Kaummil was seized by his famished garrison, and conducted, with his hands bound, and a halter about his neck, to the presence of Yeshmout; by whom these wretches, to the number of seventy, were instantly put to the sword. The Moghûls shortly afterwards entered the place, and proceeded to avenge themselves for the tediousness of the siege, by a general massacre of the inhabitants. Melek Kaummil was, however, himself reserved for a more terrible and cruel retribution. He was conveyed to the camp of Hûlaukû; who caused him to be fed with the flesh torn from his own body, until he finally expired under the hands of his tormentors.

The fortress of Mardein was next invested by Yeshmout; and after a protracted siege, either through domestic treachery, or external fraud,

fell also into the hands of the Moghûls. The relation which ascribes its capture to the former source, represents that when the siege had continued for a period of some duration, the garrison was attacked by a pestilential disorder, and the son of Melek Sâeid the governor, wearied out by certain vexatious severities exercised towards him by his father, contrived to destroy him by poison; then entering into negociation with Yeshmout, he threw open the gates, and delivered up the castle to that prince. The other statement, however, alleges that Melek Sâeid agreed to an accommodation with the Eylekhaunian Ameirs, on a promise that he should be invested with the Atabekship, or government of Diaurbekir; but giving up the fortress on the basis of this treaty, he was conveyed by Yeshmout to the camp of his father; by whom he was put to death, and the government of Mardein bestowed upon Melek Mûzuffer, the unnatural son by whom he had probably been betrayed.

A. H. 658. A. D. 1260. Habeib-us-seyr.

Budder-ud-dein Lûlû, prince of Mossûle, having died at a very advanced age, either in the six hundred and fifty-seventh, or fifty ninth of the Hidjerah, after a prosperous government of two and fifty years, the succession was confirmed by Hûlaukû to his son Melek Salah, formerly mentioned; and for a short time, he evinced his gratitude by an unreserved submission to the authority of the Tartar monarch. But when this period of deceitful tranquillity was destined to close, the natural antipathy of his disposition could no longer be restrained; and he suddenly withdrew into Egypt, confiding the government of Mossûle to one of his officers, on whose attachment he could venture to rely. From Bundekdaur, or Bundkedaur, the Sûltan of Egypt, he experienced a very friendly and hospitable reception; and in order to bring away his treasure and most valuable effects, an escort of one thousand horse was employed by that prince to reconduct him to Mossûle. The circumstance of his return was early made known to Hûlaukû; whose generals were immediately instructed to seize and secure with the strictest vigilance, the different roads and passes which led from the country, in order to frustrate any attempt which he might make to reconvey himself into the dominions of the Sûltan of Egypt. A powerful division under Sendaughû Nûyan, was dispatched at the same time to invest Mossûle, and to leave no method unemployed to make sure of the person of the

A. H. 658. A. D. 1260. Habeib-us-seyr.

refractory chief. Thus, observes our author, while Melek Salah, with the heedlessness of unoffending innocence, was one day socially indulging in the enjoyments of wine and music, his ears were suddenly assailed by the horrible and discordant din of the Moghûl horns and kettle-drums. He contrived however to secure the gates, and, by a seasonable display of liberality, to animate the Kûrds and Tartars in his service to defend the ramparts of his capital; of which the siege was immediately commenced by the Moghûl general.

Early apprized of the danger to which it was exposed, the Sûltan of Egypt directed one of his principal generals, with the troops which composed his army in Syria, to proceed, without delay to the relief of Mossûle. On his arrival at Senjaur, for the purpose of announcing his approach to the besieged, the Egyptian commander attached a note to the wing of a pidgeon, and set it at large. It happened, however, unfortunately that, fatigued with the length of its flight, the bird perched prematurely on one of the warlike machines of the besieging army; the superintend-officer of which immediately possessed himself of the note, and conveyed it to the head quarters of his general. A tomaun of the Moghûl troops was detached without delay, to intercept these daring intruders; and separating into three bodies, on its entrance into the district of Senjaur, secretly lay in ambush for the enemy. The moment they reached a certain point, the Syrians found themselves accordingly attacked unawares from several quarters at once; they continued however to defend themselves for some time with considerable resolution; but, a violent gust of wind arising, and carrying the dust into their eyes, contributed to secure the victory to their assailants, by whom they were for the greater part cut to pieces. The successful Moghûls then stripped the slain, and, disguised in their apparel, soon afterwards presented themselves under the walls of Mossûle; the inhabitants of which, too readily conceiving that they were the troops of Sûltan Bundkedaur coming to their relief, issued from their gates in joyful crouds, to embrace their supposed deliverers. The result it were unnecessary to describe. The Moghûls instantly closed upon them, and put the whole to the sword.

After this cruel disaster, the hopes of Melek Salah became exhausted with his resources; and he sent out a person, to intreat that he might

be permitted to capitulate. The Moghûl general readily engaged to mediate for his pardon with Hûlaukû; and on the faith of such an engagement, in spite of multiplied experience, the credulous chief adventured to quit the protection of his walls, and to surrender his person into the power of his besiegers, by whom, in the charge of a competent escort, he was sent off without delay to the court of his sovereign. Exasperated beyond measure by his contumacious behaviour, Hûlaukû condemned him to a punishment as horrible as it was unprecedented. He caused him to be smeared from head to foot, with mutton-fat, or some other greasy substance of the sort, and in that situation, wrapped up in coarse cloth, and straitly bound with cord, he was consigned to a lingering and miserable death; being at the same time supplied with as much food as served to protract his existence as long as possible. In a few days innumerable vermin being engendered in the substance with which he had been besmeared, the very flesh was gnawed from his bones. Nevertheless, in this disgusting and deplorable condition, the unhappy chief continued to languish for the space of a month, before he was relieved from his miseries by the hand of death. His son, an infant of three years old, was afterwards cloven in twain, and the divided halves of his body, suspended on the opposite banks of the Tigris at Mossûle.

A. H. 658-62. A. D. 1260-64. Habeib-us-seyr.

In consequence of the services rendered under the instructions of his brother Bâtû, in securing for Mangû Kâan the throne of Kârakorum, Berkah Oghûl, the son of Jûjy Khaun, had presumed on all occasions to arrogate a superiority over his cousin Hûlaukû, whose haughty spirit he never omitted to mortify, when an opportunity occurred. Impatient of these insolent pretensions, Hûlaukû, at last, openly avowed his resolution no longer to submit to them; declaring that thenceforward all ties of friendship between them, were to be considered as dissolved. Of these declarations Berkah Khaun became apprized; and he as openly affirmed on his part, that the destruction of so many Mahommedan sovereigns, and the desolation of their dominions, but, above all, the immolation of the Khalif of Baghdâd, unauthorized by the instructions of his superior, had long called for vengeance against Hûlaukû; and that at a proper opportunity, he should not fail to require at his hands a dreadful atonement for the effusion of so much inno-

A. H. 558-62. A. D. 1260-64. Habeib-us-seyr.

cent blood. With mutual animosity thus fermenting in their bosoms, the crisis of actual hostility was accelerated by the death of Tatar Oghûl or Oghlû, a near relative of Berkah Khaun; whom, on the seventeenth of Suffur of the six hundred and fifty eighth of the Hidjerah* on the pretext of having practiced magic, Hûlaukû caused to perish by the hand of the executioner.

This, in addition to the catalogue of injuries, either real or imaginary, already accumulated between them, determined Berkah Khaun, who had by this time succeeded to his brother Bâtû on the throne of Jûjy Khaun, to decline every other object, whether of policy or ambition, for that of humbling the pride of his detested rival. The advanced guard of his army consisting of thirty thousand horse, under Togâi, perhaps Nogâi, was accordingly dispatched without further delay through the countries westward of the Caspian, to invade the dominions of Hulaukû. A period of four years seems, however, to have elasped before the latter, either found himself at leisure, or conceived it expedient to make any decisive movement to repel the aggression; but in the month of Shavaul of the six hundred and sixty second of the Hidjerah,† Hûlaukû proceeded from Alatauk, a summer residence of the Moghûl princes towards the source of the Oras, or Aboras, on his way to the regions of Caucasus; while Sheirâmûn Nûyan, at the head of a powerful division hastened in advance to observe, or give battle to the invaders. In the neighborhood of Shamaukhy this general suffered himself to be taken by surprise; and a great part of the division under his orders, was cut to pieces by the enemy. A second division of the army, under Bâtâi Nûyan, was however more fortunate in checking the progress of the troops of Berkah; who appear to have withdrawn after their recent successes, from the north of the Kûrr towards Shabraun; within a farsang, or league, of which, in the month of Zilhudje of the same year‡ they were in their turn attacked and defeated by their adversaries.

Early in the month of Mohurrim of the succeeding year, Hûlaukû advanced in person, skirting the district of Shamaukhy; and on the twenty third of the month§ appeared before the Shirvaunian Derbund

* First of February, 1260. † August, 1264. ‡ October.
§ December 6th, 1264.

(so called to distinguish it from the Derbund of Bâkû). The banditti at the head of the pass having considerably annoyed his troops, the latter proceeded to disperse them by their archers; and having closely pursued them through Derbund, fell unexpectedly upon the army of the Khaun of Keptchauk, which they entirely defeated. The victory was followed, on the part of the Persomoghûls under Hûlaukû, by an unsparing and indiscriminate massacre; so that by the first of the month of Suffur,* not a vestige was to be perceived in that quarter either of Togái, or of his army. Prosecuting their advantage, the advanced divisions of Hûlaukû's troops led on by his son Abâka Khaun, and Sheirâmûn and Bâtâi Nûyan, crossed the river of Terek, or Terki, into the territory the enemy. They had not proceeded to any great distance on their march, before they discovered the encampment of the Khaun; which was found to be entirely and unaccountably abandoned, not a soldier to be seen in any direction; and a vast booty in sheep and cattle, and other property of every description dispersed among the tents, seemed designedly left as a lure to remove all thought of danger.

A. H. 663. A. D. 1264. Habeib-us-seyr.

With that total absence of circumspection which has been so frequently, and deservedly, punished with defeat, the troops divided themselves through the tents of the enemy; and for a day and a night became totally immersed in the delirium of wine and music, and in the society of the Tartar women, who had probably been also abandoned, in order, by the fascinations of beauty, to complete the spell. At sun rise of the second day, they were awakened from this dream of sensuality and indulgence, by an attack from Berkah Khaun in person, at the head of an innumerable force, which suddenly and at once broke upon them from different quarters. Abâka Khaun and the other generals made, notwithstanding, a courageous resistance to the efforts of the enemy, until sunset; when yielding to superior numbers, they retreated with precipitation to the Terek. The river was at this time frozen over; and the ice giving way under the pressure of the terrified and impatient multitude, which thronged together to cross to the other side, the greater part of the army here met its fate, and was swallowed up in the stream.

* Twenty-second of December, 1264.

A. H. 663. A. D. 1255. Habeib us-seyr.

This disastrous reverse produced in the mind of Hûlaukû, a degree of affliction bordering on despair. He set on foot however, throughout his dominions, the most formidable preparations to retrieve and avenge the disgrace; which he resolved to do, the moment his equipments were in a sufficient degree of forwardness. But his destiny had otherwise ordained it. He had moved from his summer residence at Meraughah, in the former Rebbeïa of six hundred and sixty three,* to take up his winter quarters at Tcheghaitû, when one day on quitting his bath, he was seized by a sudden fit of illness; and the medicines prescribed for his relief augmenting the violence of his disorder, his recovery was soon despaired of. During his illness for several nights successively, two fearful apparitions are said to have presented themselves at the bed side of Hûlaukû, and continued so to do, until he was forever withdrawn from the abode of mortal grandeur, when they altogether disappeared. The remains of the departed monarch were deposited, by his ministers, in a mausoleum prepared for their reception; and, it is in this place expressly stated, that in conformity with the usages of his country, several beautiful young women, decked out with a profusion of gold and jewels, were sent to accompany their dead sovereign, in order to dispel the melancholy of the tomb.—Observe, continues our author, the singular sagacity of these ferocious barbarians, the very chiefs of whom could be led to entertain a conception so absurd, as that the dead should be, in any respect, sensible of either consolation, or relief, from the presence of the living.

Hûlaukû Khaun, according to some lines ascribed to Nusseir-uddein the Tûssite, expired precisely on Sunday night, the nineteenth of the latter Rebbeia, of the six hundred and sixty third of the Hidjerah;† at the age of forty eight, and after a reign of about nine years. He had by several wives, fourteen sons, of whom Abâka Khaun, the eldest, immediately succeeded to the throne of Irân. His mother, it will be recollected, was a christian, the niece of Oung Khaun monarch of the Kerâeit, the supposed Prester John of the twelfth century.

However unfavorably the character of Hûlaukû may have been delineated for posterity, by the malignant prejudices of Mahommedan wri-

*January, 1265. † Seventh of February, 1265.

ters, it would appear that, in him at least, ferocity of disposition is not incompatible with the love of science. In this respect his brother Mangû was also particularly distinguished, whose favorite study was the solution of the problems of Euclid. That prince had, probably during his Chinese expeditions, acquired a taste for astronomical research, and had long sought in vain for a person to aid him, in the construction of an observatory; and when Hûlaukû was on his departure to subjugate the territory west of the Oxus, one article of his instructions was, so soon as he should have reduced the strongholds of the Bowautinists, or disciples of Hussun Sabah, to send to court Nusseir-ud-dein the Tûssite, above mentioned, and at this period eminently celebrated for his extensive acquirements, and singular skill in astronomy. On the reduction of Meymûndezh, in the Kohestaun, or mountainous range between Persian Irâk and Khorassaun, Nusseir-ud-dein, who had been long and liberally patronized by the governor of that fortress, and to whom he had dedicated the Akhlauk, or Ekhlauk-e-Naussery, a treatise on ethics much esteemed by the orientals, attended the presence of Hûlaukû; and the latter was so captivated by the singular talents and instructive conversation of the philosopher, that, instead of dispatching him to the court of Mangû, as he had been originally enjoined to do, he ventured to detain him about his own person.

A. H. 663. A. D. 1265. Habeib us-seyr.

On the subsequent conquest of Baghdâd, in prosecution of his plans to facilitate the study of astronomy, Hûlaukû, at his own request, furnished Nusseir-ud-dein, with an imperial mandate authorizing him to the construction of an observatory, and to proceed with all practicable dispatch, to the formation of a set of tables in his favorite science. For the site of his observatory, Nusseir-ud-dein fixed upon a lofty eminence north of the Tebrizian Meraughah; where being provided with a power to command, without limitation, the assistance of the officers of the imperial treasury and revenue, he succeeded in a short time, in bringing the fabric to a completion. As far as we are able to collect from the original, it is described to have been furnished with some species of apparatus (perhaps an Orrery) to represent the celestial sphere, with the signs of the Zodiac, the conjunctions, transits, and revolutions of the heavenly bodies. Through a perforation in the

A. H. 663. A. D. 1265. Habeib-us seyr.

dome, the rays of the sun were admitted so as to strike upon certain lines on the pavement, in a way to indicate, in degrees and minutes, the altitude and declination of that luminary, during every season, and marking the time and hour of the day, throughout the year. It was further supplied with a map of the terrestrial globe, in all its climates, or zones, exhibiting the several regions of the habitable world, as well as a general outline of the ocean, with the numerous islands contained in its bosom; all so perspicuously arranged and delineated, according to our author, as at once to remove, by the clearest demonstration, every doubt from the mind of the student. From an extraordinary difference in the sun's altitude and declination, at corresponding periods, between what was exhibited in the *Zeytch-e-Eylekhauny*, Eylekhaunian tables, now framed, and in those hitherto established, an error of surprising magnitude, and to the great confusion of chronology, was detected, in the mode formerly observed to adjust the commencement of the new year. But, before this celebrated observatory had been entirely completed, the sun of Hûlaukû's power had set forever.

We find it moreover recorded, that a considerable attention was devoted by this monarch, to the encouragement of architecture; having not only erected a splendid palace for his own residence, probably at Meraughah, but, throughout the territory of Azerbâijaun and of Arran, in the peninsula of the Kûrr and Aboras, many temples of great extent and magnificence dedicated to the idols of his country, also remained to attest his liberal spirit in that respect; exclusive of numerous works of public utility in different parts of his dominions. This propensity is said to have increased towards the decline of life, without, however, in the slightest degree relaxing his application to the more important concerns of his government. Some time before he died, he had, together with the sovereign dignity as the heir to his power, assigned to his eldest son, Abâka Khaun, both the provinces of Irâk, with Mazanderaun, and Khorassaun to the banks of the Oxus. To Shahzâdah Yeshmout he bequeathed the government of Azerbâijaun and Arran; and to another favorite son, Ameir Toudan, he gave that of Diaurbekir and Rebbeia. By the last of his ministers, Shums-ud-dein Mahommed Joweiny, the government of Baghdâd was bestowed upon his brother, Khaujah Atâ-ul-mûlk, the author of the târikh jahaun

gûshâl, an history of the Jenguizian conquests; by whom, from an heap of ruins, that celebrated city was restored to a state of comparative prosperity and splendor. The same person, at the expense of more than ten thousand dinaurs of gold,* while governor of Baghdâd, opened a fresh canal to the territory of Nudjef, by which he conducted a part of the Euphrates to the mausoleum of Ally.

A.H. 663-4. A. D. 1265. Habeib-us-seyr.

ABAKA KHAUN the son of Hûlaukû, second of the Persian monarchs of the race of Jengueiz.

At the period of his father's death, Abâka was in winter quarters in Mazanderaun; but being early apprized of that event, and at the same time invited by Eyleka Nûyan, Sunjauk Bahauder, and others of the Moghûl Ameirs, to repair without delay to the imperial residence, he hastened with all the expedition of which he was capable, to the cantonments of the departed monarch; and he reached his destination, on the nineteenth of the former Jummaudy, of the year six hundred and sixty three.† His inauguration does not however appear to have taken place for some months afterwards; not indeed, until the month of Ramzaun,‡ when at the station of Tcheghanawer in the district of Berahaun, he was with the unanimous concurrence of the princes of his family, and of the Ameirs of the whole empire, publicly seated on the throne of Hûlaukû; and thus commenced a reign which is acknowledged to have been attended with unabated, and uniform repose and happiness to every class of his subjects. He conferred the dignity of Ameir-ul-ûmra, or lieutenant general of the empire, on the above mentioned Sunjauk Bahauder, entrusting the government of Khorassaun to one of his brothers, the Shahzâdah Tepshein Oghûl; and he continued the post of Vezzeir to his father's minister, Shums-ud-dein.

ABAKA KHAUN, IId of the Persomoghûl race.

In the early part of his government, his attention was required to oppose the Tartars of Keptchauk; who by the usual route of Derbund, were advancing, under the orders of Shahzâdah Noukâi (perhaps Nogâi) the son of Berkah Khaun, to invade Azerbâijâun. He consigned the task of repelling the invaders to his brother Yeshmout; to whom he had confirmed his father's bequest of the territory in that quarter. On the twentieth of the month of Suffur, of the six hundred and sixty

* At the lowest calculation, about 4,583l. 6s. 8d, † Seventh of March.
‡ July, 1265.

A. H. 664-79. A. D. 1265-80. Habeib-us-seyr.

fourth of the Hidjerah,* the enemy were attacked, and totally defeated by that prince; their general being wounded in the eye by an arrow, in consequence of which they were possibly thrown into confusion. To avenge this disgrace, which was in all probability confined to the advanced division of his army, Berkah Khaun soon afterwards appeared in person, at the head of three hundred thousand horse; and bearing down every obstacle until he reached the left bank of the Kûrr, he there encamped; while Abâka with his army took post on the adverse side of the river to dispute his passage. At the expiration of some days, Berkah Khaun determined to ascend the river towards Teflis, with the design of crossing by the bridge of that city; but being seized on his march by a fit of the cholic, the hand of death put a sudden period to all his projects of revenge. His army embraced an early opportunity of withdrawing from the danger, and betook themselves to their native solitudes, between the Seyhûn and the Don—the Jaxartes and Tanais.

During the six hundred and sixty seventh, and sixty eighth of the Hidjerah† Abâka was employed in Khorassaun; that province having been invaded (after an insidious embassy in which Mûssâoud Beg, the son of Mahmûd Yelwauje, was engaged to amuse the Eylekhaunian) by Borauk, or Berauk Oghlan, who had succeeded to the possessions of Tcheghatâi, north east of the Oxus. In a decisive battle, which took place in Zilhudje of the six hundred and sixty eighth of the Hidjerah‡ within five or six farsangs of Herât, the invader was totally defeated, and compelled to retire, with precipitation and disgrace, into his own dominions.

The eleven succeeding years, since they appear to have been barren of materials for the pen of the historian, may, perhaps be considered to have passed in comparative tranquillity; the narrative bringing us at once to the six hundred and seventy ninth of the Hidjerah. During that year, Abâka Khaun employed his brother, Mangû Teymûr, to invade the possessions of Seyf-ud-dein Kullawun, surnamed the Basilisk, (ul affâi) Sûltan of Egypt. In the month of Rudjub,* in the neighborhood of Hams or Hamess, north of Damascus, the Egyptian

* November 30th, 1265- † 1268-9.
‡ August, A. D. 1270; Kholausut-ul-akhbaur. || November, A. D. 1280.

gave battle to the Persian army, and the Maumlûk Sûltan was signally victorious; the Moghûl prince with the whole of his troops being stated to have been entirely destroyed, either in the action, or the pursuit. Others, however, relate that Mangû Teymûr himself escaped the carnage, and reached Baghdâd, where he died a natural death before the termination of the year. A. H. 679. A. D. 1280-81. Habeib-us-seyr.

At the crisis of his brother's defeat, Abâka appears to have been stationed at Sènjaur in Mesopotamia; but considering it not immediately either convenient, or advisable, to avenge the disgrace, he withdrew to Baghdâd; and in Zilhudje of the same year, he removed further to Hamadaun, where he arrived on the eighth of the month.* Here he is said to have contracted a habit of immoderate drinking, by which he very soon reduced himself to the most wretched state of debility: and while thus languishing under the effects of intemperance, he happened one day to fall asleep in his chair; and a raven, perching itself on an opposite building, was not to be prevented from serenading him with its discordant clamours. The attendants hastened to drive away the inauspicious bird; but, it had already awakened the debilitated monarch, and occasioned so severe a shock to his distempered nerves, that he expired on the spot.

This event took place on the twentieth of Zilhudje of the six hundred and seventy ninth of the Hidjerah,† when Abâka had swayed the sceptre of the Persian monarchy for about sixteen years. He left two sons, Arghûn, and Keykhautû, or Kûnjaytû Khaun, each of whom, at subsequent periods, attained to the sovereign power.

Among the men of genius and letters, who flourished and died during the reign of this monarch, we cannot omit to mention the name of Moulana Jullaul-ud-dein Rûmy, the celebrated author of the Messnûi sherreif. He was originally of Bâlkh; but from having long resided with his father, at Larindah, in Anatolia, he obtained the appellation of Rûmian. His grandmother is represented to have been a grand-daughter of Sûltan Mahommed the Khaurezmian. He was born about the six hundred and fourth, and his death is stated to have taken place on the fifth of the latter Jummaudy of the six hundred and seventy

*March 30th, A. D. 1281. †April 11th, 1281.

A. H. 680. A. D. 1281. Habeib-us-seyr.

second of the Hidjerah.* We also learn, from a passage in his own works, that the elegant and ingenious Sheikh Saudy of Sheirauz, although then far advanced in years, was on one occasion presented by his minister to Abâka Khaun; and his guarded compliment to the monarch is on record.

NEKUDAUR, entitled SULTAN AHMED, the son of Hûlaukû, third of the Persian monarchs of the race of Jengueiz.

NEKUDAUR, IIId of the Perso-Jenguizians.

On the death of Abakâ Khaun, it was determined by a convention of the principal Ameirs, that Nekûdaur should succeed to the authority of his deceased brother, to the prejudice and exclusion of the princes his children; and he accordingly assumed the sovereign dignity, on Sunday the thirteenth of the former Rebbeia, of the six hundred and eightieth of the Hidjerah.†

Having previously embraced the doctrines of the Korân, this prince, on his accession, assumed the title of Sûltan Ahmed, and proceeded to restore to the followers of the law of Mahommed their long lost predominance; compromising, however, with the physicians and astronomers of the Christian and Jewish persuasion, by assigning to each a moderate advance in cash from the imperial treasury, in lieu of the pensions which they had enjoyed under his predecessors. He continued the office of Vezzeir, to Shums-ud-dein Mahommed the Joweinian; who united to the zeal of his sovereign, his own exertions, to promote the advancement of their common religion.

Measures so hostile to the ancient prejudices of their nation, excited in several of the members of the imperial family, a most lively sensation of jealousy and discontent; and particularly in Shahzâdah Arghûn, the son of Abâka, who was in possession of the government of Khorassaun. When he had, however, determined on hostility against the authority of his uncle, the Shahzâdah hastened in the first instance, to secure the support of Toghatchaur Nûyan and the bands of the Kâraounauss, then reputed the fiercest and most warlike of the Moghûl tribes; and in this, he appears to have been successful. Some fruitless attempts followed, to accommodate these differences, without proceeding to ex-

* The manuscript exhibits 654 for the period of his birth; and 772 for that of his death; which is neither consistent with probability, nor with the former statement, that he died during this reign.

† Second of July, 1281.

tremity; and these having in every instance failed, the troops of Sûltan Ahmed were finally put in motion, to gain the eastern frontiers of Azerbâijaun; while Shahzâdah Arghûn with all the force he could assemble, approached towards the same point. On the plains of Auk-khaujah, he was, however, opposed and entirely defeated, on the first of Suffur, of the year six hundred and eighty three,* by Ally Eynauk, at the head of fifteen thousand men, the advanced division of the troops of Sûltan Ahmed. Shahzâdah Arghûn fled with precipitation from the field of battle, and threw himself into the fortress of Kolaut,† whither he was soon afterwards pursued by his conqueror. Sûltan Ahmed now proceeded, without further obstacle, to enter Khorassaun; while Arghûn, considering resistance no longer availing, resolved to hazard an interview with Ally Eynauk, with whom he accordingly held a conference under the walls of Kolaut. In return for this proof of his confidence, Ally Eynauk accompanied the young prince into the fort, and finally prevailed upon him to venture, under his protection, to the camp of Sûltan Ahmed. After proceeding several stages, they at last came up with the army of the Sûltan at Khojaun, where the Shahzâdah was compelled to stand for several hours exposed to the sun, before he was admitted to the presence of his uncle. Having been thus sufficiently mortified, he was then suffered to approach the Sûltan, who embraced him with much apparent cordiality, consoling him with the expectation of being restored to the government of Khorassaun; after which, in a suite of tents set apart for his accommodation, the Shahzâdah was placed in the custody of a select guard of four thousand men, under the orders of Arûk the brother of Bouka, of whom more hereafter.

A. H. 683. A. D. 1284. Habeib-us-seyr.

Unfortunately, in these circumstances the Sûltan, through an impatient anxiety to be restored to the society of his wife, was led to separate from his army; leaving instructions with Ally Eynauk, by whatever means he found practicable, to terminate the existence of Shahzâdah Arghûn. Sûltan Ahmed had, however, no sooner quitted the army, than Bouka and some of the other Nûyans conceived the design of subverting his power altogether; and with these views, after lamenting

*April 18th, 1284.

†There appears a place of this name to the northward of Rey—and another between Tûsse and Merû; it was probably the former.

A. H. 683. A. D. 1284. Habeib-us-seyr.

the humiliation brought upon the lineage of Jengueiz, by the Sultan's apostacy from the religious system of his ancestors, and by his minister's partial advancement of the disciples of the Korân, they proposed to the princes of the imperial family on the spot, and to the Ameirs of the court, that Hûlaujû, the young son of Arghûn Khaun, should be raised to the throne of Hûlaukû, and that Sûltan Ahmed should be still suffered to retain the subordinate dignity of king; and they concluded by remarking, that the accomplishment of this plan would be most obviously facilitated by the immediate enlargement of Arghûn. The measure was universally assented to; and it was determined to carry the design into execution, the moment the obscurity of the approaching night, was sufficiently advanced to cover their proceedings.

On Tuesday evening, accordingly, the eighteenth of the latter Rebbeia,* the conspirators entered the tents of Arghûn, and roused him to the apprehension, that the solemn hour was arrived, in which he was to be forever separated from his family, and all that was dear to him. Bouka took him however by the hand, and by explaining what was in agitation, soon removed his alarm; after which mounting their horses, they proceeded, with their utmost celerity to the station of Ally Eynauk, whom they surprised asleep, on the terrace of his pavilion. Ameir Ally Tumghatchei, (clerk of the signet) one of the dependants of Bouka, struck off the head of the general while he still reposed upon his pillow; and amidst the alarm and confusion which ensued, which it is not difficult to conceive, the greater part of the Sûltan's friends and adherents were put to the sword. One of them however escaped; and, overtaking his master on the road towards Azerbâijaun, about four farsangs on that side of Esferâein, informed him of the sudden and disastrous revolution, which had occurred to his affairs. Plunged by the intelligence into a state of melancholy and despondence, the Sûltan shaped his course for Soraub, probably in Mazanderaun, at this period the residence of his mother Tûty, or Kûty Khatûn; his courtiers, and principal officers, with their followers, like his better fortune, gradually abandoning him at every stage. Shums-ud-dein the prime minister, on his arrival at Jaujerem, proceeded towards Isfahaun, from whence he had it in contemplation to withdraw,

*July 3rd A. D. 1284.

by way of Shirauz, into India; but from this latter design, at a subsequent period he receded, through motives of affection for his numerous dependants, whom he found it repugnant to his feelings to abandon to the mercy of a vindictive succession. And to these manly sentiments he ultimately fell a victim. A. H. 683. A. D. 1284. Habeib-us-scyr.

Shahzâdah Arghûn, who had thus providentially triumphed over the designs of his adversaries, passed the night of his deliverance, in anxious watchfulness for the dawn of the succeeding day. He then received the congratulations of the princes his relatives, and of the ameirs, on the preservation of his life, and on his unlooked for restoration to power. In the mean time, a camel dispatch was sent off, by Boûka, the head of the conspiracy, with instructions to the Kâraounauss, to intercept the retreat and terminate the career of Sûltan Ahmed; while another message proceeded to require that the Koustcheian, or archer militia, would exert themselves to destroy the followers of the forsaken monarch. Arghûn, in person, soon engaged in the line of pursuit. The Sûltan, on the other hand, on reaching Soraub, was advised by his mother, with the few followers who continued attached to his fortunes, to remain where he was; and abide with patience, the gradual disclosure of those events, which must yet arise from beneath the veil of futurity.

For some days, the state of his affairs was concealed from the servants of the dowager princess, and each individual, as fancy might lead him, was suffered to indulge in conjecture; until Kâraneghaury and Sengûr Nûyan, two of the princess's officers, one morning that they attended the presence of the Sûltan, according to custom, ventured to enquire how it happened, that contrary to his practice on former visits, he should have appeared among them unaccompanied by his army? The monarch replied, that having made a prisoner of his formidable adversary, he had conceived it prudent, as a competent safeguard, to leave the whole army in charge of his person; and for his own part, that he had hastened on before, to provide for the passage, and accommodation of his troops. One of the chiefs, who sat without the pavilion, exclaimed aloud upon this, that what they had heard, was a gross mis-statement of circumstances; for that Arghûn Khaun had been positively raised to the supreme dignity, by a great majority of the Shah-

A. H. 683. A. D. 1284. Habeib-us seyr.

zâdahs and principal nobility, and that they were now in actual pursuit of Sûltan Ahmed, with the determined purpose of putting him to death. If therefore the two Nûyans entertained a genuine regard for the welfare of their country, they would not omit so fair an opportunity of securing the person of the Sûltan, against the possibility of escape. On this disclosure, the two Ameirs immediately quitted the tent, and without further ceremony, proceeded to cut off all communication with the unfortunate and devoted monarch.

Such was the state of things, when a numerous body of the Kâraounauss forced the station of Soraub, and filled every quarter with the uproar of pillage and violence; and at the expiration of two or three days, the unfortunate Sûltan was sent off hand-bound, to meet his triumphant nephew. Agreeable to a custom prevailing among the Moghûls, on the appearance of a vanquished adversary, Arghûn is described on this occasion, as soon as the royal captive was conducted to his presence, to have made use, looking at his attendants, of the exclamation *Mereu!* an expression of which, whether it was intended to convey irony, or contempt, or insult, or all together, the author does not furnish us with any explanation. This spoken, he proceeded to celebrate his victory, by a liberal circulation of the goblet. But, as recent example had taught him, within his own experience, the hazard of committing to a subjugated rival, the chance of life to avenge his misfortunes, and the bitter repentance of which, alone, such imprudent lenity was the source, he immediately delivered over the person of Sûltan Ahmed, to the disposal of the sons of Konkûrbâi; who had been put to death either by him, or by his authority. In retaliation for the blood of their father, the avenging sons proceeded accordingly, on Thursday the twenty sixth of the former Jummaudy* of the six hundred and eighty third of the Hidjerah† to tear up, like his shipwrecked hopes, the existence of the unfortunate monarch; when he had possessed the sovereign authority, for a period of about three years one month and seven days. He left three sons, Kûblantchei, Arslantchei, and Boukatchei, neither of whom ever attained to the imperial dignity.

ARGHUN KHAUN, the son of Abâka Khaun, fourth of the Persian monarchs of the race of Jengueiz.

* August 9th 1284.

However on their determination to subvert the authority of Sûltan Ahmed, and on their enlargement of Arghûn, it had been, for some reason or other, agreed upon by the agents of the revolution, to place the young Hûlaujû in nominal possession of the sovereign power, the shahzâdahs on the spot, in Azerbâijaun, resolved notwithstanding on the death of the Sûltan, and on the arrival of that prince in the imperial residence, to acknowledge the authority of Arghûn Khaun; and he was accordingly, on the twenty seventh of the latter Jummaudy,* at Shouraub on the confines of Yuzleka, with the usual solemnities, publicly seated on the throne of Hûlaukû.

A. H. 683. A. D. 1284. Habeib-us-seyr.

ARGHUN KHAUN, IVth of the Persojenguizian monarchs.

When a period of festivity of more than ordinary duration had expired, and Arghûn Khaun had exhibited very liberal proofs of his bounty, towards the different orders of the nobility, he proceeded to reward the service of Bouka, who was at the same time the author of his deliverance and of his aggrandizement, by investing him, as prime minister, under the title of Tchingsang formerly explained, with the entire controul of every department of the state. At the same time, he bestowed the government of Baghdâd upon Arûk, the brother of the minister, who had the custody of his person, for the short period of his confinement at Khojaun; and he contrived to reconcile his son Hûlaujû to his disappointments, by lavishing upon him every proof of regard and attachment, short of that power, to which he had been so prematurely taught to aspire.

It was formerly observed that the late prime minister, Shums-ud-dein Mahommed, on intelligence of the unexpected revolution in favor of Arghûn Khaun, was making the best of his way towards Isfahaun; With the ultimate design of retiring by sea into Hindûstaun. A sudden resolution to trust to providence, and resign himself to his fate, actuated him, however, to abandon that design; and he determined to measure back his steps, and submit, with a good grace, to the authority of the new sovereign. On his journey he received from Arghûn Khaun; by some persons of distinction, a declaration, confirmed under the imperial signature, that he had freely forgiven the past; and an assurance of a friendly and honorable reception, if he would repair without further delay to the royal presence. Encouraged by these assurances,

* September 9th, 1284.

A. H. 683. A. D. 1284. Habeib-us-seyr.

Shums-ud-dein prosecuted his journey with additional confidence and alacrity; and on the tenth of Rudjub* he reached the camp, or residence of Arghûn Khaun, being accommodated on his arrival in the pavilion of Bouka, the new minister of state. The following day he was introduced to the sovereign, from whom he experienced a very favorable reception. But many days were not suffered to elapse, before some envious individuals in his confidence, suggested to the Vezzeir, that unless he was on his guard, notwithstanding his present specious humility, he would soon find his authority eclipsed, if not entirely superseded, through the consummate talents for intrigue of Shums-ud-dein. "Is thine adversary in thy power?" said they, "beware lest thou suffer "him to escape. For shouldst thou be imprudent, and he retain the "power of injury, repentance will little avail thee." Such malevolent insinuations did not fail to produce an impression on a mind already jealous of his influence; and Bouka, at the earliest private conference with his sovereign, embraced the opportunity of warning him against the absurdity of forming expectations of honorable or faithful service, from the traitor, who had poisoned his benefactor, the just and benevolent Abâka; and ultimately to assure him, that the stability of his power essentially depended on the annihilation of this intriguing statesman's existence.

These and similar arguments finally prevailed with Arghûn to direct, that the illustrious minister of so many kings, (for he had, for a period of thirty years, enjoyed the highest and most splendid distinctions in the state) should be brought to answer to the atrocious charge of having poisoned his sovereign. A council of the Nûyans, or principal Ameirs, was accordingly assembled; and Shums-ud-dein was brought before them with his hands bound, and to the infinite regret of a whole people, which could not suppress the most bitter lamentations at his unmerited fate. In reply to the charges of mismanagement and peculation, he desired it might be understood, that he voluntarily admitted an hundred fold, all that the utmost envy and malignity of his accusers could allege against him; but of the foul charge of treason against the life and person of his benefactor, whether in thought, word, or deed, he protested his perfect innocence, and solemnly disavowed the slightest

*September 21st, 1284.

knowledge.* Against the premeditated purpose of his enemies, the appeals of innocence, and the exertions of eloquence, were equally unavailing. He was condemned to die, and suffered the punishment of his condemnation, amidst the sighs and groans of thousands, on Monday the fourth of Shabaun, of the six hundred and eighty third of the Hidjerah.* A. H. 683-86. A. D. 1284-87. Habeib-us-seyr.

Having thus secured himself against the competition of rival talents, Bouka, or Bouga Tchingsang, now proceeded without controul, to the full exercise of his power; and in spite of his prejudices, the author is in truth compelled to acknowledge, that this uncircumcised Turk was as terrible to his adversaries from his inflexible and undaunted spirit, as he was respectable for his consummate prudence and sagacity, and for his rigid and impartial administration of justice. Of this latter quality the following circumstance is introduced as an illustration. A muleteer attached to the imperial stables, a native of Seiestaun, had presumed to snatch an apple from a fruit-stall in the market; and the stall-keeper endeavoring to wrest his property from the marauder, received a blow from him, of which he immediately hastened to lay his complaint before the minister. Without a moment's hesitation, Bouka directed the muleteer to be cut in two; remarking to the by standers, that if offences of this sort, however trivial in their nature, were suffered to go unpunished, it would operate as an encouragement to crimes of greater magnitude, and ultimately so extenuate the bonds of civil authority, as to render the machine of government unmanageable to the resources of human skill. The power of Bouka became, however, at last so overbearing and excessive, that there remained to Arghûn Khaun scarcely ought of the sovereign authority but the name; and this producing in the minds of the nobility, and principal courtiers, the ordinary concomitants of jealousy and envy, they commenced, for the removal and destruction of the obnoxious minister, the usual course of intrigue. But so deeply had he wrought himself into the confidence and friendship of his master, that every effort to supplant him proved in vain; and his enemies were accordingly compelled for some time longer to feed upon their own malignity.

* Fifteenth of October, 1284.

A. H. 683-86.
A. D. 1284-87.
Habeib-us-seyr.

The materials for the degradation of the minister were however insensibly maturing, in the splendid destiny which awaited the fortunate Saud-ud-doulah; a Jew, of a Jewish family long settled at Ebher, who was introduced into the household of Arghûn Khaun by his talents as a physician. This person at an early period of his life, had taken up his residence in the metropolis of Baghdâd; and freely associating with men of all countries, Turks, as well as Persians and Arabs, contrived to acquire an extensive and intimate knowledge in their respective languages. At the same time, he obtained a considerable degree of insight into the state of the revenues of that once flourishing metropolis, and into the embezzlements and malversations by which, in every direction, the government was defrauded of its rights. While he was himself thus employed at Baghdâd, some of his nation who had found means to establish themselves in the confidence of Arghûn Khaun, under some pretext or other, which is not very satisfactorily explained, prevailed upon that monarch to require his attendance at court.

Soon after the arrival of Saud-ud-doulah, the monarch was attacked by some complaint, which rendered the medical talents of the Jew peculiarly useful; and he prescribed with singular success in alleviating the complaint. On his visits during the period of convalescence, the attention of the man of physic was directed to ascertain the subjects which seemed to contribute more strikingly to interest and amuse his patient; and he soon discovered that an inordinate desire to accumulate wealth and treasure, was the ruling propensity of Arghûn. Saud-ud-doulah then availed himself of the information which he had collected, to furnish the monarch with some very clear and important details, with respect to the resources and expenditure of the different provinces of the empire, and to those of the government of Baghdâd in particular. In short he alleged that the minister Bouka, and his relatives, had so completely monopolized every species of intelligence, that it was next to an impossibility to form a true judgment of the state of affairs; for in none of the departments under their controul, had they left a single item on which to determine the real balances due to the imperial treasury. And finally that his brother Arûk, or Arouky, had indulged in so many acts of oppression and arbitrary violence, throughout Baghdâd and its dependencies, that justice and her concomitants

private happiness and repose, like the elegant embellishments of genius and the arts; had totally disappeared from the country. A. H. 686-87. A. D. 1287-88.

In consequence of these representations, a royal mandate was at last issued that Saud-ud-doulah, accompanied by two Moghûl commissioners, should immediately repair to Baghdâd; with authority to collect the revenues, to investigate the conduct of the former officers, to take an account of the actual state of the treasury, and to exert their utmost assiduity to prevent the recurrence of the prevailing abuses. In the latter part of the six hundred and eighty sixth of the Hidjerah, Saud-ud-dôulah and his associates proceeded accordingly to Baghdâd; but having in a very short time, raised a large sum of money from the arrears of the preceding, and from a demand in advance on the collections of the current year, he thence returned without delay to the presénce of Arghûn Khaun, whose ruling propensity he amply gratified by the unusual display of treasure, and other valuable property now placed at his disposal. The satisfaction of the monarch was evinced, among other favors, by the appointment of Saud-ud-doulah, to the controul of the revenues of Baghdâd; where, by resorting to the expedients which had proved so productive on the former occasion, he a second time succeeded in realizing an abundant supply for the imperial treasury; with which he punctually repaired to the court of Arghûn, now at Kûnkûr or Kûnguraulung, at a subsequent period destined to rise into the celebrated city of *Sûltauniah.* Habeib-us-seyr.

From the contemplation of such a mass of treasure produced in so short a time, Arghûn Khaun was easily led to calculate that the sums of which Arûk had annually defrauded the state, out of the revenues of Baghdâd alone, could not have been much inferior in amount; and hence his confidence in the just discrimination, and consummate skill of Saud-ud-doulah was raised to the highest pitch. The report which he received at the same time, from Ourdûkeia, one of his Tartar collegues, of the extensive capacity of the Jew, and of the astonishing advantages that would be the result, if the affairs of the whole empire were placed under the management of a person, who twice in so short a period, had furnished from a single department, so considerable a supply to the imperial treasury, lending additional force to his own opinion, the Eylekhaun issued, without further deliberation, an edict announ-

A. H. 686-87. A. D. 1287-88. Habeib-us-seyr.

cing that while the Imaurut, or command of the armies, should be henceforth considered as residing in Toghatchaur Nûyan, Ourdûkeia, and another Moghûl chief, Saud-ud-doulah was to be acknowledged without limitation, as Vezzeir and sole minister in all affairs of civil authority, and finance. And moreover, that while the Ameirs of the empire of whatever rank or dignity, were positively forbidden to make any representation to the throne without his concurrence, Saud-ud-doulah was himself, on the contrary, to have free and unquestioned access to the presence of the sovereign, whenever he had matters to communicate, without previous consultation with any one whatever.

Saud-ud-doulah having become thus invested with such extensive authority, the reputation of Bouka Tchingsang rapidly declined; and his enemies, who had long been on the watch for such an opportunity, eagerly availed themselves of the occasion to bring to the recollection of Arghûn, the base ingratitude with which this man had betrayed the confidence reposed in him by Sûltan Ahmed, his former master; neither did they omit to remark, how trifling his resources at that period, in comparison with what he had since acquired, in his immoderate wealth, and in the numerous soldiery retained to serve under his standard. Hence the awe with which every branch of the imperial family looked up to his opinion, and hence the implicit obedience to every thing which he chose to dictate. A prudent prince, said they, would not be regardless of the proceedings of such a man—would hasten on the contrary to curtail him of the means of acting over again, with impunity, the same lessons of treason and ingratitude. These, and other arguments, which were not wanting to awaken the jealousy of the monarch, soon wrought in the mind of Arghûn, an entire change to the prejudice of Bouka; and the disgrace of the falling minister became complete, when, not long afterwards, both he and his dependants were directed to deliver over without delay, into other hands, the whole of the public records hitherto entrusted to them, and to withdraw forever, from all further employment in the state.

In order to avenge the disgrace, Bouka on his part immediately determined on forming a conspiracy to subvert the authority of his sovereign; and with that object he now dispatched a confidential message to Joushkaub the son of Jermaughûn, and grandson of Hûlaukû, at

this period residing at some place, which he had chosen for his abode, on the banks of the Euphrates. The design of the message after announcing the displeasure into which he had fallen with Arghûn Khaun, through the jealousy and intrigues of his enemies, was to communicate to the prince, a proposal to assert his claim to the throne of his grandfather; and a promise, that he would, on his appearance in Azerbâijaun, immediately join him with a numerous party of his adherents whom he had already engaged to promote the enterprize. The Shahzâdah, though taken by surprise, did not hesitate as to the principle by which he was to be governed on the occasion. He informed the messenger that, under present circumstances, it was impossible to place any reliance on the statements of which he had been the bearer; but if his concurrence was in any shape thought of importance to the undertaking, a list of the principal chiefs engaged to support it, and a written detail of the plan in contemplation, would at once secure his confidence, and remove all his doubts on the subject. The agent hastened back to his employer, and having obtained from him the written proofs required, soon afterwards returned, and placed them in the hands of the Shahzâdah; by whom he was now directed to apprize his master, that on a certain night, he, the Shahzâdah, would be in the camp of Arghûn; and that it was expected that Bouka and his party would be ready in arms, to support him, in the ultimate execution of the design against the life and authority of their imperial adversary.

A. H. 687-88. A. D. 1288-89. Habeib-us-seyr.

In the mean time, nothing was further from the intention of Joushkaub than any measure of hostility against the person or government of his *kinsman*; on the contrary he was deliberating on the speediest means of making him acquainted with the designs of his degraded minister. At last he determined to be himself the bearer of his intelligence; and having provided against reaching the camp, on the night fixed upon for the appearance of the conspirators, he hastened, the following morning, to the presence of Arghûn Khaun, to whom he made a full disclosure of the plan in agitation to subvert his authority. Arghûn refused at first, to give credit to the information; but the paper containing the list of Bouka's accomplices, together with their written engagement, being shewn to him, his doubts gave way to his indignation, and a strong division was sent off without delay, to attack the quarters of Bouka, and

A. H. 688-90. A. D. 1289-91. Habeib-us-seyr.

to bring him in bonds to the foot of the throne. The rebel however obtained some intimation of his danger, and contrived for the present to escape to the camp of Ouljâi Khatûn (probably Ouljâitû); where he had the effrontery to demand an investigation of his conduct. His guilt was established on the clearest proofs; and the Shahzâdah whom he had endeavored to seduce into rebellion, at the same time that he was his accuser, consented to become his executioner, and struck off his head with his own hand.

For a period of two years subsequent to this event, in spite of the antipathies of an adverse religion, the author is compelled to acknowledge, that Saud-ud-doulah the fortunate Israelite, continued to direct the machine of government with a success, which raised the empire to a pitch of almost unexampled prosperity and splendor. And, although he is reproached with having distributed every employment of the state, between his brothers and relatives, yet, at the conclusion of the period to which we have alluded, with a treasure of one thousand tomauns, or ten millions of dinaurs of gold,* in the imperial exchequer, such was the moderation and uniform integrity of their deportment, that not a single complaint of violence, or injustice in any shape, was heard against them from any part of this wide extended monarchy. In the mean time, the proofs of his sovereign's bounty descended upon this highly favored minister in rapid succession, and every returning day brought with it some fresh accumulation of dignity and honor; until the familiarity with which he was permitted to approach the person of his master, made him at last forgetful of his place, and of the respect which was due to the majesty of the throne. Hence on one occasion, while engaged at dice with the monarch, in making a throw, he inadvertently stretched out his leg from beneath his robe; and one of the Tartar nobles coming in at the instant, proceeded to upbraid him, in bitter terms, with the grossness of the indecorum, and with the contumacious insolence with which he presumed to comport himself, under the accumulated favors of an indulgent sovereign. Saud-ud-doulah endeavored to apologize, by explaining that a sudden pain in his knees had been the cause of an inattention so apparently disrespectful; and that he conceived it would be a mark of folly, if even in this instance, he had refused to obey the commands of so just and considerate a monarch.

* 4,583,333l. 6s. 8d. at the lowest computation.

His exorbitant power had, however, by this time become extremely obnoxious to the courtiers and principal Ameirs; all of whom now united in a combination to destroy him, with Toughan Nûyan, a powerful noble whose pride had been, in some point or other, more particularly offended. But the design was carefully concealed, until matters should be perfectly ripe for its execution. In his progress to grandeur, the minister had, it seems, at first outwardly evinced a disposition to favor, if not to associate in the doctrines of Mahommedism; and this spirit it was that, peradventure, dictated the letters dispatched in Ramzaun of the year six hundred and eighty eight* to Baghdâd, providing for the protection and accommodation of the pilgrims to Mekkah. But, when he became thoroughly intoxicated with his good fortune, his pride and arrogance at last exceeded even that of the impious race of Aud;† and both he and his profligate relatives, and the miscreants of his nation, proceeded without scruple, to insult and deride the sacred principles of Islâm.

A. H. 688-90. A. D. 1289-91. Habeib-us-seyr.

In short, the impiety of Saud-ud-doulah was at last carried to such a pitch, that, whenever an opportunity occurred, he employed every argument to inculcate into his master, that the divine mission of his illustrious ancestor Jengueiz having descended to him by a just inheritance, he possessed through the goodness of heaven, all the means that were requisite, not only for the consolidation of a mighty monarchy, but, whenever he thought proper, for establishing, like the prophet of the Arabs, a new system of religion of his own, on the abrogation of every previous code of faith, that had hitherto subsisted in the world. Arghûn Khaun, whose avaricious disposition had confirmed him the adversary of every Mûssulman, derived from these arguments fresh pretences for their persecution, and humiliation; and a mandate was now issued, ordaining that for the future, none who professed the religion of the Korân, should on any consideration be employed in the collections; nay, furthermore, they were rigorously excluded, by the same mandate, from holding any intercourse whatever with the imperial residence. To complete the climax of his impieties, the minister brought his misguided sovereign finally to resolve on polluting the sacred sanctuary

* September, A. D. 1289.

† Described in the preliminary discourse to Sale's Koran, p. p. 8, and the following.

A. H. 690. A. D. 1291. Habeib-us seyr.

of the Kaaubah, by the re-establishment of idolatry within its hallowed walls; and on converting the Mahommedans, and every subject of his authority, from the worship of the true God, to the absurd and impious adoration of stocks and stones.*

In the very zenith of his power, these alleged malignant designs were however, suddenly suspended by the hand of destiny. His sovereign was seized with a dangerous illness, which was soon found to resist the powers of medicine; and the minister began to tremble at that vengeance which he had justly to apprehend from an enraged nobility. It was in vain that he had recourse to various expedients to disarm the resentment of his enemies, and to recover his popularity. The dissolution of his master was finally ascertained to be at hand; and he sought by privately dispatching into Khorassaun, to invite Shahzàdah Ghâzan, afterwards emperor, to repair with all possible expedition to the imperial residence, in order to shield himself under the protection of that prince against the swords of the exasperated Ameirs. His intentions could not however escape the vigilance of the powerful party combined against him. A conference was immediately held at the quarters of Toghatchaur, one of the most distinguished Nûyans, where it was resolved, in the first instance, to destroy or make away with the principal adherents of Saud-ud-doulah; and this was carried into immediate execution. They then secured the person of the minister; and after he had been suffered to languish for several days, in a state of the most agonizing suspense and apprehension, in the custody of Toghatchaur, they ultimately put a period to his existence.

Arghûn Khaun did not long survive the fate of his minister. He died, at his gardens in the territory of Arran, on Tuesday the third of the former Rebbeia of the six hundred and ninetieth of the Hidjerah;* to the great relief of every friend of Islâm, and to the equal mortification of all that were hostile to the law of Mahommed. His reign appears to have occupied a period of about six years and six months. He left four sons, Ghâzan Khaun, Beissûteymûr, Ouljâitû Sûltan, and Khatâi Oghûl; of whom the first and third at succeeding periods, attained to the sovereign power.

* March 4th, 1291.

The decided part which this monarch took against the religious system, which prevailed throughout his dominions, might justify the apprehension that his character would be unfavorably delineated; and yet his memory appears to have escaped that obloquy to which it was exposed from the violence of Mahommedan prejudice. A. H. 690. A. D. 1291. Habeib-us-seyr.

Among the learned cotemporaries of Arghûn Khaun we cannot omit to mention the name of Nasser-ud-dein Abdullah Beizauvy; the author of the Nizaum-ul-towaurikh, a chronicle frequently referred to by oriental writers, who died in the six hundred and ninety second of the Hidjerah.

KEYKHAUTU, or GUNJAUTU KHAUN the son of Abâka, fifth of the Persian monarchs of the race of Jengueiz.

Through the culpable negligence of transcribers, the name of this monarch has been indifferently committed to record in the manner above perfixed; but it having been observed, by Mirza Ulûgh Beg in his history of the four tribes, that the word Keykhautû must originally have been written Tcheyghautûn, which bears in the Moghûl dialect the positive signification of *astonisher*, (der taujeb andauz,) the author whom we have chosen for our guide has assigned the preference to the former method.* KEYKHAUTU, Vth of the Perso-jenguizian monarchs.

Under his brother's authority, Keykhautû appears to have held the government of Rûm, or western Anatolia; and on the death of that brother, in the manner just related, the whole of the principal Ameirs now concurred in deputing Alguzzy Gûrekaun one of their number, to apprize him of the recent event; to announce to him his accession to the sovereign power; and to request his immediate presence at the residence of the imperial authority, at this period permanently established either at Tebreiz, or some of the towns in the neighborhood. They had however scarcely dispatched their agent, when a difference of opinion arose among the same Ameirs, with respect to the succession in which they had so recently concurred; Toghatchaur, and another chief, openly declaring for Bâidû Oghûl, the son of Teraghâi, the son of Hûlaukû, to whom, in his retreat at Baghdâd, a letter was accordingly written, with

* In the Kholausut-ul-akhbaur we find nevertheless, that the same author, or his transcriber, invariably writes the name Gûnjatûn.

A. H. 690-91. A. D. 1291-92. Habeib-us-seyr.

a tender of the vacant throne. But, with a consideration unusually disinterested, for the claims of his kinsman, Bâidû peremptorily declined the offer.

On the other hand, when the death of his brother was announced to him by the person deputed for the purpose, Keykhautû hastened without delay towards Azerbaijaun; many of the nobility proceeding at the same time as far as Alatauk, towards the source of the Aboras, Aras, or Araxes, to meet, and congratulate him on his elevation. And on Sunday the twenty fourth of Rudjub of the six hundred and ninetieth of the Hidjerah,* in the presence of a general diet of the states of the empire, he publicly ascended with the usual solemnities, the throne of Hûlaukû; some of the Ameirs submitting to his authority with unaffected zeal and cordiality, while others were constrained to acknowledge his power, with an exterior of satisfaction which but ill accorded with their private feelings.

When some days had been devoted without interruption to the ordinary festivities of the occasion, Keykhautû did not fail to summons the disaffected Ameirs to answer for their conduct; and Toghatchaur and Kenjekbaul in particular, were condemned to atone under the the bastinado, for their declared predilection in favor of another; after which they were exempted from further punishment, and received to pardon, through the mediation of some of the Moghûl chiefs in the interest of the new sovereign. The presence of Keykhautû being soon afterwards required to quell some disturbances in Anatolia, he was compelled, on the fourth of the succeeding month of Ramzaun,† to make the best of his way to that province. His secret enemies among the Ameirs, and the Shahzâdahs his relatives, immediately took advantage of his absence to excite commotions against his government; but returning unexpectedly, and in triumph, into Azerbâijaun, in the latter Jummaudy of the six hundred and ninety first of the Hidjerah,‡ he ably vindicated his power, restored submission to his authority, and, with a moderation rarely exhibited by the victor, bestowed upon his vanquished adversaries the most liberal proofs of kindness and indulgence. He now conferred the dignity of Ameir-ul-ûmra, or lieutenant general of the empire on Auk Bouka Bahauder; and on the sixth

* July 21st, 1291. † August 29th, A. D. 1291. ‡ May A. D. 1292.

of Zilhudje of the same year,* with the title of Suddurjahaun, he consigned the office of Vezzeir, or minister of civil affairs, to Sudder-ud-dein Ahmed, the Zenjaunian. A. H. 691-93. A. D. 1292-94. Habeib-us-seyr.

The testimony of historians is uniform in bestowing upon Keykhautûn, the character of the most liberal and munificent of the race of Hûlaukû; a disposition which he carried indeed to such excess, that in the course of a very limited period, he contrived to dissipate, among the Shahzâdahs and Ameirs of his court, the whole of the treasures accumulated by his predecessors. A general enlargement of prisoners in the early part of his reign, and his uniform attention to the repose and happiness of his people, bespoke the mildness and philanthropy of his heart; and his repugnance to the effusion of human blood was so great, that the whole period of his authority did not furnish a single example of the punishment of death. With all these amiable qualities the Eylkhaunian monarch was, nevertheless, so wretchedly enslaved to his sensual and irregular indulgences, and particularly to an inordinate passion for women, that in order to gratify this latter, he seized without scruple, and with unblushing effrontery, on the wives and daughters of the subjects of his power, from the highest Ameir to the meanest peasant, and of every tribe and complexion. But, these repeated violations of the most sacred rights of society terminated, as they justly should have done, in his ultimate destruction.

In the mean time, our attention will be devoted to the recital of some interesting particulars in the administration of his Vezzeir, Khaujah Suddurjahaun Ahmed; who derived his original from a family which had long exercised the office of Kauzy, at Zenjaun, and who commenced his career in the service of Toghatchaur Nûyan. Having succeeded to the prime ministry, through the sole preference of Keykhautû, he received from his sovereign every mark of distinction in his power to bestow; and if a disposition equally bountiful and liberal with his own, could justify the choice, the monarch had no reason to regret the preference. But, very shortly after his accession to power, the Vezzeir proceeded to exclude the Ameirs of the empire from all interference in the councils of government, and without communicating with them in any shape, to regulate at his own entire discretion every de-

* November 17th, 1292.

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partment of the state. Hence a combination was formed among the principal inhabitants of Tebreiz to represent to Keykhautû, the decay and ruin into which his armies and military equipments had fallen through the blind presumption of the minister, who had arbitrarily undertaken, on his own private decisions, to dispose of the resources of the empire. Keykhautû did not hesitate to ascribe the remonstrance to an ignoble motive of jealousy, and in this belief immediately issued a fresh decree, by which the entire authority of the monarchy, from the banks of the Oxus to the confines of Egypt, was vested without controul in the hands of Suddur-jahaun; whom he further empowered to proceed against his accusers to any extremity that he might conceive commensurate with his injuries. Availing himself of these extraordinary powers the minister hastened to lay his adversaries in bonds; but when they had in some degree atoned, by the indignities to which they were thus exposed, for their malevolent attack, he took, at the expiration of a few days, compassion on their sufferings, and freely forgave them all.

The boundless and indiscriminate liberality of the monarch, combined with a magnificence not less prodigal on the part of his minister, had soon exhausted the treasury, of every description of specie; and a destructive disease among the cattle throughout the empire, producing at the same time, additional demands on the benevolence of Keykhautû, the Vezzeir found himself at a loss for the means of supplying even the necessary expences of the imperial household. In these circumstances, a variety of plans were discussed in order to remove the difficulty; and among others, Ezz-ud-dein Mûzuffer, an officer of the revenue, of great acuteness and ability in his department,* and who was possibly not over scrupulous about the means so that the ends were accomplished, proposed in the room of specie to introduce a paper exchange, similar to what had been long since established in China, and the territories of the Kaauns, or Tartar sovereigns; and thus, by substituting a medium for the objects of trade and commercial intercourse, ultimately to transfer into the imperial treasury, the whole of the gold and silver of the country, and without the slightest prejudice to the interests of

* The epithet of *Sherreir* applied to him, conveys an ambiguous meaning, either *acute* or *profligate*—shrewd knave perhaps.

individuals, to create a most material addition of strength and vigor to the monarchy. A debt of five hundred tomauns, or five millions of dinaurs,* of which the treasury presented no probable source of liquidation, and the daily exigencies of the government for which he must indispensably provide, urged the vezzeir to attend to the novel suggesstion of Mûzuffer; and he accordingly proceeded, in conjunction with Pûllaud Tchingsang, the minister of the court of China and Tartary, to communicate to his sovereign this *alleged* absurd, and impracticable plan.

A. H. 691-93. A. D. 1292-94. Habeib-us-seyr.

Keykhautû was easily led to concur in a measure which promised to supply such abundant resources for his prodigality; and an edict was immediately issued, under his authority, from thence-forward strictly prohibiting throughout his dominions the use of the precious metals either as the medium of trade, or in any species of manufacture, further than was expressly required for the personal service of the monarch. Goldsmiths and embroiderers were proscribed their employments; and as a substitution for specie, it was directed that *stamp*,† or banking houses, should be forthwith established in every city and principal town, throughout the several provinces of Azerbayjaun, Arabian and Persian Irâk, Diaurbekir, Khûzistaun, Farss, and Khorassaun, comprising the extent of the Persian empire, at this period. Agents were, at the same time, appointed to carry the decree into execution, in every district; and it was furthermore ordained, that when they engaged on any expedition, voyage, or journey in trade, the governors of provinces, and all merchants should supply themselves, in lieu of cash, with Tchâo, or bank notes; and, as an indemnity for their loss of employment, as well as to prevent them from having recourse to their respective professions, it was finally announced that all goldsmiths, Seraufs, or money changers, and embroiderers, or manufacturers in gold and silver, would be paid a certain annual stipend in notes, at the established banks.

In consequence of this singular arrangement, a tchâo-khaunah, or banking house, was immediately erected, at a considerable expence, in every principal town throughout the empire. But in order to enable us to form some competent judgment on the subject, the author pro-

*2,291666l. 13s. 4d. at the lowest computation.

†Tchâo khaunah.

A. H. 693. A. D. 1294. Habeib-us seyr.

ceeds to state that the *Tchâo* was an oblong square piece of paper, containing a short inscription in Khatâian, or Chinese characters, and exhibiting on each side the Mahommedan confession of faith, asserting that there is no God but God, and that Mahommed is the messenger of God! with the terms Eirentchei and Routchei, titles which seem to have been bestowed by the Kâans of Khatâi, upon the Persian monarchs. In the middle of the note was described a circle, within which was expressed the value, from one half to ten dirhems,* together with the declaration, that in the year six hundred and ninety three, his imperial majesty had instituted that species of bank paper, for the currency of his dominions; which, on pain of the most serious punishments, to themselves, their wives, and their children, his liege subjects were thence-forward to make use of in all the transactions of life.

The promulgation of this decree appears to have occasioned the most extensive alarm among all descriptions of people, but more immediately in the metropolis of Tebreiz; where its objects were carried into actual execution, in the month of Zilkaudah of the six hundred and ninety third of the Hidjerah.* For two or three days, the shopkeepers and retail dealers endeavored through compulsion, to give currency to these notes, in the ordinary transactions of the market. But at the expiration of that short period, many of the more opulent inhabitants, apprehensive of the serious injury which they were likely to sustain in their property, could no longer tolerate what they conceived to be so grievous an imposition, and fled the town; while others, at the same time that through terror of the displeasure of government, they continued to keep open the doors of their shops, nevertheless carefully secreted every article of clothing and subsistance. The general and domestic inconvenience, which was the immediate result, produced the most violent agitation; and the whole remaining population of Tebreiz united, with loud clamours, to complain of the obnoxious measure; and to execrate the author of it, Ezz-ud-dein Mûzuffer, who fell, according to some historians, an immediate sacrifice to the rage of the disorderly multitude. The passage of the Karavauns from one province to another now ceased, and every species of trade, and commercial intercourse was totally at an end.

* From two pence three farthings, to four shillings and seven pence.

* October, 1294.

In such circumstances of alarm and embarassment, it is not strange that the vezzeir should have united with the Ameirs of the court, in representing to Keykhautû that the bank-note system appeared fraught with ruin to his people, and extinction to the revenues of the state; and that if it were suffered to continue in force, but for a very few days longer, the result might prove most calamitous, if not fatal to his fortune and government. Neither did it require any great exertion of reasoning, to prevail upon the monarch to listen to this appeal; and he consented without hesitation to rescind the decree, which seemed to threaten such inauspicious consequences. Those of the inhabitants who had abandoned the city immediately returned to their dwellings, and the country was soon restored to its former state of prosperity and abundance.

A. H. 693-94. A. D. 1294-95. Habeib-us-seyr.

The manner in which, in defiance of every principle of justice and decorum, Keykhautû dared to force to his licentious propensities the wives and daughters of every class of his subjects, and more particularly those of the Mahommedans, has already been intimated. It is therefore not surprising that, smarting under the recollection of such gross and accumulated injuries, they should at last have united in a spirit of determined hostility against his government, and should have looked with anxious expectation, for the developement of some favorable crisis to relieve themselves from the cruel insults, to which they were perpetually exposed. The intemperate excesses of the monarch did not keep them long in suspense. One evening at Alahtauk, for some conceived offence in a fit of drunken ill humour, he directed Ayat Kûly, one of his officers, to inflict several blows upon his kinsman, Bâidû Oghûl, the grandson of Hûlaukû. Next morning, when he was recovered from the effects of his debauch, the monarch evinced the utmost regret for what had passed; and in order to make the most ample reparation in his power for the insult, he immediately assembled his whole court, and taking the diadem from his own brows to place it on those of his offended kinsman, proceeded in their presence to offer every apology for his conduct. The haughty Moghûl, though deeply incensed, conceived it however at that moment, unseasonable to exhibit any symptoms of dissatisfaction; and he accordingly consented to pass the day in mirth and conviviality, as if all were buried in oblivion.

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The discontented Ameirs, who were privately on the watch for their opportunity, and no sooner discovered the secret displeasure which was brooding in the mind of Bâidû, than they obtained an interview with that prince; and, on his promise to advance from Baghdâd in the course of the ensuing year, they readily entered into an engagement to join his standard, against the tyrant by whom he had been insulted. The Shahzâdahs, who were not associated in the conspiracy, had quitted the court, and retired to their estates in the provinces; but in the middle of winter receiving intelligence of the designs in agitation, they transmitted to Keykhautûn, without the smallest delay, a full disclosure of what they had learnt, together with the names of all concerned in the combination. Three of the leaders of the conspiracy were immediately seized and imprisoned, by Keykhautû; but Toghatchaur Nûyan, the fermenting principle of the mischief, being unaccountably left at large, omitted not to avail himself of the circumstance to dispatch an express to Baghdâd, urging the immediate departure for Azerbâijaun, of Bâidû, as he tendered his hopes of realizing their just expectations of success. In compliance with this request Bâidû instantly put his troops in motion for Persian Irâk.

Keykhautû, who was at this period at his residence in the district of Arran in the peninsula of the Kûrr and Oras, hastened on intelligence of the hostile approach of his kinsman, to Tebreiz; from whence he dispatched an advanced guard of five thousand men, under Neinauk, or Teynauk, or some such name, to check the march of the insurgents. Aukbouka, and the traitor Toghatchaur, followed shortly afterwards with two tomauns, or divisions of ten thousand each; and on the third of the former Jummaudy, of the six hundred and ninety fourth of the Hidjerah,* the monarch in person, at the head of the main body of the army, proceeded in the same direction. The advanced guard under Teynauk was soon engaged with the light troops of the enemy, although the issue is not explained; but when they had marched together in concert for two days, Toghatchaur, on the morning of the third, proceeded with his division in advance, without advising with his collegue; although, when required to account for his behaviour, he asigned as his reason, the scarcity of forage and water. Which for the present allayed

* March 19th, 1295.

the suspicions that had been awakened against him. Continuing however his separate march on the fourth day, Aukbouka became again jealous of his intentions; and in more peremptory terms, sent to demand an explanation of his conduct, so diametrically at variance with the system of military arrangement established by their superiors. Toghatchaur now boldly threw off the mask; and announced in reply, that hitherto, indeed, as Ameir-ul-ûmra, or lieutenant-general of the empire under the authority of Keykhautû, his obedience was due to Aukbouka; but circumstances being now materially altered, by the transfer of that important charge to himself, under the more recent authority of Bâidû Khaun, he must be excused if he considered himself no longer subject to the orders of any other person. Such a communication was not calculated to diminish the apprehensions of Aukbouka; and the troops of his division, like a torrent overflowing its banks, proceeding in crouds to join the standard of the revolter, he found it expedient, with the few who continued firm to their allegiance, to seek the presence of his master.

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When apprised of the unfavorable train, into which his affairs had been thrown by this unexpected desertion, Keykhautû expressed a desire to withdraw, immediately into the confines of the Anatolian peninsula; but, to some of his courtiers, whose prudence and fidelity were perhaps equally questionable, such a step appeared inexpedient, and he was prevailed upon to proceed, on the contrary, towards Ebher, a little to the southward of Sûltauniah. At such a crisis, Towukkel Nûyan, who had been but recently sent with a numerous body of troops, into Gûrjestaun, or Georgia, suddenly re-appeared; and being joined by the disaffected Ameirs, who had contrived to make their escape from imprisonment at Tebreiz, all together, spurred on by the most determined and inveterate hostility, pushed for the camp of Keykhautû. The unfortunate monarch was soon afterwards seized, and delivered up into the hands of his rebellious nobility; by whom, on Thursday the sixth of the latter Jummaudy, of the six hundred and ninety fourth of the Hidjerah* he was finally put to death, when he had exercised the sovereign authority for the exact period of three years and

* Twenty-first of April, 1295.

A. H. 694. A. D. 1295. nine months. He left three sons, Ulafreng, Iranshâh, and Jungpûllaud; neither of whom ever attained to the imperial power.

Habeib-us-seyr. BAIDU KHAUN, the son of Teraghâi, sixth of the Persian monarchs of the race of Jengueiz.

The destiny of Keykhautû having been determined in the manner just recorded, by the swords of a rebellious aristocracy, Toghatchaur, with most of the Ameirs of the empire, hastened without further delay to join the standard of Bâidû; whom, before the close of the month of Jummaudy, in the neighborhood of Hamadaun, they seated on the throne of Hûlaukû. The festivities incident to his inauguration being also at an end, the new sovereign proceeded to regulate the more important concerns of the monarchy. To Toghatchaur, who had been so conspicuously instrumental to his elevation, he confirmed the dignity of Ameir-ul-ûmra, to which he further annexed the government of Diaurbekir, and Rûm. Suddur Jahaun was removed from the Vizzaurut, which was bestowed upon Jummaul-ud-dein Dustjerdauny; the superseded minister being nevertheless, appointed to preserve order and tranquillity, in the provinces of Diaurbekir and Rûm, as the lieutenant of Toghatchaur. The tomauns of Irâk Ajem were consigned to Tûlaudâi, and Kenjek, or Kentchekbal, was nominated to the superintendance of Shubangaurah. Of the ministers of the late monarch, Aukbouka, and Taynjû were both put to death; others were received to pardon, and in particular Ayat Kûly, the officer who, at the instance of his master, had struck the prince at Alatauk; and whom, in consequence of his bold and manly reply, when taxed with an offence for which he was no further responsible, than as having without scruple, obeyed the commands of his then sovereign, the new monarch very honorably enrolled in the establishment more immediately attached to his person.

BAIDU KHAUN, VIth of the Persojenguizians.

Bâidû was, however, scarcely well seated on his throne, when he discovered that he was to combat for it, with a more formidable rival, in the person of Shahzâdah Ghâzan, the son of Arghûn Khaun, who accompanied by Ameir Noroûz Ghauzzy, soon afterwards entered Azerbâijaun; to whose fortune he was constrained to yield, and ultimately, brim-full to swallow to the dregs, the bitter draught so recently administered to the unhappy Keykhautû. The reign of Bâidû did not extend beyond the short period of five months; but the circumstances

of his fall will be more particularly detailed under the history of his victorious competitor, which next demands our attention. A. H. 694. A. D. 1295.

Habeib-us-seyr.

SULTAN MAHMUD, or sometimes MAHOMMED GHAZAN KHAUN, the son of Arghûn Khaun, seventh of the Persian monarchs of the race of Jengueiz.

From the singular complacency with which the Mussulman writers appear to dwell upon his memory, we are induced to recur, with our author, to the earliest events of the life of this prince.

His birth is stated to have taken place at Sûltandowein in the dependency of Asterabad, and province of Mazanderaun, on Friday the twenty ninth of the latter Rebbeia, of the six hundred and seventieth of the Hidjerah.* The particular year is indeed omitted in the manuscript; but as he is represented to have been in the tenth year of his age, at the death of his grandfather Abâka, we have ventured to supply the omission.

GHAZAN KHAUN, VIIth of the Persojenguizians.

On the death of Abâka, at whose court he had received his education from the age of three years, he hastened to join his father, Arghûn Khaun; on whose subsequent triumph over Sûltan Ahmed, and elevation to the sovereign dignity, in the six hundred and eighty third of the Hidjerah, he was invested with the government of Khorassaun. And in that province, some years afterwards, it fell to the lot of the young prince to contend against the valour and experience of *Ameir Norouz*, the inveterate foe of infidels in general, and of the Moghûls in particular. This warlike chieftain was the son of Arghûn Aga, who, under different monarchs of the race of Jengueiz, had exercised the functions of government, in some or other of the provinces of the Persian empire, for a period of nine and thirty years. Ameir Norouz had early embraced the tenets of Isslâm, and, on all occasions, had evinced the most ardent zeal in its interests, and advancement. In Zilhudje of the six hundred and eighty seventh of the Hidjerah,† soon after Arghûn Khaun had found it expedient to make an example of his minister Bouka Tchingsang, Norouz, who was connected by the strongest ties of friendship with that minister, withdrew in discontent to his winter quarters at Derrahjerd; and there entered into a conspiracy with the Shahzadah Kenshour, his sister's husband, and some of

* December 3rd, A. D. 1271. † January, 1289.

A. H. 694. A. D. 1295. Habeib-us-seyr.

the Ameirs of Khorassaun, against the provincial government of Ghâzan Khaun. On the eighth of the former Rebbeia of the year six hundred and eighty eight,* he unexpectedly surrounded that prince in his camp at Keshefrûd; but by some chance or other, suffered him to escape into his native province of Mazanderaun. On his arrival in that country, Ghâzan immediately seized the person of his brother Hûlaujû, in whose support Norouz had declared himself to have taken arms, and sent him in safe custody to his father's presence; after which, having re-assembled his scattered troops, he returned to make head against the insurgents. On the fifteenth of the latter Rebbeia,† in the territory of Raudegaun, a battle ensued between the adverse parties, in which Norouz was signally victorious; acquiring at the same time an immense booty, and exalting the fame of his exploits to the highest pitch of glory.

For part of the ensuing winter,‡ Shahzâdah Ghâzan remained inactive at Kalbous, another dependency of Asterabad; but after a repose of forty days, during which he had been joined by a powerful reinforcement dispatched to his aid by his father, under Bâidû, and Touzein Nûyan, he marched without further delay, to try the issue of another conflict with Norouz. The latter advanced to meet him from the side of Raudegaun; but discovering, on his arrival at Jermoghaun, that his force was inadequate to the hazard of a contest with the Shahzadah, with any reasonable prospect of success, he took the sudden resolution of retiring across the Jeyhûn, into western Tartary. He was pursued to the gates of Herât, by Ghâzan Khaun; who returned however, after continuing some time on the plains of Hazaurjereib, with a considerable booty, to pass the remainder of the winter at Neyshapûr. The spring of six hundred and eighty nine,§ the young prince enjoyed among the delicious meads of Raudegaun; and in the succeeding summer, he removed to Torûn (bordering on the Kohestaun), from whence he dismissed Bâidû Oghûl, with the greater part of the reinforcements from Irâk and Azerbâijaun. Towards the close of the summer, he proceeded to a station in the neighborhood of Serkhess, called Shersebeil, and there encamped.

* March 30th, 1289. † May 6th, 1289. ‡ Of 1290.
§ A. D. 1290.

A. H. 694.
A. D. 1295.
Habeib-us-seyr.

While he remained in his encampment at this place, reports were continually conveyed to him of the hostile designs of Keydû Khaun; whom, on his retreat into Tûrkestaun, Norouz Beg had never ceased to importune with representations of the facility, with which he might achieve the conquest of Khorassaun. His solicitations at last prevailed; and that monarch confiding the execution of the design to his son in law, Arektemûr, the latter, some time in the 690th of the Hidjerah, crossed the Amûyah, or lower Oxus, accompanied by Norouz, at the head of thirty thousand veteran cavalry. Shahzâdah Ghâzan and the Ameirs under his orders, conceived that this was a force against which they were not possessed of the means of resistance; and they accordingly evacuated the province, retreating with their utmost celerity all the way to Semnaun, on the borders of Persian Irâk and Mazanderaun. Having pursued them as far as Jour, the troops of Arektemûr and Norouz extended their ravages through great part of Khorassaun, acquitting themselves, with sufficient activity and effect, in the cruel work of pillage and slaughter. But, in every district through which they passed in their return, the oppressed inhabitants, whenever it could be undertaken with advantage, by night and by day, failed not to harrass their invaders with incessant attacks; so that by the time they reached Baudgheiss, they discovered that they had lost, in a manner for which they could not account, very little short of five thousand horse. Such a circumstance awakened some suspicions in the mind of Arektemûr; and he gave a proof of the direction in which they tended, by condemning his auxiliary Norouz to the discipline of the cane, or perhaps of the bastinado.

In the mean time, intelligence was announced of the death of Arghûn Khaun, and of the accession of Keykhautû; events which were made known to Ghâzan during his abode at Semnaun. Whence, after exhibiting the usual proofs of sorrow on the demise of his father, the young prince proceeded at first towards Damawend, possibly Damaghaun, retiring ultimately to Sûltandowein, the place of his nativity. At that place, he was not long afterwards joined by the Shahzâdah Ambartchei, with the Ameirs Touldâi, or Tûladâi, and Kenjekbaul, dispatched by Keykhautû, at the head of a chosen detachment of troops to his support.

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A. H. 694. A. D. 1295. Habeib-us-seyr.

Thus secured against the attempts of the enemy, Ghâzan continued in a state of inactivity at Sûltandowein, until the spring of the six hundred and ninety second of the Hidjerah,* when he announced his intention of visiting Tebreiz; in order as he alleged, to bring the state of Khorassaun, under the more serious consideration of Keykhautû. But the presence of his nephew being deemed by that monarch, a circumstance likely to affect the tranquillity of his government, he employed some of his nobles to dissuade the Shahzâdah from his design; and to prevail upon him to take the opposite direction, that of the province in which he was so deeply concerned. Ghâzan remained however in Mazanderaun, in which province he now continued until the close of six hundred and ninety three.† Then it was that he transferred his quarters to Neyshapûr, where he finally came to an accommodation with his late formidable adversary Ameir Norouz.

It would appear that having accompanied Arektemûr to the banks of the Amûiah, on his return from the predatory expedition into Khorassaun, and having already experienced some proof of the treatment to which he might be in future further exposed, Ameir Norouz availed himself of the earliest opportunity to separate from the Tcheghatâians; and very shortly afterwards, at the suggestion of his wife, that he dispatched two of his followers to solicit, or propose a reconciliation with Shahzâdah Ghâzan. The prince met the overture with unfeigned satisfaction; immediately concluding that the friendship of this able and warlike chieftain must essentially contribute to promote the advancement of his own fortune, and of those views which he probably had already in contemplation. A treaty was arranged between the parties without much difficulty; and although it was in the depth of winter, Ghâzan proceeded without delay, through Serkhess and Merû, to Shabreghaun; in the neighborhood of which place, he came to a conference with Norouz, at which it was reciprocally agreed to bury all past animosities in oblivion, and to cultivate for the future, the most sincere and lasting friendship. The Shahzâdah bestowed the most liberal proofs of his esteem and kindness, upon his new ally, accompanied by whom he, shortly after this, set off on his return for Sûltandowein.

* A. D. 1293. † September, A. D. 1294.

While he was on his march to Sûltandowein on this occasion, at the commencement of the six hundred and ninety fourth of the Hidjerah,* repeated advices were communicated to Ghâzan, of the death of Keykhautû, and of the elevation of Bâidû Oghûl, or Oghlû, as already related; events which were calculated to agitate his mind in no ordinary degree. Accordingly on his arrival at Sûltandowein, he proceeded to deliberate with his officers, on the measures which he should pursue, in order to vindicate his own claim to the throne of his ancestors, and to subvert the power of the usurper. Having expressed his confidence that the period was not remote, at which they should see the prince of their selection elevated to the splendor of a throne, and the power of the usurper with his conglomerated Ameirs, dispelled with the clouds that obscure the views of infidelity, Norouz embraced his opportunity to intimate to his associates, that there was one step which, beyond all others, would promote and facilitate the object of their ambition—This was, that the Shahzâdah should engage, at a proper period, to profess his belief in the doctrines of the last of the prophets. A proposal to which Ghâzan appears to have subscribed, without hesitation; and he soon afterwards commenced his march for Azerbâijaun.

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On his arrival at Tehraun, or *Tehroon*, then a dependency of the ancient city of Rey, the Shahzâdah, at the instance of Norouz, who was now become his principal adviser, dispatched a deputation to the court of Baidû, with a message importing, that as it was the first instance in which the *Kârajû* nobility had presumed to offer violence to the illustrious blood of Jengueiz, he trusted that the individuals engaged in the death of Keykhautû, would be conveyed to his camp without delay; in order that, after a solemn and impartial investigation, those chiefs who should be found guilty of having betrayed their unhappy sovereign, might suffer the punishment due to their crimes. The deputies of Ghâzan Khaun found the court of Baidû, at Hushtrûd, near Meraughah; and when they had explained the object of their visit, the monarch did not pretend to deny that for certain reasons, which it were superfluous to detail, Keykhautû had suffered death; but, as the members of the imperial family, and the Ameirs of the empire had since united to acknowledge the authority of another sovereign, in himself, it

* December, 1294.

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appeared advisable that the Shahzâdah should retrace his steps towards Khorassaun, without exposing himself to any further inconvenience. Ghâzan Khaun received this reply at Kungûraulung, (the future Sûltauniah) and hastened without further delay towards Hushtrûd—the eight rivers.

Bâidû on the other hand, on intelligence of the approach of his adversary, advanced with equal resolution to meet him; and on Thursday the fifth of Rudjub of the six hundred and ninety fourth of the Hidjerah,* in the neighborhood of Korbansheirah, and on the banks of the river which runs by the village of Sheirgueiran, the hostile armies came in view of each other. Before, however, the martial instruments had yet sounded "to battle," the left wing of Bâidû, under Towukkel Nûyan and another chief, being assailed by Ameir Kûtlûg Shah; with part of the right wing of Ghâzan Khaun, Towukkel basely fled, and abandoned his collegue; who was killed on the spot with nearly two hundred of his bravest cavalry. This circumstance produced a strong suspicion of treachery in the mind of Bâidû, and he immediately suspended hostilities; dispatching his Akhtatchei, grand equerry, or master of the horse, to propose an accommodation to the Shahzadah; reminding him at the same time of the ties of friendship that formerly subsisted between them, and assuring him that he felt not the slightest repugnance to his possessing his full proportion of wealth and grandeur.

The Shahzâdah appeared equally disposed to compromise the unfortunate differences that had arisen to disturb the empire; and it was immediately arranged that the two princes should have a private conference, at which, without the intervention of any third person whatever, they might freely disclose to each other their respective views and sentiments. On the day following, Bâidû Khaun and Shahzadah Ghâzan, each accompanied by a slight escort, accordingly proceeded to the place of conference, at some distance from either army; and there embracing, with mutual profesions, of respect and esteem, the Shahzâdah declared without reserve, that his wishes extended to no other object, than to that of being put in possession of the governments of Farss, Kermaun, and Irâk, on the same terms as they had been formerly held by his father. To this arrangement Bâidû appeared to accede.

*Nineteenth of May, 1295.

with cheerfulness and sincerity; and having agreed to meet a second time the day following, in order to ratify the accommodation, at a magnificent entertainment, the princes separated, again expressing their mutual regard and satisfaction. Bâidû and his Ameirs were, nevertheless, at the same moment, digesting a plan to cut off the Shahzâdah during the conviviality of the intended repast: which, from some indications or other, fortunately did not escape the observation of the young prince, and he took his measures accordingly. That very night, the tenth of Rudjub,* leaving Ameir Norouz and Boukitemûr to receive the patent for the governments to which he laid claim, and further to ascertain the views of the hostile Ameirs, he privately withdrew himself towards Mazanderaun.

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When he considered his person secure from danger, he dispatched Arek or Arkitemûr, one of his principal officers, however, to explain to Bâidû Khaun the reasons of his sudden departure, and to assure him, that with respect to himself he could not harbour the slightest suspicion of evil; but, that discovering in the demeanor of his courtiers certain symptoms, which too clearly indicated a design to counteract the views of their superiors, he had found it expedient, without apprizing him of his intentions, to remove to a place of safety. He conceived, notwithstanding, that the engagements contracted between them were of a nature not to be violated, and that it behoved him without demur to transmit by Norouz Beg, whom he had left behind him for the purpose, the necessary letters patent investing him with the governments enjoyed by his father; thus guarding against the mutual inconvenience which must be the issue of an infraction of the treaty on either side. Bâidû continued to conduct himself with an appearance of moderation, and immediately gave orders that Jummaul-ud-dein, the lieutenant of Farss, should deliver over that province to the agents of Ghâzan Khaun. But while he still endeavored to temporize, and procrastinate with Norouz, that able chieftain availed himself of the opportunity to bring over Toghatchaur, to form with him a secret engagement to subvert the authority of Bâidû, and to establish that of the Shahzâdah. This point successfully arranged, Norouz presented himself one day to Bâidû, and, with a duplicity not unsuitable to his character, very

* May 24th, 1295.

A. H. 694. A. D. 1295. Habeib-us-seyr.

deliberately swore to him, that if the monarch would permit him to depart his camp without further delay, he would engage to deliver Ghâzan, bound hand and foot, into the custody of his officers. Bâidû inconsiderately fell into the snare; and on the fifteenth of Rudjub,* both Norouz and Boukitemûr received permission to return to their master; whom on the twenty seventh of the same month,† they joined in perfect security at Feyrouzkôh. All that had passed in their conferences with his uncle was punctually reported to the nephew; and to his infinite mortification, Bâidû was soon afterwards apprized in a dispatch from Norouz himself, that he had been completely out-witted.

On the fourth of the month of Shabaun,‡ in performance of his engagement with Ameir Norouz, and in the presence of a certain eminent doctor of the name of Shaikh Sudder-ud-dein Ibrauhim, Ghâzan Khaun proceeded to make his public profession of Isslâm; and not much less than one hundred thousand of his nation are represented to have followed his example, on the same day.

Shortly after this, the agent who had been dispatched on his part, to receive the investiture of the government of Shirauz, returned to inform the Shahzâdah, that the lieutenant of Farss had refused both to resign his trust, and to pay any attention to the orders conveyed to him. This rekindling his resentment with no slight degree of violence, Ghâzan gave immediate orders to prepare afresh, for an expedition into Azerbâijaun. In the mean time, Sudder Jahaun Ahmed the Zenjaunian, who had been nominated as already seen, to take charge of the affairs of the province of Rûm, suddenly quitted the road to that province; and striking through Guilan, on the seventh of the month of Shavaul,‡ succeeded in joining the army of the Shahzâdah, still at Feyrouzkôh. He was received with distinguished favor; and at his earliest opportunity, having previously stipulated with the prince, that he should on his part, when he had triumphed over his adversaries, engage to the utmost of his power, to confirm and stabilitate the interests of the true faith, to restore the charitable endowments instituted by the monarchs of former times, and to relinquish the property of those who should fall in battle, to such as possessed the claims of legitimate inheritance, pledged himself to conduct Norouz, by a way through Gui-

* May 29th, 1295. † June 10th. ‡ June 17th. § August 18th.

lan, that should render him absolute master of the destiny of Bâidû. To these several stipulations, the Shahzâdah subscribed without the smallest reserve; and on Friday the fifteenth of Shavaul of the six hundred and ninety fourth of the Hidjerah,* finally advanced on the direct route towards Azerbâijaun. While Ameir Norouz proceeded the same time, by forced marches, and through extraordinary difficulties of country through Guilan, by a road which brought him, by midnight of a certain date, to a station from whence, in two days journey he could reach the camp of Bâidû. From this station he conveyed intelligence of his approach to Toghatchaur, and the other chiefs engaged in the conspiracy; who were no sooner apprized of his arrival, than, like his better fortune, they abandoned the standard of their sovereign, and hastened to join that of Norouz.

A. H. 694. A. D. 1295. Habeib-us-seyr.

The defection of these chiefs determined Bâidû, on the fifteenth of the month of Zilkaudah,† to break up the camp which he had formed on the Seffeidrûd, or white river; and to retire with considerable precipitation, by the route of Oujaun and Marend, towards Georgia; while Norouz, after dispatching to announce the event to the Shahzâdah, hastened with his utmost celerity in pursuit of the fugitive. On the confines of Nekhtchûaun, the unfortunate monarch was overtaken and secured, by the advanced guard of Norouz's division, and he was conveyed without delay to that general at Tebreiz. From thence he was further dispatched towards Oujaun, by this time the head quarters of Ghâzan Khaun. This determined his destiny. His master of the horse was now employed by the Shahzâdah, to meet and destroy his unfortunate relative; whose existence was accordingly put a period to, on Wednesday the twenty third of Zilkaudah, of the six hundred and ninety fourth of the Hidjerah.‡

The power of Bâidû becoming thus finally extinct, through the ascendancy of Shahzâdah Ghâzan's better star, and the ardent zeal of Ameir Norouz, the victor prince on the twenty ninth day of Zilhudje, the last of the 694th of the Hidjerah,§ publicly seated himself on the throne of Hûlaukû. On the same day he issued a mandate, requiring every Moghûl subject to his authority, to abjure, on pain of death, the errors of infidelity and idolatry, and to make immediate and public

* August 26th. † September 24th. ‡ October 2nd. § November 8th, A. D. 1295.

A. H. 694. A. D. 1295. Habeib-us-seyr.

profession of Isslâm; further signifying his pleasure that the disciples of the book, or advocates of divine revelation, adverting to the different sects of jews and christians, already tributary to his exchequer, should on no pretence be persecuted with exactions or impositions, beyond what was expressly authorized by the strict letter of the law.

Here then properly commences the reign of GHAZAN KHAUN. To leave, however, nothing unperformed, that could in any shape contribute to secure the stability of his power, he proceeded shortly afterwards, to Karabaugh of Aran, in the peninsula of the Kûr and Aboras; where, in conformity with the practice of his predecessors, having summoned a Kûriltâi, or grand convention of the Ameirs of the empire, He received on his throne, a written pledge of fealty and allegiance, from the princes of his blood, and from the whole of the Khauns and Nûyans there assembled; closing the ceremony with a sumptuous entertainment, splendid in proportion to the exalted rank of the donor.

Among other circumstances, with which the new monarch conceived it of importance to distinguish the commencement of his reign, he caused the *Altumghau*, or imperial seal of state, to be altered from a quadrangular, to an oval shape, considered the most auspicious, as it is the most elegant of all forms; and on this, he at the same time directed to be engraved, the confession of faith, La-illauh, &c. He further ordered that all letters and state papers should, for the future, invariably open with the sentence, *B'ismil-lauh-urraihman-urraheim*—in the name of God the most merciful, most beneficent: and he finally made it known to all under his authority, that every decree, pension, or grant, formerly enacted or established in favor of the disciples of the Korân, should be held, to all intents and purposes, in undiminished force. The dignity of Ameir-ul-ûmra, with the superintendance of his armies, he conferred upon Norouz, and the Vizzaurut, or civil administration, was assigned to the veteran statesman, Suddur-jahaun.

In the first year of the reign of Ghâzan Khaun, intelligence from Khorassaun announced that a powerful army from western Tûrkestaun had crossed the Oxus, under Oujâi the son of Berauk, or Berrac Khaun; whom the military chiefs of the province declared their inability to resist, unless their anxious expectations of powerful support were speedily fulfilled. Conceiving that this aggression could be effectually

repelled by no other arm than that of the experienced and warlike Norouz, Ghâzan Khaun immediately dispatched that able chief, at the head of a numerous force, to relieve the province from the outrages of invasion. The Tcheghatayan Tartars, on information of the approach of Norouz, put themselves in immediate retreat; being dreadfully harrassed, and ultimately driven across the Amûyah with infinite loss and disgrace, by that general. Norouz then returned in triumph to the presence of his sovereign, who accumulated upon him fresh honors and rewards. On the other hand, Suddur Jahaun, who fell under some suspicion of embezzlement in the revenue, was about the same period degraded from the Vizzaurut, and his office transferred to Jummaul-ud-dein Dustjerdauny.

A. H. 695. A. D. 1296. Habeib-us-seyr.

A powerful party among the Moghûl Shahzâdahs and Ameirs, who continued secretly hostile to the recent re-exaltation of the influence of Isslâm, was forming in the mean time against Norouz, whose destruction they solemnly engaged to produce, by exciting against him the indignation of his sovereign; and thus once more to convert the sacred edifices, devoted to the pure rites of Mahommedan worship, into the temples of christian superstition, and the unhallowed dens of a more detestable idolatry. But, before their plans could be brought to maturity, the safety of the empire again required, in Khorassaun, the services of Norouz; two of the Ameirs who had conspired to destroy him, being unsuspectingly ordered by Ghâzan Khaun, to accompany him into that province. It was therefore now determined among the conspirators, instead of looking forward to a contingency which might never occur, that their two associates who were proceeding with Norouz, should, at a certain fixed period, on reaching the borders of Khorassaun, put that chieftain to death; while two of their accomplices, Austeymûr, and Arslan, should in Azerbâijaun put a period to the existence of Ghâzan. Before they arrived in Khorassaun, however, Beissouka, and Boulâi, the two chiefs who attended Norouz, in the expectation that he would gladly associate in their design, conceived it expedient by a confidential messenger, to communicate what was in agitation, to Shahzâdah Taghtchû. The Shahzâdah affected to concur; but privately dispatched to acquaint Norouz with all that had been discovered to him, of the plot laid for his destruction.

A. H. 695. A. D. 1296. Habeib-us-seyr.

Thus seasonably apprized of his danger, Norouz, on the night appointed for the execution of the design, secretly withdrew from his camp; placing the whole of his troops at a convenient distance, in ambuscade. Hence, when at midnight, Beissouka and Boulâi, armed and accoutred at all points, entered the camp of Norouz, and found it thus entirely and unaccountably abandoned, their suspicions were immediately alarmed; and they addressed themselves without delay to escape by flight. In this they were also frustrated; for the veteran Ameir, suddenly rushing from his ambush, entirely intercepted their retreat, and they were with the whole of their followers, either cut to pieces or taken prisoners. Boulâi and Beissouka, or Souka, as he is indifferently denominated, who had fallen alive into the hands of their exasperated collegue, were both put to death the following day; while dispatches were transmitted without loss of time to communicate to Ghâzan Khaun the objects of the conspiracy.

Conceiving that the design against Norouz was in the course of execution in Khorassaun, Austeymûr and Arslan, with a formidable body of insurgents whom they had raised in Azerbâijaun, were proceeding to attack the person of Ghâzan Khaun; while that prince, already aware of their object, with equal eagerness and resolution advanced to oppose them. In the neighborhood of Beylekaun, at no great distance from the banks of the Aboras, he gave them battle; and Austeymûr, with some of the bravest of the insurgents having fallen in the action, the remainder betook themselves to flight. They were, however, closely pursued, and for the greater part overtaken at different stages, and ultimately put to death; not less than five princes of the blood of Jengueiz, and seven and thirty Ameirs of the most distinguished order, perishing by the sword of the executioner, within the period of one month. These events were followed by extraordinary rejoicings among all classes of Mahommedans; it being generally understood that if the authors of the insurrection had been triumphant, Isslâm would have been again exposed to the most serious evils.

In the early part of Mohurrim* of the six hundred and ninety sixth of the Hidjerah, having been but a short time before reprieved, almost from under the axe of the executioner, through the timely interven-

* October, 1296.

tion of Herkedauk Nûyan, Suddur Jahaun was once more restored to the Vizzaurut, on the disgrace and death of Jummaul-ud-dein. But, as this minister had some reason to conceive that Ameir Norouz had been, one way or other, chiefly instrumental to his recent supersession, he determined to make it the object of his unceasing study, to bring about the humiliation of that distinguished commander. In the spring of the year,* while Ghâzan kept his court at Hamadaun, he accordingly availed himself of the opportunity, to fix upon Norouz, the suspicion that he was carrying on a traitorous correspondence with the Sûltan of Egypt, for the express purpose of destroying his own sovereign. In order to support the foul charge with adequate proof, he proceeded to forge some letters, as having passed between Norouz and the Egyptian prince; and during the conviviality of an entertainment, contrived to convey them into some part of the dress of a person of the name of Kayssar who occasionally travelled between Persia and Egypt, and of Hadjy Beg, the brother of Norouz. The charge against his general was now brought to the notice of Ghâzan Khaun, in so determined a shape, that it could not prudently be withheld from investigation; and Kayssar, and Hadjy Beg being summoned to the presence of the monarch, the alleged correspondence was immediately discovered, where it had been perfidiously disposed of, upon their persons. The Egyptian traveller was beaten to death with clubs, upon the spot; and Hadjy Beg, together with all the family of Norouz, whose residence in Irâk had placed them within the reach of their enemies, were all condemned to perish by various methods of execution. The Ameirs Hountai and Herkedauk Nûyan, with two tomauns, or divisions of ten thousand each, were at the same time, ordered to march immediately into Khorassaun; with instructions not to return, until they had accomplished the destruction of Norouz. A further division of the army under Ameir Kûtlûk Shah proceeded in the same direction, shortly afterwards, to secure the attainment of this object.

A. H. 696. A. D. 1297. Habeib-us-seyr.

Intelligence of these severe and fatal examples of his master's vengeance, was communicated to Norouz at Neyshapûr; where he proceeded to consult with his principal followers, as to the measures which, under such alarming circumstances of danger, it would be ad-

*A. D. 1297.

A. H. 696. A. D. 1297. Habeib-us-seyr.

visable to pursue; declaring, at the same time, his own opinion in favor of retiring to Herât, to demand the protection of Melek Fakher-ud-dein Guerret, or Kirret, the independent prince of that place, who was married to his niece, and on whose good faith and honor, he had other reasons for reposing his utmost confidence. Others, alleged on this occasion to have reasoned with greater prudence, observed that the Moghûls' surest bulwark was to be found in the unlimited range of the plains; and that it behoved their general to beware of cooping himself up within the walls of Herât, or of placing too great a reliance on the doubtful attachment of its prince. Norouz adhered, however, to his own judgment; and the greater part of his Ameirs, finding their counsels disregarded, with the whole of their followers, shortly afterwards abandoned him to his destiny. With four hundred men, who continued still resolved to abide the issue of his fate, Norouz now hastened to Herât, where he was received with every testimony of satisfaction by Mêlek Fakher-ud-dein; who lodged him and his followers, for their greater convenience and security, in the castle of Ekhtiaur-ud-dein. A few days afterwards, Ameir Kûtlûk Shah with his army encamped under the walls of Herât; and immediately commenced the most vigorous operations for the reduction of the place.

Relying on the strength of the works, and on the numbers and bravery of the Ghourian garrison, by which they were defended, Ameir Norouz, one day in private conversation with the associates of his destiny, could not forbear congratulating himself on the felicity with which he had chosen an asylum; and expressing his assured conviction, that all the efforts of Kûtlûk Shah to make himself master of it, must terminate in disgrace and defeat. To this, one of his friends ventured to remark in reply, that for his own part his apprehensions did not in truth, proceed so much from the efforts of Kûtlûk Shah without, as from the dubious fidelity of the Ghourians within the walls. He was therefore of opinion, that the person of Mêlek Fakher-ud-dein should be immediately secured, and committed to safe custody; that Ameir Norouz should himself without delay undertake the defence of the city: and that when he should have relieved himself from external danger, by compelling his adversaries to withdraw from the siege, it would be still in his power to make amends for this act of temporary violence,

by restoring his relative to authority. With a magnanimity worthy of a better fate, Ameir Norouz renounced without hesitation, a plan by which he should incur so foul a charge of ingratitude, and breach of hospitality. The conversation was, however, unfortunately overheard by a Seiestaunian chief, who listened without the pavilion, and who instantly communicated the subject of it to Melek Fakher-ud-dein; and a resolution was adopted by that chief, on the advice of his ameirs, to secure the person of Norouz without delay, and to deliver him up to the mercy of his enemies.

A. H. 696, A. D. 1297. Habeib-us-seyr.

Such a resolution taken, Mêlek Fakher-ud-dein repaired to the residence of Norouz; and with an apparent solicitude for his safety, proposed that he should detach his best and most faithful soldiers to defend the principal gates of the town; on the pretext, that in a garrison composed of so many different nations, some conspiracy might eventually be formed to betray them to the besiegers. Ascribing the proposal to the most friendly motives, and without the slightest suspicion of its perfidious tendency, Norouz immediately sent off the whole of his followers, a very few only excepted, to the different gates; and was thus left to the protection of not more than three or four attendants. In such a situation, Fakher-ud-dein employed four of his captains, with a division of Ghourians, to seize his unsuspecting guest.

Norouz happened at the moment to be on the ramparts of the citadel, amusing himself with his bow and arrows; which as opportunity offered, and they exposed themselves to his view, he discharged at the besiegers. Just as he was stooping down to rectify some defect in his bow string, the Ghourians suddenly made their appearance, each bearing in his hand the door of an apartment, taken off the hinges; on which the gallant chief demanded, without however exhibiting any concern, the object of this visit. Tauj-ud-dein Yeldûz, one of the captains replied, that they were sent by Fakher-ud-dein, with the materials which he saw in their hands, to construct a breast work, in order to protect him from the darts and other missiles of the enemy. Norouz observed, that it was all very well, and again applied himself to the re-adjustment of his bow. Yeldûz then advanced and struck him an unexpected blow on the temple with his mace; while the Ghouriáns under his command rushed on, and succeeded in securing the unfor-

A. H. 696. A. D. 1297. Habeib-us-seyr.

tunate Ameir without further difficulty. He was now conducted, with his hands bound, and a bruised and battered visage, to the presence of Melek Fakher-ud-dein, who was just approaching the gate of the citadel, at the head of two hundred horse.

The catastrophe may be easily foreseen. The unhappy Norouz, with his followers, was conveyed straight to the camp of Kûtlûk Shah; who, in the usual course of summary justice, with his own hand instantly struck off his head. It was finally transmitted to the presence of his sovereign; by whose directions it was suspended to a gibbet, as an example to the disaffected, and furnishing another striking proof of the inconstancy of fortune, and of the instability of human greatness. The death of this able chieftain is stated to have taken place on the twenty second of Shavaul, of the six hundred and ninety sixth of the Hidjerah.*

A disorderly and restless banditti had been permitted, under the appellation of Nikoudrians, some time after the accession of Ghâzan Khaun, to settle in different parts of Persian Irâk; but as they could not be restrained from indulging in their natural habits of a predatory life, which were continually breaking out into some act or other of robbery and violence upon the public, the monarch was at last compelled to exact from them a formal engagement, that if for the future they should, in any shape, be found guilty of the enormities of which his subjects were perpetually complaining against them, their lives and property were to be considered as forfeited to the state. In consequence of this arrangement, on the occurrence of any theft or robbery on the highway, the magistrates invariably seized upon the Nikoudrians, and rendered them immediately responsible for the offence. But, as it might sometimes happen that they should suffer when innocent, they became at last weary of perpetual persecution; suddenly quitted the province without the sanction of the sovereign authority; and, passing through the Kohestaun, made the best of their way to Herât, where they claimed the protection of the same Melek Fakher-ud-dein, recently adverted to. From that chief they experienced a favorable reception; and he readily consented to furnish them with horses and arms, and a warrant, moreover, under his authority to exercise their profession

* August 11th, 1297.

of plunder and violence, along the frontiers of Khorássaun; in which they soon after engaged, to the infinite loss and annoyance of the unfortunate inhabitants exposed to their barbarous incursions. A. H. 696-97. A. D. 1297-98. Habeib-us-seyr.

Driven to extremity by the unceasing depredations of this banditti, the natives of Khorassaun no longer deferred to carry their demands for redress to the presence of Ghàzan Khaun; and that monarch determined to make the chastizement of their oppressors the object of his immediate, and most serious attention. In the course of the six hundred and ninety seventh of the Hidjerah, his brother Bùndah Oghûl, the same who on his accession to the throne obtained the appellations of Ouljâitû Sûltan, and Sûltan Mahommed Khodabundah, then residing in Mazanderaun, was accordingly nominated to conduct a powerful expedition, to avenge the wrongs of Khorassaun. By his instructions, he was in the first instance to demand from Mêlek Fakher-ud-dein, an immediate and unconditional surrender of the Nikoudrians under his prôtection; and in case of the slightest demur on the part of that prince, he was without further preliminary to lay siege to Herât. But when he had accomplished the reduction of that place, he was to proceed to the ultimate object of the enterprise; the total extirpation of the depredators who had excited such displeasure, without leaving a vestige of their hated race to create further mischief to the world.

On his arrival at Neyshapûr, Ouljâitû accordingly dispatched an agent to announce to Mêlek Fakher-ud-dein, the object of his appearance in such force in his neighborhood, and to make the demand which he was authorized to do, on the part of his brother; and as Fakher-ud-dein evinced equal unwillingness, and delay to accord with the principal points of the demand, hostilities shortly after commenced between him and Ouljâitû. But, when these had continued for some time, an accommodation was brought about, through the intervention of Shaikh Shahaub-ud-dein Jaumy; the inhabitants of Herât, as a ransom from the further calamities that might ensue, consenting to pay to the Moghûl prince, the sum of one hundred thousand Kobeiky, or Kopeiky dinaurs.* Ouljâitû appears then to have withdrawn to his own province, without any further exertion.

* 572911. 13s. 4d. at the highest, and 458331. 6s. 8d. at the lowest computation. Kobeik has, with tolerable credibility, been considered the Copec of the Russians.

A. H. 697-98. A. D. 1298-99. Habeib-us-seyr.

In the course of the same year, having formed some imperfect views on the sovereignty, through the absurd and wicked suggestions of an impostor who pretended to dive into the events of futurity, and who presumed to foretel, that within the period of forty days he should ascend the throne of Persia, Shahzâdah Taîtchû, or Taynjû, became obnoxious to his imperial relative; and his design being seasonably betrayed, he was, together with the Ameirs attached to him, and the wretched wizard who had imposed upon him, without ceremony condemned to suffer by the hand of the executioner.

In the latter Jummaudy of the year six hundred and ninety eight,† a party of the Ameirs of the court, headed by Kûtb-ud-dein and Mûeyen-ud-dein Khorassauny, seized a favorable opportunity of bringing before their sovereign a charge of malversation, and corrupt practices against the minister Suddurjahaun; which terminated in the arrest of that able statesman, on the seventeenth of Rudjub. On the nineteenth his conduct was investigated, and he was condemned to die; and two days afterwards,† one of his hands being held by Ameir Soutâi, and the other by Pehlewaun Mêlek the Ghourian, he was, in pursuance of his sentence, cut through the middle by Kûtlûk Shah Nûyan. His brother Kûtb-e-jahaun, whom they could accuse of no other offence but that of consanguinity with the unfortunate Vezzeir, suffered by a similar death at Tebreiz, exactly a month afterwards. At the close of the same year, on his departure from Tebreiz for Oujaun, and on his way to pass the winter at Baghdâd, Ghâzan Khaun conferred the Vizzaurut conjointly, with the entire controul of affairs during his absence, on two very eminent literary characters, Khaujah Reshid-ud-dein Fazzel-ullah, or Fadlallah, the author of the Târikh Ghazauny, and Jaummia-ul-towaurikh, and Saud-ûd-dein Sâwjy; the former equally distinguished for his attainments in philosophy and physic, and by his reputation as a writer of oriental history, and the latter not less celebrated for his skill in theology and arithmetic.

Shortly afterwards, as if the heavenly bodies were jealous of this mark of a sovereign's predilection for the favorites of science, there occurred a conjunction of the malignant planets Mars and Saturn,* in

* March, 1299. † April 22nd.

‡ Keraun-e-nehessein; as that of Jupiter and Venus is called the Keraun-e-Saudein—the fortunate conjunction.

Cancer, the earth's ascendant. This was succeeded by so total a failure of rain, that the waters of the three great rivers, the Oxus, the Tigris, and the Nile, (we know not why the Euphrates should have been excluded) were dried up to a degree equally alarming and unprecedented. A dreadful famine and pestilence ensued, the latter, which attacked the human frame in a peculiar manner,* being described to have swept away from the city of Shirauz alone, not less than fifty thousand persons. Before he had yet recovered from the contemplation of these grievous afflictions, intelligence was brought to Ghâzan Khaun, that four thousand of the troops of Mêlek Nausser, Sûltan of Egypt, the brother of Seyf-ud-dein Kullawun surnamed the basilisk, had suddenly broke into the territory of Mardein, and Rauss-ul-eyne, both tributary to the Persian monarch; and after committing the most cruel ravages, had succeeded in carrying off into slavery, vast numbers of the defenceless women and children of his Mussulman subjects.

A. H. 698-99. A.D. 1299. Habeib usseyr.

This daring insult awakened in the mind of Ghâzan, a full measure of indignation; and he left Tebreiz, on the nineteenth of Suffur of the six hundred and ninety-ninth of the Hidjerah,* with ninety thousand horse, and six months' provisions, for the invasion of Syria. On his arrival at Nissebein, he was entertained with singular and sumptuous hospitality by Nûdjm-ud-dein, the tributary Sûltan of Mardein. From Diaurbekir he proceeded without obstacle to Aleppo; the reduction of which he however thought it convenient to postpone, until he should have secured his superiority in the field, in a conflict with the Egyptian. In the neighborhood of Aleppo he reviewed his troops; and in passing the front of the Seldûzian division, Ameir Tchobaun the commander, presented himself to his notice, and on his knees intreated his acceptance of a valuable and beautiful charger, then brought before him. The monarch was pleased to signify his acceptance; and the example of Tchobaun was immediately followed by every commander in the army. As this chief is destined to occupy a distinguished place in the history of the descendants of Hûlaukû, it was of some importance to mark his introduction.

On Wednesday the twenty-seventh of the latter Rebbeia,‡ in the neighborhood of Hamess, or Hems, or Emesa, between Damascus and

* *In testibus.* † November 14th, 1299. ‡ January 20th, A. D. 1300.

A. H. 699. A. D. 1300. Habeib-us-seyr.

Aleppo, about ninety miles from the former, and one hundred and fifteen from the latter, Melek Nausser adventured to give battle to the Persian monarch; in which, after a conflict of some duration and obstinacy, the Egyptian was defeated with great loss: the Sûltan retreating with so much precipitation, that when he reached his capital of Cairo, a distance however of five hundred miles, he found that not more than seven of his followers had been able to keep up with him. Ghâzan Khaun remained for two days at Hamess, for the purpose of distributing the spoils of the victory; after which he proceeded towards Damascus.

Advertised of his approach, the principal inhabitants of this latter city hastened, with suitable presents, to greet the Persian monarch on his arrival, and were received by him with extraordinary kindness and condescension. After he had given them every assurance of his protection, the monarch, further to dispel their apprehensions and confirm their hopes, bestowed the civil government of Damascus upon Ameir Keptchauk; an officer who had recently abandoned the cause of Melek Nausser to secure an asylum with the Persian. The inhabitants were so greatly rejoiced at a circumstance, which they appear to have considered so much to their advantage, that they agreed without difficulty to a contribution of one hundred tomauns;* and two commissioners accordingly proceeded into the town on the part of Ghâzan Khaun, to receive the money.

Certain events had now occurred to produce an alteration in the plans of the Persian monarch; and he conceived his views would be perfectly answered, if he committed to Kûtlûk Shah Nûyan the siege of the citadel of Damascus, which still held out for the Sûltan of Egypt. He bestowed the government of Emesa, Terabolis, or Tripoly, Akkah, Salaumiah, and Mûkerrut-ul-Eyaun, comprising what was denominated the middle Syria (Shaum-e-wassety) on Tâimelek; and those of Haleb, or Aleppo, Hama, Eynetaub, Jubbul-ul-Semauk, and Beirah, to the Syrian Rahebah, called the lower Syria (Shaum-e-seffely) on Reigteymûr another of his captains. A certain Mowlâi Rûmy was made governor of Ghaza. All which arrangements completed, Ghâzan Khaun proceeded on his return towards Diaurbekir.

* If of dinaurs, this would amount to 458,333l. 6s. 8d. If of dirrems, to 22,916l. 13s. 4d. at the lowest computation.

On the departure of his sovereign, Kûtlûk Shah commenced his operations for the reduction of the castle of Damascus; of which he was encouraged in the expectation of a speedy accomplishment, by the assurances of a very skilful engineer who had the direction of his military machines, and who had engaged to open a passage into the place, with the stones of his catapultæ only. The governor of the castle, on the other hand was no stranger to the singular skill of the engineer; and offering the reward of one thousand dinaurs to any person who should bring him his head, one of his followers, a man of desperate courage, undertook to gratify him, or perish in the attempt. Accordingly quiting the castle in disguise, he found an opportunity, while the engineer was absent about evening prayer, to enter his quarters unobserved, and conceal himself. As might be apprehended, the unfortunate man no sooner set foot within his door, on his return, than the assassin rushed from his concealment, and killed him on the spot. Then striking off his head, with that in one hand, and his knife in the other, he sallied from the house; and with the rapidity of lightning, regained the citadel, where he laid his bloody trophy before the governor. This incident produced in the operations of the siege, a suspension fatal to the final result; and the traitor Keptchauk, about the same time, effecting an accommodation with the Egyptians, and suffering the garrison to pass out of the citadel both day and night, without either interruption or discovery on his part, the Moghûl troops were hourly surprised and cut off; and their horses led away in great numbers, without the possibility of guarding against the danger.

A. H. 699. A. D. 1300. Habeib-us-seyr.

All these circumstances taken into consideration, Kûtlûk Shah conceived it at last expedient to abandon the siege; and he shortly afterwards accordingly withdrew from before Damascus, taking with him the greater part of the principal inhabitants of the town. In crossing the Euphrates on this occasion, his troops in great numbers perished in the river; and it was not without considerable difficulty, fatigue, and hardship, that he at last contrived to rejoin the camp of his sovereign, in the territory of Mossûle, as nearly as we can judge, on the fifth of Rudjub, of the year six hundred and ninety-nine.* The Persian monarch appears to have experienced the most sensible mortification

* March 27th, 1300.

A. H. 699-700. A. D. 1300-2. Habeib-us-seyr.

at this miscarriage, although he exerted himself for the moment to suppress his feelings. He repassed the Tigris on his return towards Azerbâijaun, on the first of Shabaun,* and on the fifteenth of the succeeding month of Ramzaun,† he reached Meraughah; where he remained until Zilhudje, some time in which he proceeded to the metropolis of Tebreiz.‡

Although the design of completing the subjugation of Damascus, and the Syrian territory is said, sleeping or waking, to have been the inseparable companion of his thoughts, Ghâzan Khaun does not appear to have resumed the undertaking, for the whole of the year next succeeding. But on the first of Mohurrim of the seven hundred and first of the Hidjerah,§ he set out on his second expedition across the Euphrates. Finding, however, on his arrival at Aleppo, that the Sûltan of Egypt had signified his resolution not to take the field that season, he subscribed to the opinion of his Ameirs, although the reason appears not very solid, to measure back his steps; and he had accordingly returned to Oujaun, on the fourth of Ramzaun of the same year,‖ without the performance of a single action worthy of his renown. Here an attempt was made on the part of some of his courtiers, while the monarch was engaged in the conviviality of an entertainment, to impeach the integrity of the two associated ministers, Khaujah Reshid-ud-dein, and Saud-ud-dein Sâwjy. The attempt recoiled however on its authors, some of whom suffered death for their malignity.

It appears that on the tenth day of Rudjub of the year seven hundred and one,** although we have not been able to trace our authority for the fact, a new æra under the denomination of the *Khaunian*, was established under the directions of Shums-ud-dein Kaushy.

In Mohurrim, of the seven hundred and second of the Hidjerah,†† the Persian monarch quitted Oujaun on his third expedition into Syria. On this occasion he had, however, previously dispatched Kauzy Nusseir-ud-dein of Tebreiz, and Kauzy Kûtb-ud-dein of Mossûle, on an embassy to Mêlek Nausser, the Sûltan of Egypt. The object of their mission was, in substance, to explain that if the name of their master was exhibited on the coinage, and pronounced in the public

* April 22nd- † June 4th. ‡ September, 1300, § September 5th, 1301.
‖ May 1st, 1302. ** March 10th, 1302. †† September 1302.

prayers, and the Egyptian consented to the payment of a stipulated tribute, his country would be redeemed from the ravages of a resistless army; if not, that his people would be visited by the same fearful train of calamities, as had been inflicted on the Khaurezmians, by the invincible hosts of Jengueiz. The ambassadors on their arrival in the court of Mêlek Nausser, did not fail to acquit themselves of their trust with due diligence and precision; that prince informing them, however, that he should transmit by some persons in his own particular confidence, the requisite reply to the demands of their sovereign. In the mean time the Kauzies were dismissed, loaded with presents, and distinguished by all the liberal proofs of attention, that could be expected from the most civilized and polished government.

A. H. 702. A. D. 1302-3. Habeib-us-seyr.

In his camp near Hellah on the Euphrates, the ambassadors described to Ghâzan Khaun the occurrences of their journey; and not long afterwards, the agents of Mêlek Nausser also arrived with a letter from their sovereign, which they delivered to the Persian monarch. The letter was written in characters of gold; a mark of respect which, as far as can be understood from the original, in this place rather obscure, seems to have been omitted on the part of the Persian. It stated, however, that with regard to the coinage, the Sûltan conceived it was a point that could be adjusted without great difficulty, by inserting the name of the Persian monarch on the one side, and retaining on the other, after, or under the creed of their common religion, the name of the Sûltan of Egypt. But, with respect to the other demand it was sufficient to observe, that the continual wars in which the Sûltan was engaged, with the enemies of the faith, and in defence of the legitimate possessions of the disciples of the Korân, left little to supply the arrogant, and insatiable exactions of foreign tribute. In short, that the revenues of his country were entirely absorbed by the exigencies of the state.

When he had perused the letter, Ghâzan Khaun demanded of the ambassadors of Egypt to describe the contents of a chest, carefully locked up and sealed, which they had also conveyed to his presence from their master. On this head they professed their entire ignorance; alleging that it was a secret, which it had not been thought proper to confide to their discretion. The attendants were then directed to open

A. H. 702. A. D. 1303. Habeib-us-seyr.

this chest, when a disclosure exhibited itself but little calculated to appease the angry passions; a complete assortment of every implement at that period in use for the purposes of human destruction. The ambassadors were, however, very sumptuously entertained, although they were immediately ordered to Hamadaun, there to reside until the Persian should have returned from his expedition. He then proceeded to cross the Euphrates.

Taking the route of Ghâzauniah, a town which had risen under the auspices of his own reign, he repaired to visit the mausoleum of Ally at Nudjef; after which he continued his march upwards, along the Euphrates, to Anah, which he reached on the twelfth of Rudjub.* Dispatching his heavy baggage from thence to Mossûle, the Persian monarch on the twenty eighth of the same month,† displayed his standard in sight of the fortress of Rahebah, still ascending the Euphrates. Here the two ministers, Khaujah Reshid-ud-dein, and Saud-ud-dein, were both employed in an attempt to prevail upon Ameir Aulum-ud-dein the governor of the place, to submit to the authority of their master. That officer, however, after furnishing a supply of grain for the army, and shoes for their horses, eluded the invitation to surrender; on the plea, that being the key of Syria on that quarter, he could not then so shamefully betray his trust, as to deliver up such important points as the town and citadel of Rahebah: but as soon as the Persian monarch should have made himself master of the interior of the province, that he would not be found remiss in opening his gates to the conqueror.

Ghâzan, for the present, conceived it expedient to subscribe to these precarious stipulations; and on the sixth of Shabaun,‡ without committing the reputation of his arms by any act of hostility against the place, withdrew from before Rahebah, on his march towards Aleppo. When he had however continued for a short time with his army, in the territory between Rahebah and Aleppo, entirely occupied with his pleasures and amusements, the monarch consigned to the abilities of Kûtlûk Shah Nûyan, Ameir Tchobâun, Teynauk Bahauder, and his other generals, the prosecution of the Syrian war; while he returned in person, by the route of Senjaur and Mossule, towards his hereditary dominions. In the mean time Mêlek Nausser, at the head of a formi-

* March 1st, 1303. † March 27th. ‡ March 25th.

dable army had hastened, with equal secrecy and dispatch, to the neighborhood of Damascus; where he attentively watched the proceedings, and awaited the approach of the Perso-moghûl troops. A. H. 702. A. D. 1303. Habeib-us-seyr.

Not having discovered the slightest vestige of an enemy's force on his march from the Euphrates, Kûtlûk Shah advanced straight to Hamess, which he immediately invested; but while he was engaged before that place, hearing that Melek Nausser was not yet arrived at Damascus, a report manifestly circulated to deceive him, and that the inhabitants were collecting their property for the purpose of withdrawing into Egypt, an avidity to possess himself of this supposed booty, and to glut himself with the blood of the proprietors, determined him to suspend the siege of Hamess. And with these views, he hastened by forced marches towards Damascus. On the second day of Ramzaun,* ascending a rising ground on his arrival at the channel of the Merj-e-saffer, and casting his eyes to the plain beyond it, he beheld a spectacle to excite his utmost astonishment—an innumerable host which seemed to extend to every part of the horizon within his view. This proved to be the army of the Sûltan of Egypt; which equally unconscious of the approach of an enemy with himself, was employed in pitching its tents, and otherwise establishing its quarters for the day. Under the first impulse of surprise and terror, Kûtlûk Shah conceived that nothing short of instant rstreat could save him from destruction; but from this he was dissuaded by the more deliberate prudence, and presence of mind of Ameir Tchobaun; who urged, on the contrary, the necessity of an immediate, and resolute attack upon the enemy. In conformity with this nobler alternative, Ameir Tchobaun, and Teynauk Bahauder, with the bulk of the army, defiled directly towards the plain; while Kûtlûk, with two tomauns, or divisions of ten thousand, took post in reserve, on the hill which over-looked it.

On the other hand, Mêlek Nausser had not delayed to prepare his troops for battle, the moment he became apprized of his situation; and a conflict of surpassing obstinacy immediately ensued, in which Ameir Tchobaun, and Teynauk Bahauder, with the troops under their orders, signalized themselves by efforts of unexampled intrepidity. The left wing of the Sûltan of Egypt, thrown into complete confusion

* Eighteenth of April.

A. H. 702. A. D. 1303. Habeib-us-seyr.

by the impetuous onset of these gallant commanders had been compelled to give way; but the Egyptian monarch directing a body of ten thousand horse to make an attack upon the left of his adversaries, Aydauk Togateymûr, an officer of the highest distinction among the troops of Ghâzan Khaun, suddenly abandoned his post, and the whole army immediately fell into irretrievable disorder. All the exertions of Tchobaun to rally them proved in vain, and they finally fled in the utmost dismay, and in every direction; the Egyptians pursuing with all the eager ferocity of wolves after a flock of sheep. Teynauk Bahauder, and a number of the most distinguished Ameirs, perished in this disgraceful rout; but Ameir Tchobaun, after unparalleled exertions to save the fugitives, succeeded in joining the reserve under Kûtlûk Shah, on the eminence in the rear of the field of battle; where they passed the night under the utmost anxiety and perturbation of mind.

When the day broke, they perceived that they were completely surrounded, by a countless multitude of the troops of Melek Nausser; whose attack they prepared however to resist, with the firmness of veteran soldiers. But, to avoid the hazard of a direct assault upon a body of brave and skilful soldiers, under such circumstances of despair, the Sûltan of Egypt caused his army to present, towards one of their flanks, an opening for their retreat. Kûtlûk Nûyan and his associates in danger, did not disdain the advantage; but immediately descending the hill, commenced their perilous march, again closely followed by the Egyptians. The Moghûls had not long prosecuted their retreat, when they found it unexpectedly interrupted by a deep morass, occasioned by the overflowings of the Merj-e-saffer, the river recently adverted to; and here the greater part of the fugitives, equally exhausted with fatigue, and embarrassed by the weight of their arms, miserably perished in the mud and clay. The number of those who perished by the sword on this occasion, is not recorded; but ten thousand of the Moghûls, with ten thousand horses, fell alive into the hands of the Egyptians, together with arms and defensive armour in vast abundance. Not yet contented with the fruits of his victory, Melek Nausser directed the governor of Damascus to continue the pursuit, without intermission, to Rahebah on the Euphrates; so that the unfortunate

Moghûls found no termination to their disasters, until driven completely across that river; when the Egyptians at length ceased to molest them. A. H. 702-3., A. D. 1303.

On the nineteenth of Ramzaun,* the generals who survived this fatal discomfiture, rejoined the camp of Ghàzan Khaun; and on the following day, that monarch conceived it prudent to proceed on his return towards Oujaun, which he appears to have reached on the tenth of Zilkaudah†. At that place, he now instituted a formal investigation into the conduct of the commanders in the recent unfortunate expedition; and the result was, that Kûtlûk Nûyan, and his associates in defeat, were each of them, in proportion to the degree of culpability, condemned to the discipline of the cudgel, or perhaps the bastinado; and all were for a certain time banished the court, and the presence of their sovereign. Ameir Tchobaun himself, although his conspicuous gallantry and exertions were duly acknowledged, was yet compelled to suffer three strokes of the club; but martial justice having had its course, he was immediately afterwards received to the distinguished favor of his master. In Mohurrim of the seven hundred and third of the Hidjerah, the monarch transferred his abode from Oujaun to the metropolis of Tebreiz; where, for a period of six weeks or two months, he was now permitted to resign himself to the enjoyments of domestic repose. Habeib-us-seyr.

Again on the nineteenth of the former Rebbeia,‡ Ghâzan Khaun quitted Tebreiz for the last time, proposing to take up his winter quarters at Baghdâd; but on his arrival at Jowherserrâi, his progress was suspended by the intenseness of the cold, and by the heavy snow which fell in the middle of the latter Rebbeia;§ and he was compelled to relinquish that design, and fix his residence for the season on the banks of the Hûlanmûran.

During the winter months in which he resided at this station, an absurd and unprofitable attempt to disturb the repose of his government was made in favor of Shahzàdah Ulaffreng his first cousin, the son of Keykhautû Khaun. Another impostor of the name of Peir Yakûb Baghestauny had, it seems, again contrived, under the ordinary garb of hypocrisy, an affectation of superior sanctity, to attach to his devotion from among the ignorant classes of society, a very considerable mass of

* May 5th, 1303. † June 24th. ‡ October 30th. § Beginning of December.

A. H. 703. A. D. 1304. Habeib-us-seyr.

proselytes; and he undertook on the strength of his reputed sanctity, to announce to the Shahzâdah his speedy accession to sovereign power. But, that no means might be omitted in order to secure the accomplishment of his prediction, he disdained not to employ about the court, one of the disciples of his imposture, to pervert and corrupt the servants of the monarch; and to engage them in secret, in favor of the claims of Ulaffreng. To such as, from factious motives, he found disposed to encourage his plans, the emissary represented that a supernatural being, forty cubits in stature, and five in the breath of his shoulders, and whose body was as strong and immoveable as the mountain on its base, was in communication with his master; and had disclosed to him, that the saints, or elect of God, had determined to raise the Shahzâdah Ulaffreng to the sovereign authority, and would exalt his glory to the skies, (the Pleiades).

The delirious fabrication being, however, at length communicated to the minister Saud-ud-dein, it was by him instantly made known to his sovereign; and measures were adopted without delay, to secure the disaffected at Tebreiz. In the space of ten days, Ulaffreng, with Peir Yakûb, and the other leaders of the conspiracy, were brought in safe custody to the camp of Ghâzan; who proceeded in person to investigate the circumstances of this treasonable imposture. It required, perhaps, no great force of evidence to establish the guilt of the conspirators. The wretched Yakûb was cast head long from the summit of a rock, and dashed to pieces. His disciples suffered by the sword of the executioner; and the misguided Ulaffreng, although indulged with a respite of some days, was however ultimately condemned to share the fate of his accomplices.

The discomfiture of his troops by the Egyptians had implanted in the breast of the Persian monarch, a sensation of pain and uneasiness from which he was destined never to recover. While he remained at Jowherserrâi, he was attacked by a serious indisposition and confined to his bed; and such a variety of unfavorable and dangerous symptoms soon made their appearance in his disorder, as utterly to dispel every hope of his restoration. The power of medicine, the invocations of prayer, and the distributions of charity proved equally unavailing. In the spring of the year he attempted, however, to remove towards his

summer residence; and being constrained, very early in the journey, through the aggravation of his complaint and extreme debility, to take to his litter, he was in that manner conveyed to the neighborhood of Kazvein. There he quietly resigned himself to await the stroke of death, which he was now sensible to be at no great distance. He assembled round his couch, his ministers, and the nobles of his court; proceeded to arrange the last concerns of earthly grandeur, expressly devising the succession to the throne, to his brother, Sûltan Mahommed Khodabundah; and, on Sunday the fifteenth of Shavaul of the seven hundred and third of the Hidjerah,* this distinguished monarch breathed his last; continuing, observes our author, to assert and repeat his unaltered belief in the inseparate unity of his creator, long after every other faculty had failed him; until life and recollection had entirely faded away in the cold embrace of death, His body was conveyed by the Ameirs of the empire, to the metropolis of Tebreiz: where it was, with the usual solemnities, committed to the grave in the superb mausoleum erected by himself, either in one of the vallies adjoining to that favorite city, or in a quarter of the town called the *Shiaub*-e-Tebreiz. It is at the same time observed that, of the Moghûl princes, he was the first that suffered the place of his sepulture to be known by the world.

A. H. 703. A. D. 1304. Habeib-us-seyr.

Calculated from his public inauguration, on the twenty ninth of Zilhudje of the six hundred and ninety fourth of the Hidjerah, the reign of this mouarch comprizes a period of eight solar years, six months and two days; and, although its glory was considerably tarnished towards the conclusion, by the disastrous issue of the campaign in Syria, yet, independent of the force of Mahommedan prejudice in favor of so zealous and ardent a proselyte, it was not unreasonable that the shortness of its duration should have been the subject of sincere regret throughout the Persian empire. His sacred love of justice, and his paternal solicitude for the happiness of his people, as a king, has rendered his memory deservedly respected—venerated; and his undaunted courage in the field, his mildness of disposition and affability in private life, secured for him the love and admiration of mankind. He was possessed of uncommon understanding and sagacity of mind, and had made considerable advances in every branch of literature and the sci-

* May 20th, 1304.

A. H. 703. A. D. 1304. Habeib-us-seyr.

ences, as studied in the east. He spoke a variety of languages in great perfection, and was singularly well informed in the laws and genealogical history of the sovereigns and founders of the Moghûl tribes; insomuch that his minister, the learned and ingenious Reshid-ud-dein Fazzel-ullah, while composing the Jaummia Reshidy, or Towaurikh, is stated to have derived great part of his knowledge on that subject, and on the history of the Moghûls, from the relation of his accomplished master. He was a zealous Shiah, and as such did not fail to distinguish the Seyuds, descendants of Ally and Fautima, by many favors, by many conspicuous proofs of his bounty. On the very day of his accession he directed that a canal should be cut from the Euphrates to the sepulchre of Ally at Nudjef; and by similar communications with the same beneficent river, he brought the arid plains of Kerbêla into a state of flourishing cultivation.

But lest posterity might be disposed to suspect that the talents, the liberality, and the other virtues of Ghâzan Khaun, should have been in any degree exaggerated in the above eulogium, our author has entered, under twenty distinct heads, into a very elaborate statement on the subject; in which is introduced in detail, the code of regulations established by this illustrious monarch, both for his own domestic oeconomy, and for the different departments of his government in general. It is, indeed, sufficiently instructive and original to form a chapter of itself; but as these pages have been already distended far beyond what was proposed at their commencement, the subject has been indispensably omitted. It may at the same time be interesting to remark, that when the monarch who framed, or at least patronized these regulations, was snatched from the hopes of his people by the hand of death, he had not yet attained to the age of thirty four. Neither, before we dismiss the subject entirely, will it be superfluous to add that, exclusive of the splendid mausoleum at Tebreiz already adverted to, the dome of which is described to have been eighteen cubits,* or about three and thirty feet in diameter, illuminated by eighty lamps of gold and silver, with its spacious and magnificent appendages, consisting of the cathedral mosque, a college for the instruction of youth,

* The manuscript states this to have been the thickness of the walls, and that the lamps were each of the weight of 15 maunns, or about four hundred pounds troy; it is more probable that this was the aggregate weight of the whole.

and the cultivation of the sciences, with observatory, refectory and hospital, and sumptuous baths, the city of Oujaun was almost entirely rebuilt by the bounty of this celebrated monarch; and scarcely a part of the empire but exhibited some useful monument of his liberal and patriotic spirit. And, lastly, it is recorded that for the lofty walls with which it was once surrounded, the city of Shîrauz was in a great measure indebted to the princely munificence of Ghâzan Khaun.

A. H. 703. A. D. 1304. Habeib-us-seyr.

CHAP. XIII.

A. H. 703. A. D. 1304.

OULJAITU SULTAN, entitled SULTAN MAHOMMED KHODABUNDAH, the son of Arghûn Khaun, eighth of the Persian monarchs of the race of Jengueiz.

Habeib-us-seyr.

At the period of his brother's death, Ouljâitû was absent in his government of Khorassaun, to which he had been some time since appointed by the late monarch; but when he became apprized of the event which had so early called him to the succession, he hastened towards Tebreiz; not, however, before he had secured himself against the meditated hostility of some of the Shahzâdahs, and of Herkedauk Nûyan one of the principal Ameirs in particular, by putting them to death. He reached the metropolis of Azerbâijaun, on the fifth of Zilhudje;* where, at the age of three and twenty, he ascended without opposition, the throne of Hûlaukû; and commenced a reign of uncommon splendor, by giving effect to every measure that could tend in any shape to promote the prosperity of Isslâm, and to close against his people every avenue of oppression and violence. He continued the Vizzaurut to Reshîd-ud-dein Fazzel-ullah, and Saud-ud-dein Sâwjy, the ministers of his predecessor; and he is here recorded as the first monarch of the race of Jengueiz, who publicly embraced the tenets of the Shiahs, which he testified by directing the names of the twelve Imaums to be struck on the coinage of the realm, and invoked in the performance of divine worship in the mosques. The funds bequeathed for the support of charitable endowments *(aukauf)* throughout the empire, had possibly by this time become of considerable magnitude, and importance; and one of the first objects of the new monarch's attention, was to place them under the management of talents and integrity; and he selected for his purpose Guya Baha-ud-dein Yakûb, whom he strictly charged to beware that every bequest was honestly secured, and scrupulously

OULJAITU SULTAN, VIIIth of the Perso-Jengueizians.

* Sixth of July, 1304.

appropriated, in exact conformity to the design of the testator, as expressed in the letter of his will.] This was, perhaps, strictly speaking, the office of the Suddur-ul-suddûr, or grand almoner. A. H. 704. A. D. 1305. Habeib-us-seyr.

In the spring of the seven hundred and fourth of the Hidjerah, Ouljâitû, at Kunkûraulung, laid the foundations of the city of Sûltauniah; and, having omitted neither labour nor expence, to render it a beautiful and splendid residence, as well as a place of strength and security, he constituted it, when completed, the metropolis of the Persian monarchy.

But, in order to retain the narrative within its regular course, it will be necessary to proceed with the progressive detail of events; and among the first of these, we find recorded the impeachment of Saud-ud-dein Mahommed Sawjy, one of the ministers, on a charge of embezzlement in the revenue, to an enormous amount, (500 Tomauns, or five millions of dinaurs;) for which, on full conviction before the monarch in person, he was with several of his accomplices, in the month of Shavaul of the present year,* put to death at Mehoul, one of the dependencies of Baghdâd. In concurrence with the suffrages of the principal members of his court, whom Ouljâitû condescended to consult on the occasion, his place was supplied by Tauje-ud-dein Jilauny.†

The eighth of Zilkaudah of the same year‡ gave birth, according to the Târikh-gûzeidah, to Sûltan Abû Sâeid Bahauder Khaun, the future hope of the Persian monarchy.

Equally desirous with his brother to effect the subjugation of Syria and Egypt, the thoughts of Ouljâitû were early directed to prosecute the designs in that quarter; but, reflecting on the impolicy of leading his armies on any distant enterprise, while the provinces of Guilân, at the very threshold of his capital, continued independent of his power, (and, indeed, notwithstanding their proximity, had never yet submitted to any of the successors of Hûlaukû) he conceived it expedient to hold a consultation with his nobles, on the propriety of a previous expedi-

* Fourth of May, 1305.

† Among the presents offered to Ouljaitû, in the spring of the year, he is said to have received from Khaujah Ally Shah, at Baghdâd, a tiara enriched with jewels, of the weight of fourteen pounds; in the diadem or fillet of which, is described to have been a ruby of singular beauty, of the weight of 24 methkals, or 36 drams.

‡ Thirty first of May.

A. H. 706. A. D. 1307. Habeib-us-seyr.

tion against that strong and almost inaccessible territory. It was however, resolved as a preliminary, that an agent should be dispatched to require the ruling princes to acknowledge the authority of the Persian monarch. If they obeyed, nothing further was necessary; if otherwise, it would then be advisable to proceed to coercion.

At the period under consideration, the country appears to have been under the separate dominion of several independent chiefs; among whom, however, a certain Ameir Demmauje, is described to have maintained the greatest degree of splendor. To him therefore Oulja'itû determined on dispatching the first invitation; and he seems to have acquiesced without a demur. He immediately accompanied the agent employed to demand his submission, with every suitable present, to the camp of Oulja'itû, by whom he was received with every mark of attention and kindness. But, after a short residence, conceiving some suspicions at the ceremonious delays, and restraints, peradventure, of a polished and ostentatious court, he, one night, suddenly and privately withdrew to his own country. The Sûltan took offence at his unauthorized departure; and having assembled his troops, gave orders, shortly afterwards that both provinces should be immediately attacked in three different directions; Ameir Tchobaun proceeding against Kesker, from the northward by the route of Ardebeil; while Ameir Kûtlûg Shah advanced towards Foumen, Resht, and Touman or Kouman, by Khelkhaul, and two other commanders from the south east, through Rûstumdaur, and the mountainous defiles in that quarter.

About seven days subsequent to the march of his generals, Oulja'itû proceeded from his capital directly towards Lahejan; and was joined, without any unfavorable contingency, before he reached that place, by Ameir Tchobaun from Kesker. But, although apprized with honest zeal, on his arrival at Khelkhaul, by the governor, of the obstacles which he would experience in the narrow passes, and rugged roads that lay before him, and of the indispensable necessity of proceeding with the utmost vigilance and circumspection, particularly as the unpolished natives had not as yet been taught to respect the prowess and discipline of the imperial armies, Kûtlûg Shah suffered a sordid avidity, to possess himself of the wealth of the native princes, to blind him towards

every consideration of prudence; proud, at the same time, of his own conceived superior strength, and the terror of his name, and despising the counsels of experience, he hastened accordingly towards the passes of Guilan, with no other precaution than that of sending a division in advance, under Ameir Fûlaud Keia. The troops of Demmauje had previously taken post along the narrowest of the passes in readiness to oppose or intercept the march of this detachment; but they were, however, signally repulsed, in three repeated attacks which they made upon it. In consequence of this check, Ameir Demmauje conveyed to Fûlaud an application for peace, which he transmitted to his superior. A. H. 706. A. D. 1307. Habeib-us-seyr.

Impelled by the intemperate ardour of a son, who urged to be employed in advance, Kûtlûg Shah declined the overture; and sent the same son forward to the support of Ameir Fûlaud. The young chief, in the presumption of inexperience, proceeded to attack the Guilanians in the midst of their defiles; was entirely defeated in the attempt; and the greater part of his followers perished in a morass, in the confusion of a disorderly retreat. The fugitives who escaped, communicated to the main body, under Kûtlûg Nûyan, the panic by which they were themselves affected; and the whole immediately fled, in the utmost consternation. The general disdained, however, to accompany them in their disgraceful flight; and maintaining his ground with unshaken firmness, until transfixed at last by an arrow, he expired at his post. The troops of Ameir Demmauje after possessing themselves of a considerable booty, retired within their native recesses, contented with their victory, without courting further triumphs.

The division which approached the southern extremity of Guilân, through Rûstumdaur, was met in a peaceful manner on reaching the frontiers, by Ameir Hindû Shah, who governed in that quarter; and who accompanied the imperial generals, with equal readiness and submission, to the camp of their sovereign. Ouljàitû, at the head of his troops, shortly afterwards entered the territory of Lahejan; the ruler of that part of Guilân submitting also to his authority, without resistance. While he was, however, celebrating the festival of the tenth of Zilhudje,* in the town of that name on the coast of the Caspian, intelligence unexpectedly reached him of the defeat and death of Kûtlûg

* Eleventh of June, 1307.

A. H. 706-12. A. D. 1307-12. Habeib-us-seyr.

Shah; a disaster which appears to have affected him with the deepest distress. A body of three thousand *horse* under the Ameirs Sheikh Behloul, and Aba Bukker, was immediately dispatched to avenge the disgrace. These were soon followed by other troops in considerable force, under two other able commanders. After indefatigable exertion, and some severe conflicts, the generals of Ouljâitû succeeded at last, in subjugating with considerable slaughter, the possessors of this difficult country; and having pillaged Resht, Foumen, and Toulem, three of the principal towns, returned victorious to rejoin their master. The whole of the independent chiefs of Guilan now submitted to become tributary; (part of the tribute consisting of a stipulated number of ass loads of silk,) and Ouljaitû withdrew towards Sûltauniah; having inflicted the discipline of the cane upon the son of Kûtlûg Shah, for his misconduct during the expedition, and conferred the dignities of the father upon Ameir Tchobaun, who was thus created lieutenant general of the empire.

From this period to the seven hundred and twelfth of the Hidjerah, the attention of Ouljâitû appears to have been principally devoted to the general improvement of his dominions, in which he constructed several large and flourishing cities; and among others, those of Sûltanabad Jeijmaul in Kûrdestaun, at the foot of mount Beisetoun, and Ouljâitû-Sûltanabad in Moghaun, either on the Kûrr or Araxes, are stated to have been indebted for their origin to him. From the Târîkh gûzeidah we learn, that about the year seven hundred and ten,* Hamdallah Mûstouffy, the author of that work, received from the imperial ministry, an appointment over the Tomauns, perhaps collections, of Kazvein, Ebher, Zenjaun, and Tarmin; from whence, peradventure, his appellation of Mûstouffy, which implies auditor, or inspector, of revenue accounts.

In the course of the year seven hundred and twelve, the governors of Damascus and Aleppo, both Ameirs of the highest distinction in the court of Melek Nausser, Sûltan of Egypt, terrified at the severity, and suspicious of the designs of their master, presented themselves to Ouljâitû, in the neighborhood of Sûltauniah, accompanied by five hundred cavaliers; and were most graciously and hospitably received. The

* A. D. 1310.

defection of these chiefs, supported by the most earnest solicitations on their part, revived in the bosom of the Persian monarch, those plans of subjugation in Syria, which had only lain dormant for disclosure at a proper opportunity. For the accomplishment of this favorite object, the most extensive preparations were immediately set on foot, through the medium of all the ministers and generals of the empire; and equipments upon a scale of extraordinary magnitude were expedited through every department of the monarchy. A. H. 7012. A. D. 1313. Habeib-us-seyr.

Among these we find enumerated, fifteen hundred suits of mail, of European fabric; two hundred and sixty chargers, gorgeously caparisoned, and their saddles enriched, with jewels for the imperial equipage; and two thousand five hundred camels, for the conveyance of the imperial furniture and baggage. Ninety balistæ, or machines of war for distant annoyance; eleven thousand arrows of steel; one hundred pots, for discharging fire works, and naphtha; one hundred ass-loads of kettle drums, and one hundred embroidered standards. A corps of three hundred sappers and miners, with an extensive apparatus of all things necessary for the attack of fortified places, was also formed to accompany the expedition.

Having assembled the army at Mossûle, he marched from thence, by the ordinary route of Senjaur, on the last day of Rudjub, of the year already mentioned;* and, after crossing the Euphrates, he appeared on Friday the sixth of Ramzaun,* under the walls of the Syrian Rahebah; with the siege of which it was immediately determined to open the campaign. At the period under consideration, it was esteemed a place of great strength and importance; being defended by twelve spacious and lofty towers, or bastions, and by a ditch of thirty cubits deep, and half as many wide, the foundations of the rampart in general, constructed of stone; and Buddur-ud-dein Mûssa, the governor, by nation a Kûrd, had under his command a numerous and veteran garrison, with ample stores of every description, whether for subsistance or defence.

Thus provided, Buddur-ud-dein early evinced his determination to make a formidable and resolute resistance; and the moment the armies of Irâk and Azerbâijaun appeared in view, proceeded to put in practice all the methods which he could devise, to disturb and retard their

* Thirtieth of November, 1312. † Fourth of January, 1313.

A. H. 712-13. A. D. 1313. Habeib-us-seyr.

operations.* The besiegers, on their part, were not less active in advancing their works; their exertions being more immediately directed to fill the ditch. But, when that object had been accomplished, and the miners had carried a gallery so far through the rampart, as to be within hearing of the garrison behind it; while the soldiers by laying in vast quantities of fascines were completing the passage of the ditch, the besieged became at last dismayed by the boldness and pertinacity of their assailants, and indicated a disposition to surrender; which, through the mediation of Kauzy Nûdjm-ud-dein, and the address of Reshid-ud-dein the Vezzeir, the Sûltan finally permitted them to do, on terms of equal advantage to either party. After the capitulation of Rahebah, Ouljâitû appears, however, to have declined the further prosecution of his design against Syria; since, on the twenty fourth of Ramzaun,* we find him taking measures to recross the Euphrates, on his return into Azerbâijaun, which he immediately carried into effect. And he arrived in the ordinary series of marches, and without any particular accident, at his capital of Sûltauniah, before the conclusion of the year.

In the course of the ensuing year, Abû Sâeïd, who had not yet attained to his ninth year, was created by his father, governor of Khorassaun, under the tutelage of Ameir Sounje; being accompanied to his government by a numerous and splendid retinue, consisting of the sons of most of the principal nobility of the empire. The young prince, on his arrival in his province, experienced from all classes of the inhabitants, as well as from some of the border chiefs, every proof of satisfaction, that could be tendered by a people overjoyed at the prospect of a mild and benevolent administration.

Under these circumstances, and in consequence of some serious misunderstanding which had arisen between the Tcheghataian princes, Kepeik Khaun, and Shahzâdah Beyssour, the latter conceived it expedient to secure a retreat across the Amûyah, in some favorite recess of the province of Khorassaun. For that purpose, he dispatched a confidential agent to communicate his situation to Ouljâitû, and to solicit a retreat under his protection. The agent was favorably received, and an answer through him transmitted, that the Shahzâdah was author-

* Twenty second of January.

zed to take up his abode in any part of Khorassaun that might be most agreeable to himself; on which, Beyssour, or Tensour as he is occasionally denominated, soon afterwards hastened across the Oxus, and fixed his residence on the plain of Kawus, in the neighborhood of Baudgheiss. A. H. 713-16. A. D. 1313-16. Habeib-us-seyr.

The remaining part of the reign of Khodabundah does not appear to have furnished any event sufficiently remarkable for the record of history, since the author now passes, at once, to the period of his death, in the seven hundred and sixteenth of the Hidjerah. Towards the close of the year, about a fortnight after his return to Sûltauniah from a hunting party, he became indisposed; and his disorder assuming a very serious appearance, all the powers of medicine were called into exertion by his physicians, to give him relief; and they were at first successful. But, unfortunately, conceiving that his complaint was entirely removed, the Sûltan ventured to make use of his baths, and imprudently indulged in some species of diet unsuitable to his state of health. The result was a dangerous relapse; from which, neither the skill of his physicians, nor the aid of medicine, any longer availed to recover him. Relinquishing then every hope of the recovery of their sovereign, the principal Ameirs of the court now dispatched into Khorassaun, to announce to Abû Sàeid, the circumstances of his father's danger, and to urge the necessity of his immediate presence at Sûltauniah, in order to secure the throne of his ancestors, while his royal parent was yet alive. Before that object could, however, be attained, the dying monarch breathed his last, on the evening of the first of Shavaul,* being that of the festival at the conclusion of the fast of Ramzaun, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, and after a prosperous reign of twelve years, five months, and ten days. He was committed to the grave, with the usual solemnities, in the mausoleum erected by himself adjoining to the principal mosque of Sûltauniah, opposite, or near to the gate of Alburz.

This monarch has been also greatly eulogized for his extensive patronage of letters and literary men; since, exclusive of other liberal establishments for the advancement of knowledge, and the cultivation of the sciences, supported by his bounty in different parts of the empire,

December 16th, 1316.

A. H. 716-17. A. D. 1316-17. Habeib-us-seyr.

one hundred individuals distinguished for their genius and talents, are stated to have been maintained in constant attendance about his person, whether in peaceful quarters, or in the field. If, indeed, any credit be due to the testimony of his cotemporary, the author of the Tarikh gûzeidah, Ouljâitû, from the unclouded prosperity and benevolence of his reign, is to be classed in the most distinguished rank among the princes of the race of Jengueiz. The splendor of that family in Irân, is, indeed, considered under him to have attained its zenith; and, in short, he is represented to have been a just, prudent, magnanimous, and accomplished prince, equally respected abroad, from the terror of his arms, and beloved by his people for the paternal mildness of his government.

The building of Sûltauniah by this monarch has been already adverted to. It is here described to have formed an exact square of five hundred cubits, with a gate in each face, and defended in the whole, by sixteen towers. The ramparts were constructed of hewn stone, and they were of such a width as to admit of four horsemen riding abreast without inconvenience. This must, doubtless, refer to the castle; for the city of Sûltauniah must have greatly surpassed the narrow limits of a square of three hundred yards. Within that square was however included the mausoleum erected for his grave, of which the dome is described to have been sixty cubits in diameter, and one hundred and twenty, or just double, in height; together with the principal mosque, an edifice of very finished workmanship, also erected by him, with its several appendages, consisting of refectory, halls for reading, and college; with an establishment of sixteen lecturers or professors, and accommodation and maintenance for two hundred students.

Among the writers, who flourished under the reign of Ouljâitû, we shall only mention Abû Sûliman Fakher-ud-dein Dâoud, of Binauket, or Finauket, on the banks of the Seyhûn, the author of the Rouzut-ul-lubaub—the paradise of the understanding; better known to the orientals by the title of the Târikh Binaukety, or chronicle of the historian of Binauket.*

* For this discrimination of the fact, the writer of these pages is more particularly indebted to the information of his learned acquaintance Sir William Ouseley; from whose ingenious researches, the lovers of oriental literature may yet hope to derive much additional gratification, of the highest order, on his return from the mission to Persia.

Sûltan Âllâ-ud-dein Abu Saeid Bahauder Khaun, the son of Oul-jâitû, ninth of the Persian monarchs of the race of Jengueiz. A. H. 717. A. D. 1317.

When accounts reached him, about the conclusion of the year seven hundred and sixteen, of the demise of his father, the young Sûltan, at this period in the twelfth year of his age, was in Mazanderaun. From thence, after deferring his journey long enough to be joined by Ameir Sounje, his Atabek, or governor, from Khorassaun, he now hastened towards Irâk; and, on his arrival in the neigborhood, was conducted into Sûltauniah, by Ameir Tchobaun, at the head of the nobility, and principal inhabitants of that metropolis. After the customary period had been devoted to discharge the duties of filial affection, and respect for the memory of his father, a general assembly was convened on the plain of Sûltauniah; in the presence of which, on the first of Suffur of the six hundred and seventeenth of the Hidjerah,* Ameir Tchobaun supporting him on the right hand, and Ameir Sounje on the left, he was, with universal applause publicly seated on the throne of Hûlaukû. Habeib-us-seyr. Sultan Abu Saeid, IXth of the Perso-jenguizians.

Being yet in his minority, the Sûltan appears to have deputed the supreme authority of the state to Ameir Tchobaun; continuing, however, the office of Vezzeir to Khaujah Reshid-ud-dein, and Khaujah Ally Shah in conjunction, as formerly. The government of Diaurbekir was at the same time conferred on Ameir Terenjein, and that of Roum, or that part of Anatolia annexed to the persian empire, on Teymûr Taush, the son of the regent Tchobaun.

The intellectual powers, and singular prudence of the Vezzeir, Reshid-ud-dein Fazzel-ullah, have already in some degree claimed the attention of the reader; more particularly, as the anthor of a much respected oriental chronicle, entitled the Jaummia-ul-towaurikh Reshidy. He had conducted his ministry with distinguished reputation, through the latter part of the reign of Ghâzan Khaun, and the whole of that of Khodabundah, or Ouljâitû, in whose favor he held a more conspicuous share than in that, even, of his royal brother. And, he appears to have rendered himself equally worthy of his high destiny, by the uniform justice of his demeanor towards all classes of society, and by his bountiful encouragement of learning and science, in all its votaries; of which

* April 14th, 1317.

A. H. 717. A. D. 1317. he left numerous and extensive proofs in different parts of Azerbâijaun and Irâk.

Habeib-us-seyr.

Khaujah Ally Shah the Jilaunian, his associate in the ministry, had it seems, towards the conclusion of the reign of Ouljâitû, arrogated to himself rather more importance in his station, than his collegue was disposed to submit to; and of this the latter embraced an opportunity of complaining to his master. He requested at the same time, that if, as he conceived himself warranted in the expectation, he was to be considered the superior in his office, Ally Shah might also be made to obey him in every other circumstance; on the contrary, if he was himself to be considered in any respect subordinate in the Vizzaurut to his collegue, he must intreat to be employed in some other department of the state. Nevertheless, if Ally Shah could be brought to accede to either of the following propositions, he would, for his own part, still continue to act in conjunction with him. First, that Ally Shah should undertake the entire present management of the department of finance, while Khaujah Reshid-ud-dein should be alone responsible for the accounts of preceding years. Secondly, that all affairs connected with the office of *Vezzeir* should be vested in the discretion of Khaujah Reshid alone, so as to be exclusively accountable to the sovereign. Or thirdly, that the whole of the provinces of the empire should be arranged under two equal and separate departments; one consigned to each Vezzeir independently, and each of these restrained respectively from interfering with the department of the other. To all these, Ouljâitû appears to have objected, alleging that both his ministers, however in different respects, were equally worthy of his confidence; the one from his wisdom matured by the experience of age, and the other with unrivalled talents, in the prime and vigour of life. He therefore signified his pleasure that they should continue to officiate in conjunction; the elder exhibiting a reasonable indulgence to the limited experience of his collegue, and the younger yielding due deference to the maturer age of his senior.

Compelled to acquiesce in the decision of their sovereign, thus explained to them, the two Vezzeirs proceeded as formerly to transact the civil affairs of the government, in conjunction. But, on the accession of Abû Sâeid, the animosities of the rival statesmen again broke out;

commencing, however, on the part of the younger, in an unsuccessful attempt to impeach the integrity of his collegue, on a charge of embezzlement, or corrupt appropriation of the revenue. On the other hand, with the propensity, as our author seems disposed to think, natural to men of that class, some officers of revenue proposed to Khaujah Reshid, to insinuate themselves into the confidence of Ally Shah, in order to discover some grounds to establish against him a charge, similar to that which he had attempted to bring forward against his rival. With this proposal, Khaujah Reshid, whose temper was equally mild and easy in the extreme, refused to concur; offering at the same time if it proceeded from any injury on the part of his collegue, to use his influence with him to redress them. Disappointed in their views on Reshid, these men are said to have applied themselves next to the other Vezzeir; in whom they found an instrument better framed for their purpose, and with whom they immediately united in collecting proofs of guilt, against his innocent and unsuspecting associate. Corrupted at the same time by the gold of Ally Shah, the personal ministers of Abû Sâeid succeeded in influencing their master to the prejudice of Khaujah Reshid; and the young monarch, towards the close of the month of Rudjub,* was at last prevailed upon to remove this able and virtuous statesman from all his employments; notwithstanding the express opinion to the contrary of his Atabek, Ameir Sounje. The latter then labouring under severe indisposition, and dying on the twentieth of Zilkaudah of the seven hundred and seventeenth of the Hidjerah,† at Mahoul, where he was with his imperial pupil, on the way to pass the winter at Baghdâd, was by these circumstances, peradventure, prevented from exerting that influence, which might otherwise have been sufficient to protect the unfortunate Vezzeir from the malignant designs of his enemies. At the opening of the spring, Abû Sâeid returned to Sûltauniah.

A. H. 717-18. A. D. 1317-18. Habeib-us-seyr.

In the mean time, Khaujah Reshid had retired on his dismission to reside at Tebreiz; and Ameir Tchobaun having remained, during the absence of the Sûltan, on the frontiers of Azerbâijaun, engaged in the amusements of the chase, ventured to request an interview with the discarded minister; to whom he declared without reserve, that he con-

* October, 1317. † January 23d, 1318.

A. H. 718. A. D. 1318. Habeib-us-seyr.

ceived his presence in the councils of his sovereign to be as indispensable as the very salt to their meals; and he accordingly proceeded by every argument he could devise, to urge the necessity of his immediate return to court, to resume his employments. Khaujah Reshid, for some time, continued to resist his importunities, on the plea of advanced age, and declining life; of the treatment which he had experienced, as singularly unmerited, as his fortune had been unprecedented. That he had, however, thirteen sons, by their talents and experience, abundantly qualified to supply his place; and he trusted that while on his part, he devoted the remains of life to secure a pardon for the errors of humanity, the agents of his master's authority would draw the pen of oblivion through the record of his offendings; would dispense with the further services of one now bent to the earth under the weight of years, and infirmity: and that they would finally forget that there was any longer such a man in existence. Nevertheless, Ameir Tchobaun becoming still more importunate in his solicitations, and the habitual love of power possibly adding its influence, Reshid at last reluctantly yielded to his wishes.

But, when intelligence of what was in agitation was conveyed to Ally Shah, and the party who had conspired to the ruin of the aged Vezzeir, they became to a very considerable degree alarmed; and they hastened without delay to adopt those measures that appeared best calculated to avert the danger. The most effectual was by a very considerable sum of money to prevail upon Abû Bukker Aga, the oracle of Ameir Tchobaun's opinions, to prejudice the mind of his pupil against Khaujah Reshid; and Ameir Tchobaun, although in other respects irreproachable, being a man of great simplicity and flexibility of mind, easily wrought upon, by such as had any interest in practicing on his credulity, little difficulty was experienced to persuade him, that Ibrauhim, one of the sons of the Vezzeir, who was the Sherbet-daur, or chief butler of the late Ouljâitû, had been induced at the suggestion of his father, to poison his master; and that this was the true cause of the premature death of that respectable monarch. The atrocious charge was immediately communicated to Abû Sâeid, by Ameir Tchobaun; and the accusation being confirmed by the testimony of several of the Ameirs of the court, who had been suborned for that purpose, the learned

and upright minister was condemned without alternative to die. Having first struck off, before his eyes, the head of his son Ibrauhim, the executioner addressed himself to the further discharge of his office, upon the unhappy father; who desired him, when he should have inflicted the stroke of death, to inform Ally Shah on the part of his suffering collegue, that having sought the life, and brought about the condemnation of an innocent man, the unerring hand of justice, would most assuredly, at some period or other, avenge the injury; and that if there existed any shade of difference between his own destiny, and that which was reserved for his persecutor, it would appear in this circumstance alone; that while the tomb of him who now suffered innocently, would continue a memorial to distant ages, that of the other would not be suffered to stand for many days, before it would be demolished by the just rage of an indignant people. It will however be seen in the sequel, that this prediction was not justified by the event. The executioner then clove his victim in twain, without giving himself much concern as to the subject of his guilt or innocence; the Rebbia-resheidy a neighboring town dependent on, and possibly erected by the sufferer, was given up to pillage; and the entire property of the family seized as a forfeiture to the imperial treasury. The death of Reshid-ud-dein took place on the seventeenth of the former Jummaudy of the seven hundred and eighteenth of the Hidjerah;* the exact year being expressed by the letters, numerically taken, of the Arabic sentence, *Tauba-serrehû*—may he rest in peace.

A. H. 718. A. D. 1318. Habeib-us-seyr.

The manner in which, towards the close of the reign of Ouljaitû, the Tcheghatayan Shahzâdah Beyssour was permitted to chuse an asylum at Baudgheiss, has already claimed our attention. Unhappily, on intelligence of the death of that monarch, the ambition of appropriating to himself the noble province of Khorassaun, immediately fastened on the mind of the fugitive; and he secretly communicated with Ameir Bektûb, the associate of his exile, the design to which the minority of Abû Sâeid had possibly given birth; representing at the same time the expediency in the first instance, of some plan to cut off Ameir Yessawûl, the imperial lieutenant, as the principal bar to its accomplishment. This was greatly facilitated by the arbitrary and oppressive measures with which, on various pretexts for raising money, Yes-

A. H. 718. A. D. 1318. Habeib-us-seyr.

sawul persecuted the inhabitants of his government; among others was that of providing for the entertainment, on different occasions, of the Tcheghatayan Shahzadah himself, which finally brought upon this tyrannical proconsular the universal execration of the people. And hence, the two chiefs who were conspiring to ruin him, might obscurely intimate that as the care of entertaining them might at no distant period be transferred to other hands, it behoved them while the means were in their power, at least to make sure of Yessawul.

For this an opportunity was not long wanting. Ameir Yessawul with the produce of his arbitrary exactions, consisting of a variety of gold and silver furniture, of horses of the choicest Arabian breed, and slaves of the greatest beauty, with two thousand sheep, three hundred asses, or perhaps mules with articles for the table, and sundry dried skins of wine, (borachios) had set out for the residence of the Tcheghatayan; but coming first to the station selected for the abode of his followers by Ameir Bektûb, he there halted to refresh and regale himself. While thus employed without suspicion of evil, he was however surprised by the report of one of his attendants, that the retainers of Ameir Bektûb had made prisoners of a part of his people, and were too evidently approaching to offer violence to himself. Yessawul instantly mounting his horse, made the best of his way towards Irâk; and he had not proceeded to the distance of half a league, before Shahzâdah Beyssour entered his camp, and plundered it of all its contents. Yessawul found his retreat cut off in the neighborhood of Jaum, by a detachment of fifty horse, under Mûbaurek Shah Oujauny, a chief who had borne him a grudge of long duration. Here he was compelled to combat for existence, and having with him no more than thirty horse against fifty, he was soon killed.

As soon as they became known at Sûltauniah, Ameir Eyss Kûtlûgh was dispatched by Abû Sâeid to compose the disorders in Khorassaun; but, when that chieftain reached the borders of the province, he was met by Ameir Bektûb with a message from Shahzâdah Beyssour, announcing that having without the slightest provocation, formed a design against the life of the Shahzâdah, Yessawul had been unavoidably destroyed, in his attempt to carry it into execution. Contrary to all reasonable expectation, Kûtlûgh proceeded to treat the agent of the

usurper with distinguished kindness, and finally dismissed him with the declaration, that the Ameirs of Khorassaun were henceforward bound to yield obedience to the authority of Shahzadah Beyssour; from whom a paper was shortly afterwards received, in which he professed to acknowledge the supremacy of Abû Sâeid, and with which, in the simplicity natural to the Moghûls, Kûtlûgh returned satisfied to Sûltauniah. He died some time after this, on his way to Kârabaugh, whither he was proceeding by order of his sovereign.

A. H. 718. A. D. 1318. Habeib-us-seyr.

The successful termination of his conference with Eyss Kûtlûgh completely established Ameir Bektûb in the favor of Shahzâdah Beyssour, who furnished him with the last proof of his confidence, by placing him, with one thousaud of his bravest followers well equipped and armed, in charge of Baudgheiss; the Shahzâdah withdrawing in his own person into Gurrumseyr, whither he had already dispatched his family, in order to provide against the contingencies of adverse fortune. When he had reached his destination, and had enjoyed a short interval of repose, he there finally determined on hostilities against the authority of Abû Sâeid; and with that determination he now entered Seiestaun, the lieutenant of which, Nausser-ud-dein, he had by letter previously invited to submit to his power. Terrified at his approach; Nausser-ud-dein at first prepared to transmit to him a moiety of the revenue of his province, by way of Peishkesh, in acknowledgement of submission; but discovering, in the interim, that Teymûr, the chief of the Nikoudrians, had resolved to oppose the pretensions of the Tcheghatayan, and that Gheyauth-ud-dein prince of Herât, had also disdained to listen to any proposals from him, the governor of Seiestaun, on further reflection, proceeded to put the agents of the Shahzâdah to death, and at the same time conveyed to him a message of defiance. In consequence of this, Beyssour proceeded on his part to over-run and plunder the frontiers of the province, putting great numbers of the inhabitants to the sword without mercy. Turning then upon the Nikoudrians, he defeated and killed their chief, the Teymûr just mentioned; after which his attention became exclusively directed towards the accomplishment of his more important enterprize, the subjugation of Khorassaun.

A. H. 718. A. D. 1318. Habeib-us-seyr.

Very punctually informed of the design, the prince of Herât dispatched to apprize some of the Ameirs of Abû Sâeid's troops, then stationed at Raudegan, of what was in agitation. To this however they paid no attention; ascribing the message to a disposition on the part of the Tâzeik, or Persian, as they chose to denominate Gheyauth-ud-dein in contempt, to produce among them an alarm, of which they disdained to be thought capable. They could not be persuaded that the Tcheghatayan would ever presume to oppose the power of their master; neither did they conceive it probable, were he ever so well disposed to make the attempt, that he would with the force which he could command, dare to set his face towards Khorassaun, with any hostile design. Having nevertheless, assembled the whole of his followers, and confiding the place which he had chosen for the residence of his family, to the protection of his son Jouky, or Tchougui, Beyssour proceeded, in the middle of the latter Jummaudy of the seven hundred and eighteenth of the Hidjerah,* on his way into Khorassaun. On his arrival at Tchesht, he was joined by Ameir Bektûb, and the other chiefs, whom he had left at Baudgheiss, and he now resolved to push without delay for Mazanderaun; but not before he had made one other attempt to persuade Melek Gheyauth-ud-dein of Herât, to submit to his authoriy; which was finally repelled with disdain.

Thus totally disappointed in his views on Herât, Beyssour, in the month of Rudjub,† hastened with his utmost expedition towards Raudegan; where he completely succeeded in surprising the generals of Abû Sâeid, in their dream of security, and in making himself master of all their equipments, together with a vast multitude of sheep, and cattle of every description. Ameir Bektûb then advanced on the one hand to Damaghaun, while the Shahzâdah proceeded, without suffering his attention to be diverted to any other object, until he found himself in the heart of Mazanderaun. He there committed deplorable devastation, making captives of nearly ten thousand of the Seyuds, and most distinguished inhabitants of the province.

His career was, however, now drawing to its conclusion. When he had continued his violent proceedings in Mazanderaun for some months, it was at last announced to him, that the troops of Abû Sâeid were

* August, 1318. † September.

advancing in great force to expel him, under Ameir Hûsseyne Gûre- A. H. 718-19.
kan, sometimes denominated Ameir Hûsseyne Bûzûrg, the son of A. D. 1318-19.
Aukbouka Jellâeir. Beyssour immediately withdrew from the pro- Habeib-us-
vince, although it was in the middle of winter,* making the best of seyr.
his way to Neyshapûr. Into that city he sent a thousand of his soldiers, in order to raise a heavy contribution on the inhabitants; but when these agents of violence had exhausted every expedient of compulsion to extort their property from the citizens, and before they had yet been able to secure the fruits of their iniquitous proceedings, the report which they received, that Ameir Hûsseyne was suddenly approaching in eager pursuit, compelled them, not only to abandon their prey, but their very helmets and turbans, and to shift for themselves by a precipitate flight. Beyssour next appeared in the neighborhood of Mûsh-hed, and the mausoleum of Ally Ruzza; and there receiving intelligence that Gheyauth-ud-dein Guerret, the prince of Herât, had taken advantage of his absence, to employ a detachment of Ghourians in the plunder of Baudgheiss, by which Ameir Bektûb and his followers were stripped of the whole of their property, the circumstance affected him with equal rage and distraction of mind. Hence, when Seyud Buddur-ud-dein, the chief, with the other Seyuds, residents of Mûsh-hed attended to visit him, with such presents as on the spur of the occasion they had been able to provide, the Tcheghatayan, after compelling them to stand in his presence, for the whole of the interval between the hours of meridian and afternoon prayer, sullenly refused to reply to their salutation, or to notice them in any shape. The gentle Shahzâdah, as he is here called in irony, then sternly told them that his soldiers must be supplied with provisions and forage, and his kitchens with good mutton for the table. Buddur-ud-dein assured him that his wishes would be cheerfully complied with; and requested that some of his followers might be permitted to accompany them into the town, in order to collect all that was required for the supply of both himself and his army. A detachment of three hundred men proceeded accordingly, in company with the Seyuds, to take charge of this supply, which was determined at five hundred sheep, three hundred ass-loads of flowet, and five hundred of barley; together with such other articles as

*A. D. 1319.

A. H. 719. A. D. 1319. Habeib-us-seyr.

the troops might be more immediately in want of. Buddur-ud-dein conducted the detachment into the city, and having lodged them securely enough in a particular quarter, that very night caused the whole of them to be put to death, together with many others of the Beyssourians who had, for a variety of purposes, at the same time entered the place. With the horses and arms of those whom he had thus destroyed, Buddur-ud-dein then made up a very suitable present, with which, on his arrival in the neighborhood, he hastened to an interview with Ameir Hûsseyne Gûrekan; by whom he was received with distinguished kindness.

On the other hand, passing to the neighborhood of Jaum, Beyssour sent to demand the attendance of Shahaub-ud-dein Issmâeil, who presided in that town, in order to extort a supply of some kind or other for his followers, and received a very peremptory refusal; the chief taking post in a Koushek, Kiosk, or country house in the vicinity, and repelling with his arrows the approach of those who came to repeat the messages of the Tcheghatayan. In the mean time, the exhausted state of his cattle had compelled Ameir Hûsseyne to suspend his pursuit for some days, in the luxuriant pasturage afforded among the meadows of Raudegan; a delay, of which Beyssour and Bektûb availed themselves to ravage the territory of Herât; which city they at last proceeded to invest in form, expecting that they should yet succeed in terrifying Gheyauth-ud-dein Guerret, into a restoration of the property plundered at Baudgheiss. Every device to obtain that object, whether by negociation or hostility, proving however fruitless; and the reports of Ameir Hûsseyne's approach becoming every hour more frequent and alarming, the Shahzadah saw no other alternative than that of retiring once more into Gnrrumseyr, probably the country so called between Kermaun and the sea coast. Ameir Hûsseyne appeared before Herât, towards the close of the year seven hundred and nineteen, and having by every mark of favor and regard, evinced his approbation of the conduct of Gheyauth-ud-dein, proceeded without delay, in conjunction with that chief, in pursuit of the Beyssourians; of whom having cut off a considerable number, he retnrned for the present, without prosecuting his advantage, to Herât.

In the course of the following year, Kepeik Khaun the son of Dowa Khaun, monarch of Transoxiana, having received intelligence of the ungrateful contest in which Beyssour was engaged with his benefactors, determined to gratify the impulse of domestic revenge by immediately co-operating to his destruction. For this purpose he dispatched the Shahzâdahs Eiltchigadâi, Rûstûm, and Monguly Khaujah, at the head of ten thousand horse, across the Amûyah; with instructions not to return until they had effectually terminated the career of Beyssour, and his associate exile Ameir Bektûb. He employed, at the same time, an agent with Ameir Hûsseyne, to urge the expediency, on his part, of sending a proportion of the army of Khorassaun, to support the Tcheghatayan troops in the extermination of the rebels. A body of twenty thousand men was accordingly equipped by Ameir Hûsseyne, and directed to follow in the steps of the Tcheghatayans. But, when this force had proceeded to the station of Kherseng, they learnt that Shahzâdah Beyssour had already fallen into the hands of his pursuers. A. H. 720. A. D. 1320. Habeib-us-seyr.

On arriving within about ten, or perhaps, two farsangs of the residence of Beyssour, it appears that some emissaries were sent by those in pursuit of him, to tamper with the fidelity of his principal officers; who finally succeeded, by very liberal promises, in engaging them to abandon their chief in the hour of battle, and to join his adversaries. The Shâhzadah on his part, as soon as he discovered that the Tcheghatayan troops were in his neighborhood, with an unsuspecting confidence in the attachment of his followers, resolutely prepared to combat them sword in hand. But, his officers suddenly quitting him the moment they had been arranged in their posts for the battle, and going over to the enemy, the Tcheghatayan chiefs immediately rushed onwards to assail the Shahzâdah. Coming however first upon Ameir Bektûb, and striking off his head, Beyssour had an opportunity of perceiving his danger, and immediately betook himself to flight. Eiltchigadâi, with one thousand horse, was dispatched in pursuit of him, attacked, and killed him. The Tchegatayans then seized his children and women, and returned with a very considerable booty to the eastward of the Oxus; and the disturbances thus for the present appeased, the people of Khorassaun were permitted to enjoy a short interval of comparative repose.

A. H. 720. A. D. 1320. Habeib-us-seyr.

At the period when he detached Ameir Hûsseyne to oppose and quell the usurpation of Shahzâdah Beyssour, Abû Sâeid, to whom it becomes now necessary to return, was residing at Karabaugh, in the peninsula of the Kûrr and Araxes; and not long after the departure of that chief, he proceeded in person in the same direction, to support him in case of need, in his operations for the re-establishment of his authority in Khorassaun. He had, however, prosecuted his march no further than Beylekan, when he was compelled to suspend this object, by intelligence which reached him that the Khaun of the Ouzbeks, or of the Keptchauk Tartars, though this is the first instance in which we find them so designated, had issued from the plains on the Volga, and entered Georgia; where he had defeated and cut to pieces, the officers charged with the defence of that quarter. The fugitives who had escaped, overtook the Sûltan at this crisis; and he conceived it expedient to return without delay, with the troops about his person, which did not exceed two thousand horse, to make head against the invader; and disposing of these, on the right bank of the Kûrr, in a strait, and perhaps extended line, from point to point, in order to conceal the disparity of numbers from the enemy, he encamped to watch their motions. The Ouzbeks on the opposite side of the river, employed themselves, in the mean time, in overrunning every district of the adjoining territory, and in driving off the inhabitants into captivity. But Ameir Tchobaun arriving shortly afterwards, also from Beylekan, with a reinforcement of two tomauns to join his master, they conceived it prudent to withdraw; while Tchobaun immediately crossed the Kûrr, and pursued them with great slaughter, as far as it was thought convenient. After which he returned, with a considerable number of prisoners, to rejoin the camp of his sovereign; who conceived it no more than just to acknowledge the important service performed on this occasion, by loading his general with additional honors and rewards.

Ameir Tchobaun proceeding, however, to demand that certain of the chiefs, whom he had rescued from captivity during his successful pursuit of the Ouzbeks, should be brought to an account for their conduct in Georgia, on the recent irruption; and the son of Alynauk with some of his associate Nûyans, having suffered the discipline of the club, while others were degraded from rank for their behaviour, the circum-

stance became the source of the most dangerous discontent against that distinguished commander; and it was determined to seize the earliest opportunity of revenge. A. H. 720. A. D. 1320. Habeib-us-seyr.

Abû Sâeid, not long afterwards, returned to Sûltauniah; while Tchobaun marched again into Georgia, directing his course towards a station here called Kouktcheh Tengueiz, and leaving part of his equipments, possibly his family, in charge of his son Hussun. His enemies conceiving this to be the opportunity for which they had been for some time on the watch, hastened, like wolves in quest of their prey, in search of Tchobaun. The latter was timely apprized of the design; but unable to give entire credit to his information, he employed two of his followers to ascertain the truth; and these two persons falling into the hands of the malcontents, were immediately put to death. In the mean time, to prepare for the worst, Tchobaun secretly abandoned the cantonments, in which he had been previously stationed, and removed to join his son; while the adverse Ameirs coming at midnight, in the expectation of surprising his quarters, and finding their victim flown, were compelled to console themselves with plundering the station; after which they proceeded further in quest of Tchobaun. That chief no longer declined to meet them; but, after opposing them for some time with very unequal numbers, and with his usual gallantry and resolution, he found himself, at last, constrained to fly. He succeeded however, with some difficulty in conveying himself, in company with his son Hussun, to Tebreiz; where he experienced all the consolations of friendship and gratitude from Ally Shah the Vezzeir, who accompanied him soon afterwards, on his way to the presence of Abû Sâeid.

A mandate from the Sûltan, purporting to authorize the death of Ameir Tchobaun, having, in the mean time, been fabricated, and exhibited to the people as they advanced, by the factious Ameirs, the circumstance when it became known to him, did not fail to produce some alarming suspicions in that general; and he was, accordingly, prosecuting his journey to Sûltauniah under considerable hesitation and disquietude of mind. But the Vezzeir Ally Shah, hastening to court before him, and ascertaining that his favor with Abû Sâeid was rather increasing, than on the decline, the minister dispatched without delay to remove his apprehensions, and quicken his approach to the metropolis.

A. H. 720. A. D. 1320. Habeib-us-seyr.

Tchobaun was thus encouraged to enter the presence of his master with unruffled confidence; and he proceeded to communicate without reserve, all that he had seen and heard with respect to the insurgents.

On the other hand, Ameir Eirentchein, or perhaps Terentchein, who was father to one of the Sûltan's wives, at the head of the Ameirs of the adverse party, having drawn together a very superior force from various quarters of Azerbâijaun, had now crossed the Seffeid-rûd, or white river; and there taking post, prepared for battle. The Sûltan, with Ameir Tchobaun, also advanced from Sûltaunjah in the same direction; equally disposed to vindicate the authority of his government, and to protect the person of his general. In the mean time, repeated messages were conveyed by his daughter, to alarm the mind of Eirentchein against the probable consequences of his rebellious conduct; and to urge him to come to an accommodation, in the hope of being restored to the favor of her imperial consort. Eirentchein dispatched a message to inform his daughter in reply, that if her representations were to be at all relied on, and the Sûltan were serious in his amicable professions, it was expected that on the following day he would cause a white standard to be displayed, in that part of the field where he fought in person. And this was agreed to without a demur on the part of Abû Sâeid.

But, the next day, when this standard was displayed according to promise, a persuasion ran through the ranks of the insurgents, that the troops of the Sûltan were either averse to, or dreaded a conflict with them; and deriving additional confidence from such a belief, they hastened to commence the action, with all the arrogance to which it had given birth. The resolution with which their adversaries advanced to repel the attack, might however have tended in some measure to dissipate the illusion; but, the Sûltan having directed the head of Ameir Sheikh Ally, the son of Eirentchein, to be struck off, and affixed to the point of a spear, proclaiming, at the same time, that such would be the fate of every rebel to the cause of his sovereign, the indignation of the father was so inflamed by the spectacle, that rushing into the battle with impetuous fury, and accompanied by his wife the princess Kûnjeshk, he produced such extraordinary havoc among the Abû Sâeidians, as threatened to terminate in the most fatal result. At this

crisis, the young Sûltan now in his seventeenth year engaged in the conflict; and exhibited such conspicuous proofs of gallantry and address, that his principal commanders, animated by his example, and casting away the reins of a more cautious circumspection, precipitated themselves individually, and at once, on the front of the enemy. A strong wind arising at the same time, and carrying the dust in heavy clouds directly into the faces of the insurgents, furnished an advantage which left the victory no longer doubtful. Many of the rebel chiefs met their fate in the field of battle; others, among whom was the general Eirentchein, fell alive into the hands of the imperial party; and being conveyed to Sûltauniah, were there suspended to gibbets, and fires being kindled beneath them, they were in that manner tortured to death.

A. H. 720-22, A. D. 1320-22. Habeib-us-seyr.

The singular valour displayed by the youthful monarch on this occasion, gave him an undoubted claim to the appellation of *Bahauder*,—heroic; which was now bestowed upon him by the voice of the army; and the imperial secretaries received instructions to add this to his other titles. The letters which were circulated to announce the victory accordingly opened with the following preamble—*Ul-Sûltan-ul-auddel-Abû Sâeid Bahauder Khaun*—Sûltan Abû Sàeid, the just, the heroic lord.

In the seven hundred and twenty first of the Hidjerah, Ameir Tchobaun solicited, and obtained in marriage the hand of the princess Sauty, or Sauky Beg, the daughter of Ouljâitû, and sister of his sovereign; which appears to have placed him on the very pinnacle of his glory, and beyond which indeed, as a subject, it was impossible to ascend further. In the course of the year following occurred the death of Ameir Hûsseyne, the son of Aukbouka of the tribe of Jellâeir, at this period governor of Khorassaun; and occasionally denominated by historians Sheikh Hûsseyne Eylekhauny, and Sheikh Hûsseyne Bûzûrg, whose children were destined for a short time to fill the throne of the Persian monarchy. During the same year, the seven hundred and twenty second of the Hidjerah,* Ameir Tchobaun experienced the mortification to learn that his son Teymûr Taush, who held the government of Rûme, or that part of Anatolia subject to the Persian empire, had been misled by the suggestions of some gross and ignorant flatterers, to usurp the

* 1322.

A. H. 722-24. A. D. 1322-24. Habeib-us-seyr. functions of royalty; and, pretending to the character of the Mehedy, expected by the faithful at the latter age of the world, had entered into an alliance with the princes of Syria and Egypt, with a view to secure their support in the plans which he was forming, for the subjugation of Azerbâijaun, and the two great provinces of Arabian and Persian Irâk. The old chief was however, no sooner apprized of the dangerous and disloyal designs of his son, than he disclosed to the Sûltan so much of the intelligence that had reached him, as he thought necessary, and directed his march with a body of troops for the Anatolian frontier. But the approach of his father being announced to Teymûr Taush, he suddenly abandoned his ambitious views, and hastened without delay to cast himself upon his mercy. Tchobaun, after putting the mischievous advisers of rebellion to the sword, returned into Azerbâijaun, and there delivered his disloyal son, bound, into the hands of his sovereign. From a regard to the unshaken attachment of the father, Abû Sâeid bestowed his pardon upon the rebel, and immediately employed him, moreover, to command in Kermaun.

Of the seven hundred and twenty third of the Hidjerah, the greater part appears to have been consumed in the prosecution of some very odious and vexatious claims laid by Ameir Tchobaun, to various lands and other hereditaments in Irâk Ajem; having been persuaded, by persons otherwise interested in the question, to consider himself the only legitimate surviving heir of Nauz Khautûn, princess of Kûrdistaun, represented to have been married to his father, Melek Bahauder the son of Toudan Nûyan. Without, however, harassing the reader with the detail, it will be sufficient to note, that these claims were founded on a variety of Kabaulah, title deeds, or charters, either genuine or fictitious, placed in the hands of Tchobaun, by individuals who had objects in contemplation, to the attainment of which he was thus to be made instrumental. By the intemperate and illjudged avidity with which he was led to engage in these views, and by the apprehensions excited to a great extent, by this litigation of property on the representation of every insidious informer, Tchobaun rendered himself, at last the object of universal ill-will, if not of execration. With an attention to the tranquillity of the subject, which reflects honor on his memory, Ally Shah the Vezzeir interfered to remonstrate with Tcho-

baun, on the rapacious propensity which seemed to have taken possession of him; and having consigned to his agents, on the part of the Sûltan, certain districts in Anatolia, in exchange for what he conceived himself entitled to, as the heir of Nauz Khautûn, together with twenty thousand dinaurs from his own private purse, he finally prevailed upon him to forego these vexatious proceedings, and to imprecate upon himself the most serious curse, if ever he attempted to revive them. A. H. 724. A. D. 1324. Habeib-us-seyr.

The respectable Tauje-ud-dein Ally Shah did not long survive this popular and benevolent exertion of his influence. He was attacked by a complaint which equally baffled the skill of medicine, and the solicitude of his sovereign for his recovery; and he expired at Oujaun, in the seven hundred and twenty fourth of the Hidjerah, not less regretted by that sovereign, than lamented by his fellow subjects. His remains were conveyed to Tebreiz, and deposited in the contiguity of a mosque which had been erected by himself in that city. Of all the ministers of the race of Hûlaukû, he is recorded as the only one, who escaped a violent death; as a statesman of consummate talents, and extensive resources of mind, his fame could not have been soon forgotten; and he left in different parts of Azerbâijaun and Irâk, notwithstanding the prediction of his coadjutor recently adverted to, endowments of charity, and structures devoted to the purposes of religion, of a sufficient magnitude long to preserve his memory from oblivion. Abû Sâeid was very honorably disposed, through a sense of gratitude, to place the Vizzaurut in the hands of one of the surviving sons of the deceased minister; but the two brothers quarrelling, and mutually charging each other with corrupt and fraudulent practices, in the course of their employment under their father's ministry, the whole of the property accumulated by him, during a life of zealous service to the state, was finally confiscated; and instead of succeeding to the highest dignities in the empire, the wretched brothers were both condemned to exist in obscurity and indigence.

The vacant appointment was, upon this, conferred by the Sûltan, upon Rokken-ud-dein Sâein, the son of Zeiâi-ul-mûlk Mahommed; the latter of whom had held the office of Kauzy to the armies, either of Sûltan Mahommed the Khaurezmian himself, or of some other of the last of that family. Ever since he had attained to years of discre-

A. H. 724-25. A. D. 1324-25. Habeib-us-seyr.

tion, Rokken-ud-deïn had served among the retainers attached to the person of Ameir Tchobaun, who had promoted and encouraged his early merit; and through whose influence he found himself now raised to the first civil dignity of the state.

One of the daughters of Ameir Tchobaun, whose name was Baghdâd Khautûn, is described to have been a woman of exquisite beauty and attractions; whose cheek surpassed the damask rose in bloom and freshness, and the brilliance of whose charming features eclipsed the lustre of the moon and stars. This masterpiece of nature's workmanship had been married, in the seven hundred and twenty third of the Hidjerah, to Ameir Sheikh Hussun, the son of Ameir Hûsseyne Gûrekan, recently noticed: but, some time in the seven hundred and twenty fifth of the Hidjerah, it unfortunately happened that the young Sûltan, then in his twentieth year, should have seen and become most violently enamoured of this bewitching female, to such a degree, as it is said, as to have been equally subdued in reason and in patience. It is herestated to have been an article in the code of Jengueiz, that when the sovereign evinced a predilection for the wife of any one of his good subjects, whatever his rank or dignity in the state, the husband was expected immediately to divorce and send her to the imperial haram: and Abû Sâeid, in one of the paroxysms of the delirium to which he was a prey, was induced to communicate, by a confidential person to Ameir Tchobaun, some hints of his attachment for his daughter, and of his expectation that it should be gratified without delay. The reply which this haughty and powerful chieftain transmitted on the occasion, was, however, dictated by a jealousy of his honor, and a sentiment of indignation, but little consonant with the views of the Sûltan; although the latter found it expedient for the present not to disclose his disappointment, whatever unfavorable impressions the unaccommodating demeanor of Tchobaun had left upon his mind.

These untoward circumstances appear to have occurred at Oujaun about the close of the summer of seven hundred and twenty five; and as the winter drew near, Ameir Tchobaun, conceiving that by a separation from its object, the Sûltan might be able in some degree to extinguish his unwarrantable passion, availed himself of the opportunity to remove his daughter and son in law, to Kârabaugh, in the peninsu-

la of the Kûrr and Oras; while Abû Sâeid, with whatever reluctance, proceeded to pass the winter at Baghdâd. But instead of diminishing, this constrained separation contributed to augment and confirm beyond controul, the delirium by which his faculties were by this time completely subdued. A. H. 725. A. D. 1325. Habeib-us-seyr.

At a conjuncture thus critical, Sâein the Vezzeir, who had received on his advancement, or soon afterwards, the title of Nussret-ud-dein, found means to discover the change which had taken place in the Sûltan's disposition towards Tchobaun; and he availed himself without remorse of the occasion to detail to his master, in terms which were calculated to soothe his disappointed feelings, every circumstance that was offensive, in the conduct of his early benefactor, and of his dependents and relatives. And he finished the delineation by bringing to the Sûltan's recollection, that every dirhem of the revenues of the empire was entirely at the discretion of this over grown subject; through whose exorbitant usurpation of authority, neither minister, nor Ameir, nor noble of any class, possessed any longer the slightest influence in the state. These malevolent suggestions on the part of his Vezzeir, did not fail to sink deep into the mind of the young monarch; and in addition to the distaste already occasioned on the subject of Baghdâd Khautûn, completely filled the measure of his aversion to Ameir Tchobaun.

Perceiving that Abû Sâeid had, for several days, declined giving audience to his people, Tchobaun, in private ventured to express his surprise that any thing should be sufficient to produce in the breast of a monarch, whose power extended to the greater part of the habitable world, such serious disquietude, as that which appeared to have taken possession of him. The Sûltan told him in reply, that having lodged in his hands the entire authority of his government, he expected, as the least return, that his conduct would be so regulated as to secure the repose of his master, from every species of interruption; yet, in truth, that the time was long since gone by, in which he had been allowed to pass his days as he could wish: and he finally expressed himself, in some respect dissatisfied with the conduct of his son Damashk Khaujah, who at this period superintended the Sûltan's household. Tchobaun quitted the pavilion of his master under considerable

A. H. 726. A. D. 1326. Habeib-us-seyr.

perturbation of mind; and immediately sending for Damashk, after describing what had just passed between them, proceeded to urge in strong terms, the necessity of his discharging the duties of his employment, with such unremitting zeal and attention, that the merit of his services with the Sûltan might operate on an emergent occasion, to alleviate the sense of a father's errors; but to beware that no intemperate, or illregulated proceedings on his part should bring a father's life into jeopardy. Damashk protested, in reply, that every faculty of his mind had been uniformly devoted to obey, and even to anticipate, the very slightest intimation of the Sûltan's pleasure; an object to which he had long since sacrificed every gratification of his own. Nevertheless, he could not forbear to acknowledge that he had for some time perceived a very obvious change in the behaviour of their sovereign; and that he could ascribe it to no other cause than the malignity of Sâeim the Vezzeir.

Having made this discovery, Ameir Tchobaun conceived the expedient of withdrawing himself for some time, from the Sûltan's presence; and, in order to secure a convenient opportunity of destroying him, contrived that the Vezzeir should accompany him. Accordingly at the return of spring, on the pretext that his appearance was immediately necessary for the preservation of tranquillity in Khorassaun, he proceeded to that quarter, attended by the Vezzeir, and many other distinguished persons, whom he chose to select on the occasion; Damashk Khaujah being left, as before, in the superintendance of the Sûltan's household. The young monarch quitted Baghdâd, about the same period, on his way to Sûltauniah.

Tchobaun received, in fact, intelligence on his arrival in Khorassaun, that Termashérin Khaun, the sixteenth of the Tcheghatayan monarchs, was encamped in the territory of Kabûl, with the manifest design of invading his province. Tchobaun immediately dispatched his son Hussun, who will hereafter be better known to the reader, under the appellation of Sheikh Hussun Kotchuk (the lesser), with a division of the army under his orders, to oppose the execution of this design. apprized of the movement, Termasherin on his part, advanced a numerous body of his troops, to give battle to the son of Tchobaun; and a very obstinate conflict shortly afterwards ensued in the neigh-

borhood of Gheznein, in which the Tcheghatayans were finally defeated; Ameir Hussun, when he had secured his victory, hastening to Gheznein, which he immediately consigned to pillage and slaughter. Among the excesses committed by the soldiery on this occasion, not the least offensive was their violation of the mausoleum of Sûltan Mahmûd; where they destroyed the library, barbarously trampling under foot the venerated pages of the Korân, and the other precious manuscripts. Having thus signalized his vengeance, Hussun rejoined his father in Khorassaun, some time before the conclusion of the year seven hundred and twenty six.

A. H. 726. A. D. 1326. Habeib-us-seyr.

In the mean time, notwithstanding his father's prudent admonitions, Damashk Khaujah proceeded to exhibit, in the exercise of his functions about the person of the Sûltan, such an immoderate love of power, and so totally usurped the authority of government, that there remained at last to his sovereign nothing but the name. This odious usurpation, the young Sûltan found so far to surpass his forbearance, that it is not surprising he should have made it in private the subject of complaint to those more intimately in his confidence. One of these, rejoicing in the opportunity of giving expression to the feelings of private malignity, directly disclosed to the prince, that an unwarrantable intercourse had for some time subsisted, between this imperious mayor of the palace, and one of the widows of the late Ouljaitû. Abû Sâeid desired, upon this, that when the lover should next venture to visit his mistress, whose abode was within the castle of Sûltauniah, the circumstance should be immediately made known to him. Of this an opportunity was not long wanting. Impelled by the violence of an over-ruling passion, Damashk Khaujah was discovered to have entered the forbidden precincts; and Abû Sâeid, punctually informed of the sacrilegious intrusion, gave orders that he should be instantly put to death. Such, however, was the habitual awe of his power with which all were impressed, that not one man was found bold enough to carry the orders into execution. It happened just at this crisis, that the heads of several Kûrds, who had been executed for outrages on the high roads, should be brought to the presence of the Sûltan; and it very seasonably occurred to him, that these should be proclaimed as the

A. H. 727. A. D. 1327. heads of Ameir Tchobaun and his followers, put to death by one of the imperial generals, in Khorassaun.

Habeib-us-seyr,

The device had all the effect which it was intended to produce; for Damashk was no sooner apprized of the appalling report, than his presence of mind forsook him. He immediately quitted the castle; and, accompanied by no more than ten persons, abandoned himself to his fears, of which he neither knew the cause nor the object. Two of the Sûltan's domestics, Messer Khaujah and Aga Lûlû, were employed to pursue, and soon afterwards overtook the fugitive, although he was mounted on the fleetest horse in the stables of the race of Hûlaukû; for his pursuers no sooner drew near, than, in spite of the efforts of his rider to spur him on, the animal stood stock still, and immoveable as the horse, or knight, on a chess board; and to complete his misfortune, when, on finding that he must combat for existence, he endeavored to draw his sword, the blade by a similar fatality was not to be disengaged from the scabbard. Thus deprived both of the means of self defence, and further flight, he was overtaken by Messer Khaujah; who was about to dispatch him without further ceremony, when his companion called out to him to forbear, since Damashk was not of a consideration so humble, as to be destroyed without the express and final commands of their sovereign. Messer hastened accordingly to the presence of the Sûltan; from whom he received a signet to be conveyed to Aga Lûlû, as his warrant for execution, and the existence of the devoted captive was terminated without further demur. This event is stated to have occurred on the sixth of Shavaul of the seven hundred and twenty seventh of the Hidjerah.* The vast property of the unfortunate chief was given up to be pillaged by the multitude; and many an individûal, the most wretched mendicant in the streets of Sûltauniah in the morning, found himself by the evening of the same day, in a state of comparative opulence from his share in the treasures accumulated by the son of Tchobaun.

Having vindicated his supremacy by this severe exertion of his power, Abû Sâeid proceeded to dispatch instructions to the generals in Khorassaun, charging them to employ their utmost zeal and diligence, to the extirpation of Tchobaun and his adherents in that quarter; and

* August 23d, A. D. 1327.

mandates to a similar effect were expedited at the same time to every other province of the empire, in order that not a vestige of this once favorite and powerful family, might be suffered to remain on earth. The Sûltan, shortly afterwards, repaired in person to Kazvein, where he had directed his troops to assemble with all possible expedition. A. H. 727. A. D. 1327. Habeib-us-seyr.

The agent employed to convey the Sûltan's instructions into Khorassaun, found Ameir Tchobaun with the army of the province at Baudgheiss ; here said to be a dependency of Herât, as in other places we are told of the Tehraun of Rey, and the Meraughah of Tebreiz. The Sûltan's orders were communicated in private to the Ameirs, to whom they had been addressed ; but, as it appeared on deliberation that an open attempt against the person and authority of Tchobaun, was at present impracticable, they proceeded immediately together to the pavilion of that chief, and apprized him, without reserve, of all that they had been required to execute ; totally disclaiming, at the same time, all concurrence in the death of his son. When the conference broke up, at which he had received this afflicting and alarming disclosure, his eldest son Hussun represented to Tchobaun that it would be equally absurd and preposterous to calculate henceforwards on any measures of conciliation with the Sûltan ; and that it was not less dangerous than imprudent, to place any reliance on the professions of the Ameirs. The plan of proceeding which he should therefore propose was, immediately to dispatch those of the generals whose attachment to Abû Sâeid was sufficiently notorious ; and to demand the assistance of the Tcheghatayan Sûltans, for the final subjugation of, and the establishment of the authority of the family in, Khorassaun. These objects accomplished, it would not be difficult to contend with the power of Abû Sâeid, when he should approach the province ; and ultimately to avenge in the centre of Irâk the injuries with which he seemed disposed to overwhelm them.

Too confident in the multitude of his troops, and in the energies of his own personal valour, this did not, however, accord with the bolder views of Ameir Tchobaun. "What man in Irâk," exclaimed he with his natural arrogance, "is there that dares array himself in arms against "me ; nay who is there, that even in thought can endure the idea, much "less form the design of supporting a serious conflict with me ?" Then

A. H. 727. A. D. 1327. Habeib-us-seyr.

requiring the attendance of Nussret-ud-dein Sâein the Vezzeir, whom he considered as the fermenting principle of these evils, he directed the executioner to dispatch him without delay. The Vezzeir was thunderstruck at the suddenness of his condemnation; but perceiving that there was little room for expostulation, he contented himself with desiring the executioner to direct his blow so as to sever him exactly through the middle. Then fixing his eye stedfastly upon Tchobaun, he observed to him—"let this spectacle remove thy confidence in the "stability of worldly power; by the sword hast thou attained it, and "by the sword shall it be terminated."

Ameir Tchobaun now directed his march without further delay for Persian Irâk, at the head of seventy thousand horse, which at this period served under his standard; having first exacted, from the generals who accompanied him, a solemn oath to be faithful to his interests. This oath, on his arriving at Semnaun, he conceived it however expedient that they should repeat in the presence of Sheikh Rokken-ud-dein Alla-ud-doulah, whom he prevailed upon, at the same time, to repair to the presence of Abû Sâeid, for the purpose of mediating an accommodation; stipulating for no other terms than that the individuals concerned in the death of his son might be delivered into his hands. The Sheikh undertook his friendly office with cheerfulness, and he proceeded with all convenient dispatch to the camp of the young monarch; by whom he was received with all the respect to which the reputed sanctity of his character appears to have entitled him. His arguments to promote an accommodation with Tchobaun, proved however totally unavailing, both the Sûltan and his courtiers continuing unshaken in their resolution to proceed to extremities. The Sheikh returned therefore to communicate to Ameir Tchobaun the unsuccessful result of the conference; neither did he now forbear to caution him, at his peril, to draw his sword, whatever his injuries, against the authority of his sovereign.

The pride of Tchobaun had, however, not yet sustained any contingency to make him recede in the slightest degree from his purpose; and he continued accordingly to advance, until he came to the station of Kouha, or Ibrauhimabad, within one day's march of the army of the Sûltan. But here he experienced a fearful presage of what he was to

expect from the constrained attachment of the Ameirs, in the defection of Mahommed Beg Tchitchek, the maternal uncle of Abû Sâeid; who, notwithstanding the solemn engagement so recently repeated, went over, with other chiefs, and thirty thousand horse, to join the Sûltan. This appalling circumstance at once opened his eyes to the dangers which threatened him, and banished all confidence in the Ameirs who yet remained apparently attached to his standard; and he drew off, without further delay through the desert, on his return towards Khorassaun. The whole of the subordinate chiefs with their followers immediately dispersed in different directions; and Tchobaun, having previously dismissed his consort, Sauty, or Sauky Beg, to avail herself of the protection of her imperial brother, continued his retreat without halting, to the banks of the Mûrghaub, or river of Merû; it being at first his intention to retire across the Oxus, to claim the protection of the Tcheghatayan monarch. But having reached the Mûrghaub, without any further untoward contingency, he suddenly abandoned that design, and resolved to seek an asylum at Herât, with Melek Gheyauth-ud-dein, who is here said to have been brought up under his patronage; and from this he was not to be dissuaded by the most earnest expostulations and entreaties, on the part of his wife Dûlendy, another of the daughters of Ouljâitû, who, in vain, conjured him to recollect the many instances of flagitious perfidy, recorded of the race of Guerret, particularly in the examples of Dauneshmund Bahauder, and Ameir Norouz. But the measure of Tchobaun's destiny had now reached its consummation, and it was not to be averted by any precautions of human prudence.

A. H. 727. A. D. 1327. Habeib-us-seyr.

Proceeding to Herât, in conformity with the resolution thus fatally adopted, Ameir Tchobaun experienced on his arrival, from Gheyauth-ud-dein, in appearance at least, the strongest proofs of humanity, and of his regard for the claims of hospitality; and who assigned him a place of residence worthy of those professions of attachment, and entire devotion to his interests, which he did not cease to lavish upon him. At this very conjuncture, however, a letter from Abû Sâeid was delivered to the prince of Herât, which conveyed to him a proposal to put Tchobaun to death; for which his wife Gurdûntchein, together with the wealth of the Atabek of Farss, would be the compensation. Forgetting at

A. H. 727-28. A. D. 1327. Habeib-us-seyr.

once the ties of gratitude, and the sacred rights of hospitality, the perfidious chief dispatched the executioner to take away the life of his guest. In the first emotions of surprise and horror, Tchobaun intreated an interview with his betrayer; but that indulgence being peremptorily denied him, he prepared himself with becoming resolution to meet his fate. He requested, however, that when the stroke of death should have been inflicted upon him, his last wishes might be attended to in three points. The first was, that his head might not be severed from the body; but that one of his fingers, which was remarkable for having two ends, might be taken off, and transmitted in its stead, as a proof that his career had been forever closed. The second was, that his son Jullâo Khaun a child of great beauty and promise, the offspring of the princess Dûlendy, another of the sisters of the Sûltan recently mentioned, might not be put to death, but sent to his uncle in Irâk. The last was, that his body might be conveyed to Medeinah, to be deposited in the sepulchre which had been there long since erected by him for its reception. All this Gheyauth-ud-dein faithfully engaged to fulfil, when he finally directed the executioner to dispatch him.

In Mohurrim of the seven hundred and twenty eighth of the Hidjerah,* the requisite proof of Tchobaun's execution was received at the head quarters of the imperial army. In the winter of the same year, Gheyauth-ud-dein, on his way to claim from Abû Sâeid the reward of his perfidy, became apprized that Baghdâd Khautûn had been placed in the royal haram; and had already established a very powerful influence over the mind of her imperial paramour, which she was not very likely to exert to the advantage of her father's murderer. Hence conceiving some alarm, he unaccountably dispatched one of his attendants back again into Khorassaun, with orders to put to death the innocent Jullâo Khaun, which were very punctually executed. Gheyauth-ud-dein then continued his journey to court, which he found at this period at Kârabaugh of Arran. In consequence of the recent exaltation of Baghdâd Khautûn, his reception was not the most flattering to his hopes. He was in fact, placed under some kind of restraint, until the bodies of Ameir Tchobaun and Jullâo Khaun, which he had been directed to send for to Herât, arrived at Oujaun. The sum of

* November, A. D. 1327.

forty thousand dinaurs was then added by the Sûltan, to furnish canopies, or palls, of suitable magnificence for the coffins of the departed chief and his murdered son; and they were by his orders both committed in particular charge to the pilgrims proceeding to Mekkah; with instructions to convey them finally to Medeinah for sepulture, in conformity with the dying request of Tchobaun. The remains of that chief, and his child were accordingly conducted by the Hadjies through the whole routine of the pilgrimage, and ultimately consigned to the grave, by the side of Imaum Hussun at Medeinah; it being considered a violation of that respect which was due to the memory of the prophet, to open any graves in the sanctuary of his mosque, in, or near which, Tchobaun had caused his mausoleum to be erected. A. H. 727. A. D. 1328. Habeib-us-seyr.

Ameir Tchobaun is described to have been a man of great integrity and firmness of mind; to have devoted himself with uniform zeal to the exercise of the duties of his religion; and to have left, on the roads to Syria and Egypt such memorials of his magnificent spirit, as to have obliterated, in a great degree, the fame of the most splendid and celebrated structures of the ancient Persian empire. He is lastly said to have conducted to the sacred city of Mekkah an abundant supply of water, which from a desart changed the neighborhood of the place to a scene of flourishing cultivation.

To leave nothing unrecorded of a person who has engrossed so extensive a share in the subject of these pages, the author proceeds to deliver, in brief, an account of his nine sons and their descendants. The eldest of these was Ameir Hussun recently spoken of, who had also three sons, Taulesh, Hadjy Beg, and Ghouje Hûsseyne. Taulesh had enjoyed, for some time, under the authority of Abû Sâeid, the government of Isfahaun and Farss; and at the period of Ameir Tchobaun's disastrous return into Khorassaun, accompanied his father into the province of Mazanderaun; from whence they proceeded together into Khaurezm, to claim the protection of Kûtlûgh Teymûr, the governor of the province under the authority of the Khaun of the Ouzbeks. By the assistance of that officer, they were enabled to prosecute their journey to the court of his sovereign, by whom they were immediately advanced to some of the most distinguished employments under his government. Being ultimately dispatched with an army to reduce Tchir-

A. H. 728. A. D. 1327. Habeib-us-seyr.

kess, or Circassia, Ameir Hussun received in the course of the service, a wound in his shoulder of which he died. His son Taulesh expired by a natural death, about the same period. Of the two other sons, Hadjy Beg was poisoned by his cousin german, Sheikh Hussun Koutchek; and Ghouje Hûsseyne perished also by a violent death, through the direction of Sûliman Khaun of the race of Yeshmowut the son of Hûlaukû, as will be seen hereafter.

The second son of Tchobaun was Teymûr Taush; the ambitious governor of Rûme formerly adverted to, as having aspired at independent power. When intelligence reached him of his father's disgrace and death, he happened to be at Sivauss, in the same province; and having immediately shut himself up in one of the strong holds of the country, he might perhaps conceive that, for some time at least, his person would be sufficiently secure from danger; but on a more deliberate view of circumstances, he collected his property, which is represented as enormous, and sought an asylum with Melek Nausser, Sûltan of Egypt. Here, by a liberal distribution of his wealth, he acquired among the higher classes of the natives, such distinguished popularity, that his protector, after treating him for some time with great kindness and attention, became at last jealous lest his growing influence might endanger his own authority; and he embraced an early opportunity to put him to death. His head was transmitted to Abû Sâeid; by whom it was received, while in summer quarters at Oujaun, in Shavaul of the seven hundred and twenty eighth of the Hidjerah.* Teymûr Taush left four sons, of whom Ameir Sheikh Hussun Koutchek, and Melek Ashruf, will be sufficiently distinguished in the succeeding pages.

The fate of the third son, Damashk Khaujah, has been already described. He left four daughters, one of whom, Dilshaud Khautûn, celebrated by the muse of Khaujah Sûliman Sawjy, became at a subsequent period the wife of Abû Sâeid.

The fourth son of Tchobaun was Ameir Mahmûd, who presided in Gûrjestaun; and who was taken and put to death by the Abusâeidian generals, in the same year that proved fatal to the father. He left several children, all of whom perished either by poison or the sword, through the animosity of their relative Sheikh Hussun Koutchek.

* August, 1328.

These four sons were by the same mother with Baghdâd Khautûn. A. H. 728-32. A. D. 1328-32.

The fifth son was Jullâo Khaun recently noticed to have been perfidiously put to death by Gheyauth-ud-dein, prince of Herât. Habeib-us-seyr.

The sixth was Seyûrghaun, or Seyûraga, whose mother was the princess Sauty or Sauky Beg, the daughter of Ouljaitû, and sister of Abû Sâeid.

The seventh, eighth, and ninth, were Seyûgû Shaud, Yaughy Bausety, or Pausty, and Norouz, all three by one mother; and they will separately be brought under the attention of the reader in a future page.

Resuming the narrative, we are informed that notwithstanding the deadly aversion which he entertained for the rest of the family, his passion for Baghdâd Khautûn continued to rule, with undiminished and uncontroulable violence in the bosom of the Sûltan; and he at last employed the intervention of one of his Kauzies, of the name of Mûbaurek Shah, by whatever arguments he thought most advisable, to prevail upon Shaikh Hussun the Eylekhaunian, to accede to his wishes, and consent to a separation from his wife. Conscious of his inability to contend with despotic authority, and of the personal danger to be apprehended from resistance, the envied husband submitted to part with her who was the delight and pride of his existence. At the expiration of the prescribed period, the Sûltan proceeded to espouse the repudiated beauty, and she became at once the partner of his bed and throne; and the influence which she obtained, in consequence, in the administration of the government, restored, in some degree, the fortunes of the family of Tchobaun.

Baghdâd Khautûn appears, at all events, to have retained her power over the Sûltan's affections unimpaired, until the seven hundred and thirty second of the Hidjerah; when he was persuaded by the suggestions of private malevolence into a belief, that she continued to hold a clandestine intercourse with her former husband. In the first moments of irritation, orders were issued that the unfortunate Ameir Hussun should be immediately put to death; although he was preserved for a more exalted destiny, through the intercession of his mother, who was the monarch's aunt. He was, however, imprisoned in the fortress of Kaukh, and the suspected Khautûn banished from all correspondence with her imperial consort. But, some time afterwards, discovering

A. H. 732-36. A. D. 1332-35. Habeib-us-seyr.

that she had been basely traduced by her calumniators, the Sûltan restored her to his favor, and the government of Rûme, or Anatolia, was conferred on the injured Ameir Hussun.

The circumstances attending the administration of Gheyauth-ud-dein Mahommed, the son of the late Vezzeir Reshid-ud-dein Fazzel-ullah; the conspiracy set on foot by Naurein Toghâi the son of Keybouka Nûyan, and other powerful Ameirs, in order to destroy the minister, with Baghdâd Khautûn, and eventually the Sûltan himself, had it not been defeated principally through the personal vigilance and energy of the monarch; together with other less important matters which occupy the remaining periods of the reign of Abû Sâeid, would, in interest, scarcely compensate the labour of detail. We shall therefore, with little regret, and without further taxing the indulgence of the reader, pass on at once to the seven hundred and thirty sixth of the Hidjerah.

About the close of the summer of that year, which had been remarkable for the excessive heat of the season, reports conveyed to him of the approach towards that frontier, of the armies of Keptchauk, necessarily drew the attention of the Sûltan to the banks of the Kûrr; and he was accordingly on his march in that direction, when his health became suddenly and seriously affected. At the expiration of a fortnight, the complaint appearing, however, to give way to the efforts of medical skill, he ventured, like his father, to make a premature use of his bath, which produced a violent relapse of his disorder. Some of his physicians conceiving a suspicion that he had been poisoned, proceeded to prescribe such remedies as the case seemed to require. Every application proved, however, unsuccessful. The young Sûltan was seized, in spite of all their skill, with the agonies of dissolution, and expired on the thirteenth of the latter Rebbeia of the seven hundred and thirty sixth of the Hidjerah,* in the neighborhood of Kârabaugh; at the age of thirty years and six months, and after having wielded the sceptre of Hûlaukû, with considerable glory, for a period of eighteen years seven months and sixteen days.

According to some statement in the preliminary to the Zuffurnamah, it would appear that towards the concluding period of his life, Abû

*November 30th, 1335.

Sâeid had transferred his affections to Dilshaud Khautûn, the daughter of Damashk Khaujah, whom, with the usual facility, he proceeded to enrol among his wives; and on this, finding her influence declining, that Baghdâd Khautûn in a fit of revenge and jealousy, dared to administer poison to her royal husband, which was, therefore, considered the actual cause of his premature death. It is, nevertheless, equally strange and unaccountable that all historians should so blindly agree in representing both Baghdâd, Khautûn and Dilshaud, as the wives of Abû Sâeid at the same time; although it could not have escaped them, that a connection by marriage with the aunt and the niece together, is strictly proscribed by the laws of the Korân; and that Abû Sâeid was an orthodox Mussulman, does not appear to be at all questioned. In this view it would seem more consistent with probability, that the Sûltan should have first dissolved his union with Baghdâd Khautûn by regularly putting her away, and then only to have espoused her niece; all which is, possibly, noticed by the author, in order, by evincing the impracticability of executing such a design, to remove from that princess the foul and horrible stigma of having destroyed her husband.

A. H. 736. A. D. 1335. Habeib-us-seyr.

The remains of the Sûltan were conveyed to the metropolis of Sûltauniah, and deposited, with the usual solemnities, in a structure erected for the purpose by himself in the outskirts of that place.

Among the most respectable of the contemporaries of Abû Sâeid, we cannot omit to mention the celebrated Sheikh *Seffy-ud-dein Ardebeily;* the ancestor of the Seffûides or imperial race of SEFFY, extinguished by Nâdir Shah, in the former part of the eighteenth century. By the sanctity of his character, and the unblemished purity, and benevolence of his life and manners, he had contrived to establish, amidst the distractions which pervaded his country, so powerful an influence over the minds of men, that the very Tartars, with all their ferocity and disregard to the dictates of humanity, are said to have yielded an extraordinary deference to his commands. He was the ancestor in the sixth degree, of Shah Issmâeil Seffy the first, the founder of the monarchy in this family.

Another who flourished during the reign of Abû Sâeid, was Hamdullah ul Mûstouffy, the son of Abi Bukker, the Kazvinian, author of the Târikh gûzeidah and Nuzzehet-ul-kûlloub, (recreations for the

A. H. 736. A. D. 1335. Habeib-us-seyr.

heart), both highly esteemed performances in the east. He was a clerk or secretary, in the offices of the learned Vezzeir Reshid-ud-dein Fazzel-ullah, and his son Gheyauth-ud-dein Mahommed; to the latter of whom, he inscribed his work the Târikh gûzeidah, which is brought down to the seven hundred and twenty ninth of the Hidjerah; and which, considering the sources from whence he had an opportunity of deriving his information, would seem entitled to a more than ordinary degree of our confidence, were it possible to conceive an Asiatic of that age capable of delivering to posterity a faithful and impartial review of events. His brother, Fakher-ud-dein Futtah-ullah, was not less distinguished for his genius and learning.

It is, lastly, not to be forgotten that the year, in which the glories of the race of Jengueiz in Irân expired with Abû Sâeid, (for the fleeting pageants subsequently exhibited on the throne, are scarcely worth the record of history) gave birth to the invincible Teymûr; an event which took place at Kesh, sometimes denominated the green city, or the city of verdure, between Samarkand and Nakhsheb, on the twenty fifth of the month of Shabaun ;* about the period at which our third Edward was preparing for his glorious expedition into France.

Mûezz-ud-dein ARPA KHAUN, tenth of the Persian monarchs of the race of Jengueiz.

This prince was a descendant from Artekbouka, one of the sons of Tûly Khaun, and previous to his elevation bore the name of Arpa Kawun. In consequence of the declaration of the late Sûltan, that there remained no person of the line of Hûlaukû qualified to sustain the functions of the imperial dignity, and that the important trust therefore necessarily devolved to Arpa Kawun, a message was dispatched by Gheyauth-ud-dein the Vezzeir, as soon as the Sûltan was perceived to be in the agonies of death, to invite that prince from the private residence of his family, to take possesion of the splendor of a throne. The new monarch reached the imperial encampment, on the day subsequent to that on which his predecessor had expired; and was immediately seated in sovereign power, with the usual Moghûl formalities.

ARPA KHAUN, Xth of the Perso-jenguizians,

In addressing the Ameirs of the empire the day after his accession, Arpa Khaun is described to have stated to them, that he was not, like

* April 8th A. D. 1336

the Sûltans his predecessors, a man devoted to the sensual enjoyments of life; that instead of a tiara and girdle, of gold and gems, a cap of felt, and belt of woollen, would best accord with his simple habits: and that, for a mild and moderate government on his part, he should expect a reciprocal harmony and conformity to law, on the part of his armies. He then confirmed to the several Ameirs, and officers of state, the dignities which they had held under the authority of Abû Sâeid; and the ensuing Friday, he received from them by acclamation the title of Mûezz-ud-dein-wa-ud-dûnnia—the monarch who reflects lustre upon his religion, and upon the age in which he lives. And in truth without exaggeration, observes the author, the robe of imperial authority would have derived no ordinary splendor from his person and character, were it not that when he became invested with it, the fortune of the empire was already in a state of rapid decline; and that an adverse destiny denied to a just and benevolent prince that opportunity for the display of his virtues, which they eminently deserved.

A. H. 736. A. D. 1335. Habeib-us-seyr.

Notwithstanding all that might be intended to be conveyed by this remark, Arpa Khaun was scarcely well seated on his throne, before he conceived a suspicion that until those who possessed the confidence of his predecessor were removed, his own power would never acquire permanent stability; and his earliest attention was accordingly directed to relieve himself from his apprehensions on this head. The first who fell a victim to this suspicious policy, was the princess Baghdâd Khautûn; whom he condemned to die on the charge of having poisoned her husband, and of encouraging the designs of the Khaun of the Ouzbeks, who had about this period entered Shirvaun. She was accordingly dispatched in her bath, by Khaujah Lûlû, one of the eunuchs of the Serâi, or women's palace, towards the end of the latter Rebbeia.* Arpa Khaun then proceeded in the midst of winter, across the Kûrr to give battle to the Ouzbek monarch, whom he totally defeated; after which returning in triumph to his capital, he espoused the princess Sauty or Sauky Beg, the widow of Ameir Tchobaun, and sister of the late Sûltan.

While he was yet solemnizing his nuptials with this lady, on the suspicion of having concealed one of the descendants of Hûlaukû as a

* December 1335.

A. H. 736. A. D. 1336. Habeib-us-seyr.

cover for future revolt, he seized and executed Ameir Mahmûd Shah Aynjû; and Towukkel Kûtlûgh, of the line of Ougtâi Kâan, with two most promising youths his children, was condemned to suffer the same fate. Ameir Mûssâoud, and Abû Ishauck, the sons of Ameir Mahmûd Shah, contrived however to escape from Tebreiz; the former to Rûme, where he claimed the protection of Ameir Sheikh Hussun the Eylkhaunian, and the latter into Diaurbekir, to Ameir Ally Bâidû Shah, who had declared himself hostile to the government of Arpa Khaun. On the other hand, Ameir Eyss Kûtlûg, and Sûltan Shah the son of Neikrouz, with some other chiefs who had been imprisoned under the authority of Abû Sâeid, now found themselves by some means or other at large, and attached themselves to the service of the new sovereign; but an habitual turbulence of disposition did not admit of their forbearing to encourage the spirit of revolt and sedition, which was at this period bursting forth in every quarter of the empire. In the mean time, Dilshaud Khautûn also, who was pregnant by the late Sûltan, fled to Ally Bâidû Shah in Diaurbekir; while Khaujah Lûlû hastened to apprize him, on the part of his sister Hadjy Khautûn, the mother of Abû Sâeid, of the hostile designs of Arpa Khaun, although she had but recently concurred in his elevation. All which, united with the animosity derived from his ancestor, who was engaged during the reign of the emperor Kûblâi, in perpetual hostilities with Artekbouka, who held a similar relation of ancestry to the new monarch, at last confirmed Ally Bâidû Shah in his design of raising Mûssa Khaun the grandson of Bâidû Khaun, to the throne, in opposition to the established authority of Arpa Khaun.

Confiding in the strength of his armies to support the claims which he had thus determined to assert, Ameir Ally Bâidû Shah finally advanced in considerable force from Diaurbekir towards Azerbâijaun; while Arpa Khaun, reposing in the counsels and experience of his minister, Gheyauth-ud-dein Mahommed, hastened with equal resolution to vindicate the rights of established authority, and to oppose his adversaries in the field of battle. During the reciprocal approach of the armies, Gheyauth-ud-dein received, by a deputation from the chiefs of the adverse party, a proposal to compromise the dispute, by conferring upon Ally Bâidû Shah, the dignity of Ameir-ul-ûmra, or captain

general of the empire; which was however rejected with haughty disdain, by the Vezzeir. At the same crisis the expedient was suggested, by Arpa Khaun, of cutting off such of the commanders in his train, as he had reason to suspect of favoring the interests of the enemy; in which, with a magnanimity deserving of a better fate, the minister also refused to concur, alleging that he considered their existence or non-existence, their attachment or hostility, as equally unimportant in the scale. A. H. 736. A. D. 1336. Habeib-us-seyr.

On Wednesday the nineteenth of Ramzaun,* in the neighborhood of a station called Tcheghtû, the adverse armies came to battle; but Eysskûtlûgh, and Sûltan Shah Neikrouz, deserting the standard of Arpa Khaun in the heat of the action, and going over to the enemy, victory finally declared for Mûssa Khaun, and the Ameirs who supported his claims. The vanquished monarch and his minister fled in different directions; but being closely pursued, the minister was taken at Meraughah, and immediately conveyed to the presence of Ally Bâidû Shah, who treated him with respect and compassion, and seemed, otherwise disposed to spare his life; but the associated Ameirs uniting to urge his indispensable destruction, that just, learned, and accomplished statesman was condemned, on the twenty third of the same month of Ramzaun,† to perish by the sword of the executioner. Arpa Khaun was, a few days afterwards, also seized in the territory of Senjauss, and brought to Oujaun; where by the direction of Mûssa Khaun, or his party, he was delivered over to the sons of Ameir Mahmûd Shah Aynjû, who did not fail to retaliate upon him with rigid severity, the death of their father. Arpa Khaun was thus cut off, on the third of Shavaul of the seven hundred and thirty sixth of the Hidjerah,‡ after a short and turbulent reign of five months and thirteen days.

Mussa Khaun, the son of Ally Khaun, and grandson of Baidû Khaun, eleventh of the Persian monarchs of the race Jengueiz.

Having terminated the career of Arpa Khaun, in the manner just related, Ameir Ally Bâidû Shah proceeded without further obstacle, to place Mûssa Khaun on the throne of Hûlaukû. He conferred the office of Vezzeir on Ameir Hadjy the son of Tauj-ud-dein the Shirvaunian; reserving, however, to himself, the unlimited exercise of the

* May 1st, 1336. † May 5th. ‡ May 15th.

A. H. 736. A. D. 1336. Habeib-us-seyr.

sovereign power. But, as this conduct evinced a disposition to exclude the great Ameirs of the empire from the influence to which they pretended in the management of affairs, they became very early disgusted with his administration, and withdrew from all public employment; resolved, at the same time, to avail themselves of the first convenient opportunity to declare against, and punish this inordinate ambition of rule. The usurpation of Ally Bâidû Shah, and the predominance of his tribe, that of Owâiraut, did not experience a much better reception in the more distant provinces. Ameir Hadjy Toghâi suddenly quitted Diaurbekir, and withdrew into Anatolia; where he joined Sheikh Hussun the Eylkhaunian, who was, it is to be recollected, the uncle's son of Abû Sâeid, and whom he finally prevailed upon to oppose the authority of Mûssa Khaun, and his more ambitious minister.

Mussa Khaun, XIth of the Persojenguizians.

In order to give to his proceedings the colour of justice, Ameir Sheikh Hussun conceived it expedient to invest Mahommed Khaun, a descendant in the third or fourth degree from Mangû Teymûr, the son of Hûlaukû, with the royal authority; and having resolved without further delay on an attempt to take possession of the Persian empire, soon afterwards approached the frontiers of Azerbâijaun. On the other hand, Ally Bâidû Shah, with Mûssa Khaun the instrument of his ambition, hastened to oppose the invasion; and on the fourteenth of Zilhudje,* at the station of Nosheher, a dependency on Alatauk, the rival powers prepared to bring their claims to a decision. Before, however, he committed his fortunes to the uncertain issue of a battle, Ally Bâidû Shah, whose thoughts appeared directed to obtain his object rather by stratagem than open force, conveyed a message to Ameir Sheikh Hussun, intimating that, as the two monarchs were engaged in a particular quarrel of their own, he saw no absolute necessity that their ministers, who were but remotely concerned, should be personally their associates in the blood about to be drawn. What he therefore proposed was, that both he and Sheikh Hussun should remain quiet spectators, apart from the conflict, while the principals in the dispute, decided their claims before them; and that, when the victory was determined, they should both submit to the conqueror.

* July 24th, 1336.

Acceding to the proposal, Sheikh Hussun with two thousand of the best soldiers, drew off accordingly, and took post on a neighboring eminence which overlooked the field of battle. But the residue of the armies were no sooner engaged, than, either alarmed at a movement, the object of which it had, possibly, not been thought expedient to explain to him, or through some other apprehension of personal danger, Mahommed Khaun suddenly abandoned the field to his adversary; and Ally Bâidû Shah, unmindful of the fantastic changes with which a capricious fortune is frequently disposed to surprise her votaries, conceiving that the victory was no longer doubtful, descended from the eminence, on which he had taken post according to agreement; and pitching his tents on the banks of the river which intersected the adjoining plain, proceeded without further concern or precaution to enjoy the luxury of the refreshing stream. Ameir Sheikh Hussun determined without hesitation to avail himself of the advantage thus incautiously thrown in his way; and rushing, sword in hand, among the troops so culpably exposed to destruction, easily succeeded in cutting them to pieces. Intelligence of the disaster was soon communicated to Mûssa, who now fled in his turn, after having sustained his precarious authority for about two months and nine days; while Mahommed Khaun hastened back to reap the fruits of a victory to which he had so ill contributed.

A. H. 736. A. D. 1336. Habeib-us-seyr.

Mahommed Khaun, the son of Youlkûtlûgh, the son of Anbartchei, the son of Mangû Teymûr, son of Hûlaukû Khaun, twelfth of the Persian monarchs of the race of Jengueiz.

Ameir Ally Bâidû Shah having perished in the confusion, and Mûssa Khaun having disappeared in consequence of the recent conflict, Ameir Sheikh Hussun proceeded to seat Mahommed Khaun on the throne of Hûlaukû, at Oujaun; and among his arrangements to provide for the security of the government, he determined to restore to favor and employment, the yet surviving branches of the family of Gheyauth-ud-dein the late minister; and to retaliate in some degree, the injury which he had sustained from Abû Sâeid, in the compulsory separation from his wife, he availed himself of the earliest opportunity, after the establishment of his power, to console himself in the embraces of Dilshaud Khautûn, the surviving widow of that monarch. But, while he was yet engaged in the festivities attending the celebration

Mahommed Khaun, XIIth of the Perso-jenguizians.

A. H. 737. A. D. 1337. Habeib-us-seyr.

of his nuptials, the turbulent spirit of the nobles was already at work to contrive the means of his degradation; and many of them, the most distinguished in rank and reputation, immediately betook themselves with that view, to the remoter provinces of the empire, in order to encourage the plans of hostility and disaffection.

Of these, Ameir Ally Jauffer directed his course for Khorassaun; where, on his arrival, he experienced no great difficulty in persuading Ally, the son of Ameir Ally Koustchei, (the archer) and the other officers in authority, that the provinces of Irâk and Azerbâijaun might be wrested from the Eylekhaunian, with the utmost facility. Having been brought to concur in this belief, and having provided themselves with a proper pageant, the third now on foot at the same time, to cover their designs, in the person of Togha Teymûr Khaun, a descendant in the sixth degree from Jûjy Kessaur the brother of Jengueiz, whom they invested with the sovereign dignity, the Ameirs of Khorassaun proceeded with a powerful army towards Azerbâijaun; and in Shabaun of the seven hundred and thirty seventh of the Hidjerah,* they appeared before Sûltauniah, having made themselves master of the whole of the surrounding territory.

Apprized of their designs, Ameir Sheikh Hussun on the other hand, made the best of his way from Tebreiz, into the peninsula of Arran; where he formed an alliance with the princess Sauky, or Sauty Beg, in behalf of her infant son Seyûr Aga, now scarcely two years old. After which he prepared with the accession of support thus acquired to his cause, to chastise the enormities which the Khorassaunians were committing in Azerbâijaun. In the mean time these had also been joined by the fugitive Mûssa Khaun, and they now proceeded in conjunction, in quest of the Eylekhaunian; whom they found ready to oppose them on the banks of the Guerrah-roud. In the middle of the month of Zilkaudah of the year seven hundred and thirty seven,* the adverse armies came to a battle; but Togha Teymûr Khaun, with a degeneracy unworthy of his warlike extraction, quitting the field before the troops were yet fairly engaged, and retiring towards Khorassaun, his associate Mûssa Khaun was left to combat alone against the superior skill of Ameir Hussun; until the slaughter of great numbers of his

* March 1337. † June, A. D. 1337.

followers, and of the Owâiraut clans in particular, compelled him also to consult his safety by flight, many of the Ameirs throwing themselves for protection into one of the fortresses in the neighborhood. Not long afterwards, Mûssa Khaun was taken among the defiles of Hazaurah, and put to death on the tenth of Zilhudje;* the day of the feast of sacrifice among the pilgrims at Mekkah. This was followed by the entire dispersion of the Ameirs of the party, and of the fugitives who had taken shelter in the fortress just alluded to.

A. H. 737. A. D. 1337. Habeib-us-seyr.

On reaching the vicinity of Bostaum, Tôgha Teymûr Khaun was joined by Arghûn Shah, one of the sons of Ameir Norouz Ghauzzy, who had prudently declined engaging with the Khorassaunian chiefs in the recent expedition; and at that place, on the same day that was destined for the execution of Mûssa Khaun, the tenth of Zilhudje, Togha Teymûr, on some groundless suspicion, caused Ameir Sheikh Ally, one of the most distinguished leaders of the expedition, to be perfidiously put to death; so that at one and the same period, relieved from the hostility of two of the most formidable of his adversaries, the Eylekhaunian, for the nominal sovereign appears to have been used merely as the stalking horse of his ambition, found himself in almost undisputed possession, of the whole of Azerbâijaun and Irâk. The Vizzaurut was now conferred by him on Shums-ud-dein Zekkareia, the nephew and son in law of Gheyauth-ud-dein Mahommed the Reshidian; and early in the year seven hundred and thirty eight, the power of the Eylekhaunian was further confirmed by the death of the Ameirs Mahmûd Eysskûtlûgh, and Kerenje, two of the most inveterate agitators of these turbulent scenes; who were both killed in the disguise of Sûfyism, in which they had hoped for some time to elude the vengeance of their enemies.

That same year, however, in the person of Sheikh Hussun the son of Teymûr Taush, to whom authors have in general assigned the appellation of Sheikh Hussun Koutchek, (in order to distinguish him from his rival, who is called Sheikh Hussun Bûzurg—the greater) produced an adversary to the power of the Eylekhaunian, far more formidable than any thing to which it had hitherto been opposed. This chief, on the retreat of his father into Egypt, in the manner formerly noticed, had contrived to secure himself in some part of the Anatolian province,

* July 9th, 1337.

A. H. 738. A. D. 1337-8. Habeib-us-seyr.

and, about the period at which the narrative is now arrived, like the rest of his contemporaries, yielded to the spirit of ambition which seemed to expand itself in every bosom. Conceiving also that his plans would be less invidiously carried on in the name of another, and discovering in a slave of Turkish extraction of the name of Kârajery, a very striking resemblance to his father, Teymûr Taush, he immediately arrayed him in splendid attire, and circulated the report, that that distinguished chieftain was yet alive, and had recently been restored to his family; and in order to obtain the more implicit belief for the assertion, he prevailed upon his own mother to cohabit with the impostor, and in every respect condescended to treat him as if he considered him in the revered and actual relation of a father.

When the rumour became public in Azerbâijaun and Irâk, the Owâir-aut Ameirs, and many of the principal officers of the army, who had never been thoroughly reconciled to the authority of Sheikh Hussun the Eylekhaunian, suddenly quitted his standard, and went over to that of the grandson of Tchobaun; and the latter, having by this time completed the necessary warlike equipments, in great perfection and abundance, no longer delayed to advance towards Azerbâijaun, at the head of a numerous and formidable army. The Eylekhaunian, accompanied by Mahommed Khaun, hastened to meet the invader; and on the twentieth of Zilhudje of the year seven hundred and thirty eight,* in the neighborhood of Alatauk, the hostile armies arrived in the presence of each other. While the troops were preparing for battle, Sheikh Hussun the Tchobaunian, who is described as possessing an invention singularly fertile in expedients, put in practice the following device, in order to awaken a mutual jealousy among the generals of the enemy. He caused a large fire to be made at some distance apart from the field of battle, to impress his adversaries with the belief that it was a preconcerted signal, exhibited in consequence of the understanding which he had established with some of the chiefs in their camp; and, in fact, the action had no sooner commenced, than Hûsseyne the son of Mahmûd, the Tchobaunian, went directly over to the side of his cousin german. In consequence of this defection, at a moment so critical, the suspicions of the Eylekhaunian became seriously alarmed, and he fled without further effort, towards Tebreiz; while Mahommed

* July 9th, 1338.

Khaun, falling into the hands of the Tchobâunian, was immediately cut off in the bloom of youth, after he had enjoyed his circumscribed and precarious authority, for a period something short of two years. A. H. 738. A. D. 1338. Habeib-us-seyr.

Sheikh Hussun Tchobauny and his adherents, now proceeded to exercise without remorse, every species of oppression and violence throughout the provinces of Irâk and Azerbâijaun; but, the pretended Teymûr Taush, considering that so long as Sheikh Hussun was in existence, he would be permitted to derive but unsubstantial advantage from the character which had been imposed upon him, watched an opportunity, and plunged his poniard into the side of his adopted son. The blow fell short, however, of its intended effect; and Sheikh Hussun withdrawing immediately into Georgia, there united himself to the party of the princess Sauky Beg, the widow of his grandfather, and her son Seyûrghaun, or Seyûragha, after candidly disclosing the secret of the recent imposture. The false Teymûr Taush proceeded in the mean time towards Tebreiz, where being entirely defeated in a battle with Sheikh Hussun the Eylekhaunian, he thence fled with the shattered remains of his army towards Baghdâd.

The princess Sauty or Sauky Beg, daughter of Ouljâitû Sûltan Khodabundah, thirteenth of the Persian monarchs of the race of Jengueiz.

On experience that his plan of aggrandizement did not succeed under the auspices of an impostor father, having withdrawn into Georgia, as we have just seen, Sheikh Hussun Tchobauny next made choice of Sauky Beg, the sister of Abû Sâeid, to fill the throne of Hûlaukû; and that princess was accordingly inaugurated, with the usual solemnities, and her name inserted in the Khotbah and coinage of the monarchy, about the commencement of the seven hundred and thirty ninth of the Hidjerah.* He then returned into Azerbâijaun, accompanied by this new pageant, in order once more to combat the power of the Eylekhaunian; who had however quitted Tebreiz for Sûltauniah, and who retired further to Kazvein, on intelligence of the approach of his enemies. Sauky Beg and her general were thus allowed to possess themselves of Sûltauniah, and of the entire province of Azerbâijaun, without opposition. Having entrusted the civil administration of the country to Rokken-ud-dein the Reshidian, and Gheyauth-ud-dein Ally Shahy- SAUKY BEG, XIIIth of the Perso-Jenguizians.

* August or September, A. D. 1338.

A. H. 739. A. D. 1338-9. as conjunctive Vezzeirs, they proceeded shortly afterwards for Kazvein. Ameir Sheikh Hussun drew out of the city on their approach, with a design to give them battle; but without coming to a conflict, some species of accommodation was arranged between the parties; in consequence of which, Sauky Beg and Sheikh Hussun Tchobauny withdrew again towards Aran, and the Eylekhaunian returned to Sûltauniah.

Habeib-us-seyr.

Reposing, however, but little confidence in the stability of such an arrangement, the Eylekhaunian, not long after his return to Sûltauniah, dispatched his own Atabek or preceptor, Taush Teymûr, on a mission into Mazanderaun; to invite Togha Teymûr Khaun, who had established his authority over that province, and some part of Khorassaun, to come and take possession of the throne and capital of Abû Sâeid; In compliance with this invitation, Togha Teymûr hastened towards Sûltauniah, accompanied by Arghûn Shah the son of Norouz, and his other ministers; and on his arrival at Sawah, some time in the month of Rudjub,* was joined by Ameir Sheikh Hussun the Eylekhaunian, from whom he received every necessary proof of zeal and submission: But, Togha Teymûr being with the other Ameirs of Khorassaun, entirely governed by the councils of Alla-ud-dein Mahommed the Vezzeir, and that minister, although the authority of his master could as yet have been but very imperfectly, if at all, established in the country, proceeding to scrutinize, with a vexatious minuteness, into the tenures by which the several chieftains held their possessions, without sparing those which had been annexed, even from the time of Ghâzan Khâun, to the family of Ameir Sheikh Hussun, the latter repented of the alliance thus hastily formed; although he clearly perceived that there was at present no alternative but forbearance.

Apprized of these occurrences, Sheikh Hussun the Tchobaunian accompanied by the princess Sauky Beg, again quitted Arran, and proceeded into Azerbâijaun. While on his march, on this occasion, some of the Owâiraut Moghûls who had secured Kârajery the pretended Teymûr Taush, brought him to the camp of the Tchobaunian, where by order of the pageant queen he was instantly put to death. In the mean time, the invention of Sheikh Hussun was at work to contrive some scheme, by which he might effectually disconcert the measures

* January, 1339.

and break up the army of Togha Teymûr and the Eylekhaunian; and he at last determined on the following. He sent a deputation to the camp of his adversaries, ostensibly, to propose afresh negociations for peace; but in private to intimate to Togha Teymûr, that if he would unite in a design which was in contemplation to destroy the Eylekhaunian, he would on his part engage that the princess Sauky Beg should become his wife, and further evince his attachment by the most important and loyal services. With this proposal the credulous Moghûl immediately closed; and after some further interchange of communication, finally transmitted to his artful correspondent a paper in his own hand writing, expressly inviting the Tchobaunian Ameirs to co-operate with cordial zeal, in the extermination of the Eylekhaunians; in order, as he stated, that the government of the Tartar tribes might be once more united, and the world effectually relieved from those distractions to which it had been so long a prey.

A. H. 739. A. D. 1339. Habeib-us-seyr.

Delighted with the success of the artifice, Sheikh Hussun the Tchobaunian, accompanied by a few of his principal officers, hastened in the middle of the night, to the out skirts of the enemy's encampment; and requesting that one of the Eylekhaunian leaders would attend to him, proceeded to explain that however the Sheikh his opponent had associated himself with one who under the mask of friendship, could harbour a design so perfidious against his person, as that which he was about to disclose, he for his own part, disdained to be an accomplice in the base collusion, and should regret to see his most determined enemy become a victim to such perfidy. Then putting the paper which he had received from Togha Teymûr, into the hands of the officer who had presented himself at his approach, he returned to his own quarters. The Eylekhaunian received this paper with some degree of astonishment; and sending for one of the chiefs in the particular confidence of Togha Teymûr Khaun, accommodated him with a perusal of the perfidious scroll, which appeared to throw him into considerable confusion. He hastened however to disclose to his master, without delay, the mortifying result of his ill-advised intercourse with the crafty Tchobaunian. Togha Teymûr, no less surprised at the effrontery of the deception which had been practiced upon him, than alarmed at the probable consequences of the developement, withdrew, in the course of the same night, towards Khorassaun; while, thus abandoned to his

A. H. 739-40. A. D. 1339-40. Habeib-us-seyr.

own resources, the Eylekhaunian retired to Alatauk, in the neighborhood of which he fixed his abode, until something should occur to incite him to further enterprize.

JAHAUN TEYMUR, the son of Ulaffreng, the son of Keykhautû, fourteenth, and SULIMAN KHAUN, descended from Yeshmout the son of Hûlaukû, fifteenth of the Persian monarchs of the race of Jengueiz.

JAHAUN TEYMUR, XIVth, and SULIMAN KHAUN XVth of the Perso-jenguizians.

His alliance with Togha Teymûr Khaun having terminated thus inauspiciously, Sheikh Hussun the Eylekhaunian did not, however, continue long inactive, before his invention was employed to discover some fresh instrument wherewith to mask the designs of his own ambition. His choice at last fixed on Jahaun Teymûr, the son of Shahzâdah Ulaffreng son of Keykhautû, whom he accordingly raised to the sovereign authority; and proceeding with him into Arabian Irâk, he succeeded in a short time in subjugating the whole of that territory, with the metropolis of Baghdâd, and ultimately with Diaurbekir and the country along the Tigris upwards. In the latter part of the year seven hundred and thirty nine,* Sheikh Hussun Tchobauny, discovering also that the machine of the Persian monarchy was not likely to proceed with sufficient energy or regularity, under the direction of a delicate and tender-hearted female, thought fit, with little regard to her inclinations, to transfer the sovereign power, together with the person of the princess Sauky Beg, to Sûliman Khaun, one of the descendants of Yeshmout the son of Hûlaukû, whom he then seated on the tottering throne of Irân; after which, fixing his head quarters, or principal residence, at Oujaun, he found, by the month of Shavaul of the year seven hundred and forty,† that his authority was supported by a numerous and well affected body of soldiers.

In the mean time, after securing his acquisitions in western Irâk, Sheikh Hussun the Eylekhaunian, with Jahaun Teymûr, the feeble monarch of his creation, had quitted Baghdad, and was advancing with determined hostility towards Azerbâijaun; but being early opposed by Sûliman Khaun, and his general, Sheikh Hussun the Tchobaunian, he was defeated in battle with considerable loss, in the concluding days of Zilhudje of the same year. In consequence of this defeat, the Eylekhaunian was compelled to return to Baghdâd, in circumstances of disgrace and humiliation; while Hussun Tchobauny conducted his

* The summer of 1339. † April, 1340.

army in triumph to Tebreiz. He there nominated Ameir Seyûrghaun, or Seyûr Aga, the son of Sauky Beg by Ameir Tchobaun, under the tutelage of his brother *Melek Ashruf* the son of Teymûr Taush, to the government of Persian Irâk; Ameir Peir Hûsseyne the son of Sheikh Mahmûd the Tchobaunian, who had, among others, exhibited distinguished proofs of intrepidity and martial spirit, in the recent battle, was at the same time invested with the government of Farss. A. H. 740-41. A. D. 1340-41. Habeib-us-seyr.

Having, on the other hand, effected his retreat to Baghdâd, Sheikh Hussun the Eylekhaunian, who had lost two of his principal generals, Ameir Mahommed Eysskûtlûgh, and Ameir Mûssaufer Eynauk, in the late battle, proceeded without ceremony to depose from his ill-assorted honors, the passive and unimportant Jahaun Teymûr, on the plea of incapacity; then collecting afresh an army of Arabs and Tartars he advanced, in the spring of the seven hundred and forty first of the Hidjerah,* once more towards Azerbâijaun. In Zilhudje of the same year,† while Sûliman Khaun and the Ameirs of his party were assembling at Oujaun to resist this new invasion, it happened that, on some suspicion of intended violence on the part of his nephew Sheikh Hussun, Ameir Yaughy the son of Tchobaun, should have adopted the sudden resolution of withdrawing from the army of Sûliman; and in his flight driving before him to the number of six thousand horses, which he had taken from the grounds where they had been left at pasture, his course unexpectedly led him through the vicinity of the spot, where the Eylekhaunian lay encamped. Observing the enormous cloud of dust occasioned by the motion of such a number of horses, and conceiving that they were about to be attacked by an immense force of the enemy, the troops of Irâk were immediately struck with a panic; and made the best of their way home again, without halting to undeceive themselves. To complete the series of fortunate events which appeared to favor the aggrandizement of this powerful family, the troops of Togha Teymûr Khaun which menaced the invasion of Irâk about the same period, in an opposite direction, under his brother, Sheik Ally Kâwun, were attacked and defeated by Melek Ashruf the son of Teymûr Taush, employed against them under the authority of the Tchobaunian. Sheikh Ally Kâwun was killed some time afterwards, in an expedition against the Serbedaurians; and

* A. D. 1341. † June, 1341.

A. H. 741. A. D. 1341. Habeib-us-seyr.

about the seven hundred and fifty second of the Hidjerah, long subsequent to the period under consideration, Togha Teymûr himself perished in the same quarter, by the hand of Khaujah Yaheya Kerauvy, one of the chiefs of that insurrection; of which some notice has already been taken, in a collateral part of the compilation.

Subsequent to the disclosure of the above fortunate train of circumstances, the Tchobaunian, accompanied by Sûliman Khaun, conducted an army in the direction of Diaurbekir, committing dreadful ravages in his course, particularly in the territory of Moush; where he is described to have burnt and destroyed the habitations and the harvests of the defenceless natives, without the exception of either Mahommedan or infidel. On his arrival at Mardein, of which the governor submitted to his authority, he detached a division of the army, under his cousin-german, Hadjy Beg the son of Hussun Tchobauny, towards Baghdâd. Here the tide of fortune appears to have turned against him. The division under Hadjy Beg was entirely defeated by Ameir Hussun the Eylekhaunian, assisted by Ameir Ally Jauffer, and Kâra Hussun, and other chiefs of his party. Rejoined at Mardein by the fugitives who escaped from this disaster, the Tchobaunian now directed his march northward across the Euphrates into Rûme, where he unworthily signalized his vengeance by the total destruction of every town in that province, which had the slightest connection with the party of his rival; and having levied an enormous contribution in specie upon the opulent inhabitants of Erzerûm, he then withdrew into Azerbâijaun, to take up his residence at Tebreiz.

His attention was henceforward principally devoted to the superintendance of several public buildings, of which he had laid the foundation at that city, and in particular, of a college, and convent for religious Mahommedans, of great extent and magnificence, of which he lived to see the early completion. Having, however, dispatched another army into Rûme, under the personal direction of Sûliman Khaun, assisted by Ameir Yakûb Shah; and the expedition terminating in defeat and disgrace, the Tchobaunian conceived a suspicion of some treachery, or misconduct on the part of Yakûb Shah, and immediately threw him into prison. It would appear, that an adulterous intercourse had for some time subsisted between this chief and Ezzetmê-

lek, the wife of Ameir Sheikh Hussun; and the lady, apprehending that her paramour had been imprisoned in consequence of the discovery of the intrigue, immediately determined on the destruction of her husband. She prevailed upon three other women of the haram to assist in the atrocious design; which was successfully carried into execution, on the night of the twenty seventh of Rudjub of the seven hundred and forty fourth of the Hidjerah* in a way which singularly evinced the malignity of female revenge.† A. H. 744. A. D. 1343. Habeib-us-seyr.

Having thus accomplished her perfidious design, this abandoned profligate, next morning privately fled the palace with her accomplices, and found means to conceal herself in one of the city baths; and the dread of Sheikh Hussun's severity deterring every one from approaching the apartments of the women, without particular permission, his death continued for two days unknown. On the third day, however, the officers of his train becoming impatient, a female attendant was employed to enquire why their chief had remained for so many days invisible? The maid on entering the apartments, found the lifeless body of the Tchobaunian, alone, the haram having been abandoned by all the women; and the circumstance was immediately announced to the Ameirs. After considerable search, the traitress and her accomplices were discovered and secured; and by an ignominious death made some atonement, however inadequate, for the enormity of the crime.

The disordered fabric of the Persian government was now destined, in great part, to devolve to the rigid sway of MELEK ASHRUF the son of Teymûr Taush; a man whose tyrannical and sanguinary disposition is described to have made him equally feared and detested by friends and enemies. With his brother Sheikh Hussun he had lived on terms, alternately, of friendship and hostility; and at the commencement of the year seven hundred and forty three, being employed with a body of troops in the siege of Shirauz, he thought fit to abandon his designs in that quarter; and returning suddenly to Sûltauniah, he there entered into engagements of close amity with his uncle Yaughy Baussety, or Pausty, the son of Tchobaun; with whom he shortly afterwards retired to Baghdâd, where they experienced from Sheikh Hussun the Eylekhaunian, every proof of kindness and respect.

* December 14th, 1343. † *Constrictione testium.*

A. H. 744-45. A. D. 1343-44. Habeib-us-seyr.

From thence, however, they were soon compelled to remove by the characteristic address of Sheikh Hussun the Tchobaunian, who had not then suffered through the treachery of his wife; and who found means through the intervention of one of the principal citizens, to persuade the Eylekhaunian, that the two chiefs had repaired to Baghdâd, in reality with the concurrence of their relative, and in order to seize an opportunity of making away with his rival. The insidious representation found immediate credit with the Eylekhaunian; and he was concerting measures to secure the persons of the suspected refugees, when they became apprized of their danger, and very seasonably made their escape, Having through a thousand difficulties conveyed themselves to Ebher, south-east of Sûltauniah, they there learnt that Râimêlek the son of Eysskûtlûgh, with a numerous and splendid retinue, was encamped in the neighborhood, and they immediately determined on an attempt to surprise him. With the handful of desperate adventurers by whom they were attended, they accordingly attacked the encampment in the dead of night; and having killed the chief, and possessed themselves of a very considerable booty, they made the best of their way to Isfahaun. At that place, by raising heavy contributions from the opulent inhabitants of the country, they were enabled to levy a numerous body of troops, with which they proceeded towards Shirauz, at this period in possession of Sheikh Abû Ishauck Eynjû; but when they had advanced within one stage of that city, the death of Ameir Sheikh Hussun the Tchobaunian, as recently described, was announced to them; and on this, they returned with their utmost celerity into Azerbâijaun.

It would appear that having, for reasons unexplained, put to death Ghouje Hûsseyne, the son of the elder Hussun Tchobauny, soon after the assasination of Ameir Sheikh Hussun Koutchek, Sûliman Khaun suddenly withdrew towards Kârabaugh, conferring the office of the Vizzaurut on Hadjy Hamzah, and Tchobaun Akhtatchei, (the grand equerry, or master of the horse). He proceeded then to the enlargement of Yakûb Shah, his collegue in the unsuccessful expedition into Rûme; but possessing, already, resources and influence far beyond the other Ameirs of the empire, that chief very early presumed to usurp an overbearing predominance over the authority of his superior. Hence, finding his power reduced to a cypher, Sûliman Khaun dispatched with-

out delay to solicit the support of Melek Ashruf and Ameir Yaughy; and this was the communication which suspended the design against Shirauz, and hastened their return into Irâk and Azerbâijaun. They reached Sûltauniah on the first day of the new year,* prosecuting their march shortly afterwards, for Tebreiz. A. H. 745. A. D. 1344. Habeib-us-seyr.

Pending these circumstances, Ameir Seyûrghaun, or Seyûr Aga, for the name is thus indiscriminately exhibited, who had been confined in the castle of Kârahessaur, in Rûme, by the direction of his nephew the late Sheikh Hussun Tchobauny, contrived to cut off the governor of the place; and having equipped himself, and those who joined him, from the stores which that fortress furnished in vast abundance, was also approaching Tebreiz. On intelligence of his design, the Ameirs Yaughy and Melek Ashruf hastened to meet, and to render all the testimonies of respect and zeal that they conceived to be due to their illustrious relative. From Mamouriah, where the first interview took place, they conducted the prince to Kouktchehpeyker, a summer palace erected by Ameir Tchobaun; where they remained for a period of two months, totally engaged in a course of festivities and amusements, which did not, however, prevent the party from becoming every day more formidable in reputation and strength.

After flattering himself with the expectation that the elder Ameirs, whom he had invited to his support, would have readily submitted to his authority, Sûliman Khaun was considerably mortified to discover that his interest formed so trivial a part of their consideration; and he withdrew, on the first opportunity, into Diaurbekir, his minister Hadjy Hamzah, with Gheyauth-ud-dein Mahommed Ally Shahy, and Emmaud-ud-dein Serauy, quitting him to join Melek Ashruf. Nevertheless, in the hope that he should be able to engage the party in hostilities among themselves, Emmaud-ud-dein, one of these, ventured to adopt the following expedient. Having left his tents and equipage all standing, he suddenly presented himself to Ameir Seyûrghaun, and Yaughy Pausty, and announced to them that Melek Ashruf, who was encamped at the distance of a league or two, was secretly arming his troops, with the design of attacking them by surprise. The two chiefs upon this, proceeded without delay to prepare their followers to repel the perfidious attempt; while Melek Ashruf on his part, alarmed about midnight by a counter-report, that his kins-

* May 14th, 1344.

A. H. 745. A. D. 1344. Habeib-us-seyr.

men were in motion to circumvent him, stood also to his defence. At the return of day, Melek Ashruf sent to demand the occasion of all this alarm and uproar, since, with the Persian empire yet to conquer, it appeared rather premature to dispute about the division. He was acquainted in reply with the nature of the intelligence communicated by Emmaud-ud-dein; to which having solemnly averred that there existed not the slightest foundation, he further demanded that the incendiary should be immediately conveyed to his presence, as the surest means of restoring that harmony which he had so maliciously endeavoured to destroy. Emmaud-ud-dein was accordingly conducted to the camp of Melek Ashruf, by whom he was immediately put to death. The three chiefs then proceeded together to Tebreiz.

This coalition was, however, not destined to be of any stability or duration. For the inhabitants of Tebreiz exhibiting for the Ameirs Seyûrghaun and Yaughy Pausty, as the immediate issue of Ameir Tchobaun, far more distinguished marks of respect, than they seemed disposed to yield to Melek Ashruf, who was only the grandson of that illustrious chief, the jealousy of the nephew was excited; and he removed in displeasure from Tebreiz to a place called Sehend. When he had, for some time, continued to reside at this place, he either received, or affected to have received, intelligence that his relatives were at last seriously engaged in a design to attack him, on a particular night. On which he armed in earnest, and accompanied by one of his surviving brothers marched straight for Tebreiz. Learning, however, on his approach that the objects of his vengeance had decamped in the night for Khoui, he proceeded without delay in pursuit of them; and having arrested their retreat on the plain of Aanabad, he there brought them to battle, and in a conflict of considerable obstinacy, entirely defeated them.

His superiority being completely established by the defeat and flight of the Ameirs Seyûrghaun, and Yaughy, Melek Ashruf took up his quarters for the present, at a station called Tâteil; where he thought it expedient to bestow the sovereign dignity, now extenuated into a mere shadow, on a prince of the name of Noushirvaun, allied to the monarch of Keptchauk, on whom he conferred at the same time the title of Ul Audel—the just. Soon after this he extended his power throughout the territory of Arran, and the whole of Azerbâijaun; but

NOUSHIRVAUN, last of the Persojengueizians.

of the individual whom he thus nominally raised to the royal authority, and who may be considered as the last of the Persian monarchs of the race of Jengueiz, little further appears to have reached posterity. A. H. 745-48. A. D. 1344-47. Habeib-us-seyr.

Having effected their escape from the late battle to a station called Baubi, the Ameirs Yaughy Baussety and Seyûrghaun, on the other hand, dispatched two persons from thence, to sue for an accommodation with their nephew; who expressed himself, on his part, extremely well disposed to accede to their wishes, at the same time that he urged the necessity of their presence on the spot, to share with him in the fatigues of government. Seyûrghaun could not prevail with himself to repose any confidence in these professions; but retiring into Diarbekir, was there ultimately destroyed by Sheikh Hussun the Eylekhaunian. While Ameir Yaughy, venturing to commit his destiny to the discretion of Melek Ashruf, was shortly afterwards made away with, by means that were never disclosed.

Melek Ashruf now conceived himself at liberty to indulge, without restraint, in his violent and cruel propensities. In the seven hundred and forty sixth of the Hidjerah, he seized his brother Melek Nusser, and confined him to an iron cage; and in the year following, in addition to the miseries already inflicted upon her by the iron hand of Ashruf, the city of Tebreiz was visited by a dreadful pestilence; which banished from that place, and from the greater part of Azerbâijaun, all who possessed the means of securing a tolerable reception in other countries, beyond the reach of the oppressor.

In the spring of seven hundred and forty eight,* at the head of a powerful army, the tyrant proceeded to invade the territories, in Arabian Irâk, under the authority of Sheikh Hussun the Eylekhaunian, and laid siege to the metropolis of Baghdâd; his antagonist being unable to keep the field against him. Finding, however, after some time, that the enterprize was accompanied with difficulties which he was not prepared to surmount, or, according to others, being seized with alarming apprehensions in another quarter, Ashruf determined to raise the siege; and in consequence of such determination, soon afterwards withdrew into Azerbâijaun.

Three years afterwards, namely, in the seven hundred and fifty first of the Hidjerah,† he marched with fifty thousand horse to invest Isfa-

* A. D. 1347. † A. D. 1350.

A. H. 751-52. A. D. 1350-51. Habeib-us-seyr.

haun; which he found, however, so vigorously protected against his efforts, by the courage and circumspection of the Ameirs Nujm-ud-dein, and Khaujah Mahmûd, who commanded on the part of Ameir Abû Ishauck Aynjû, that after a siege of fifteen days, he consented to a treaty of peace: the Isfahaunians agreeing on their part, to include the name of the pageant Noushirvaun in the Khotbah, to pay down the sum of two thousand dinaurs of gold, (a sum of no great magnitude for such a city) and to send out what was equivalent to one hundred thousand more, the produce of their most esteemed manufactories. Satisfied with these concessions, Melek Ashruf returned into Azerbâijaun.

He is now said to have abandoned all further views of conquest, and to have transferred his abode to the town of Rebbeia Reshidy; whither, after causing it to be surrounded by a ditch and rampart, he directed the whole of the inhabitants of Tebreiz and the neighborhood, excepting perhaps such as were attached to the religious establishments, to be removed; and the new town soon exhibited, in consequence, a population which in multitude, far surpassed the bounds of credibility.

The murders and confiscations of which this tyrant had been guilty towards all classes of the people, not excepting even his own nearest relatives, had, however, been carried to an extent so grievous and oppressive, that his mind became at last the abode of the most gloomy apprehensions. The light was excluded from the apartment which he usually inhabited. The most extraordinary precautions were adopted with respect to what he eat and drank. Sheep and poultry were killed in his own presence, and the water brought for his use was poured into china jars under his own inspection; and five thousand guards selected for the purpose were perpetually on duty in his palace. Last of all, an iron chain hung round with bells, to which he gave the name of the chain of justice, was suspended to the entrance of his chamber of state; in order that by putting the bells in motion, such as sought redress of injury might make their complaints immediately known to him. Conceiving perhaps at the same time, that his apprehensions might be in some measure alleviated by the soft endearments of beauty, he, in the course of the seven hundred and fifty second of the Hidjerah,* espoused the daughter of the prince of Mardein; but after solemnizing his nuptials with extraordinary magnificence, he con-

*A. D. 1351.

ceived at the first interview an aversion for his bride, and never saw her afterwards. A. H. 752-58. A. D. 1351-57.

Habeib-us-seyr.

A representation of the accumulated crimes and oppressions of the tyrant was, at length, conveyed to Jauny Beg Khaun of Keptchauk, through the medium of the Kauzy of Berdya; and that monarch, in the course of the seven hundred and fifty seventh of the Hidjerah,* was on his march towards Azerbâijaun. Having ascertained the truth of this intelligence, Melek Ashruf, after a seclusion of several years, issued from the gates of his favorite abode, and formed an encampment at the station of Shabbeghauzan; his treasure, and jewels, and the most valuable of his effects, having been previously conveyed, by a train of one thousand camels, and four hundred mules, towards Oujaun. But, finding that Jauny Beg was much nearer at hand, than his information had led him to expect, his fears increased upon him to a degree of perturbation; and charging two of his confidential domestics, Khaujah Lúlú, and Shukker Khauzen, to conduct the women and his treasures, by the pass of Mezeid, to the well, or reservoir, of Khaujah Reshid, he proceeded himself in the direction of Oujaun; the domestics being instructed to remain in their retreat, until they should hear that he was triumphant over his enemies, in which case they were to return to Tebreiz. Otherwise, they were to make the best of their way towards Khowi, north-east of the lake of Van. Having thus far provided for the security of all that was most valuable, Ashruf pitched his camp by the side of the Mehranroud; detaching Aukhy Jouk, and other Ameirs, with the main body of his troops, and abundantly supplied with arms and treasure, towards Oujaun. After this, with two thousand of his household troops and domestics, he took post apart from danger on a range of hills, somewhere in the vicinity, to await the issue of the impending contest.

Until convinced, by the evidence of their own senses, of the overwhelming force led on by Jauny Beg, and of the impracticability of such an attempt, the generals of Ashruf had, on first assembling at Oujaun, formed a plan of surrounding the Ouzbeks. But they no sooner viewed the formidable array, and vast multitudes of the invaders, than all their bolder plans gave way to the despair of effectual resistance; and they immediately dispersed in every possible direction. Melek

* A. D. 1356.

A. H. 758. A. D. 1357. Habeib-us-seyr.

Ashruf, on the hills where he had taken post, was soon apprized of this prelude to the consummation of his destiny. He returned immediately to Shubbeghauzan; and having rested there for one night, he continued his retreat towards the pass, within which he had directed his domestics with their sacred charge, to await his instructions. In the mean time he was forsaken by the whole of his attendants, two Georgian slaves excepted, with whom he reached the spot where he expected to find his family. But on intelligence of the fatal reverse in their masters's fortune, the men, to whom he had consigned the precious deposit of all that remained valuable to him, proceeded to pillage his effects, and to set the women at large. The cruel disclosure that thus awaited him at the well of Reshid could not contribute to revive his hopes; and he finally directed his trembling steps towards Khowi, formerly mentioned. On the way to that place, he ventured to solicit a few hours' repose at the residence of a certain Sheikh Mahommed Balektchei, perhaps Bâlkhy, who received him with every outward demonstration of respect and kindness; but who, at the same moment, dispatched a message to the Khaun of Keptchauk, to acquaint him with the retreat of his unhappy guest.

The person of Ashruf was immediately secured by an officer employed for the purpose by the Ouzbek monarch, and he was now conducted a prisoner to Tebreiz; where, from the terraces of their houses, the inhabitants cast ashes on his head, and otherwise treated him with every mark of indignation and insult, in return for the multiplied oppressions which he had accumulated upon them. The ensuing day he was conveyed to Oujaun, to the presence of Jauny Beg Khaun; whose first and only question on his approach was, "wherefore he had "desolated the noble countries placed at his discretion by the indul- "gence of a capricious fortune?" To which he replied, that the evils ascribed to him had been perpetrated without his concurrence, by the agents of his government. Jauny Beg then quitted Oujaun, and encamped on the banks of the Hushtroud; where he caused the wretched Ashruf shortly afterwards, to atone with his blood, for the crimes committed either by himself, or under the sanction of his authority. His head was conveyed to Tebreiz, and suspended to the raven mosque at that city. Jauny Beg followed at his convenience, and enter-

ing at the head of ten thousand troops, took up his abode in the palace of the successors of Hûlaukû, in the same metropolis. Having then vested the government of the conquered countries in his son Berdy Beg Khaun, he finally returned towards the Volga; taking with him the greater part of the treasures, together with a son and daughter, of the tyrant Ashruf. A. H. 758. A. D. 1357. Habeib-us-seyr.

These concluding events appear to have taken place during the seven hundred and fifty eighth of the Hidjerah, under which we have accordingly ventured to class them.

Not long after his return into Keptchauk, Jauny Beg Khaun reposed from all his cares in the chamber of death; and this event requiring the presence of Berdy Beg to secure the throne of his ancestors, the province of Azerbâijaun was immediately abandoned to its fate. An opportunity thus occurred of which Aukhy Jouk, the chief recently adverted to, did not neglect to avail himself; and he accordingly hastened, with the assistance of the relatives of Melek Ashruf and the friends of the family, to take possession of Tebreiz. Of that city, and of the territory of Azerbâijaun depending upon it, he appears to have made himself master without difficulty; after which, committing the subordinate administration of the government to the discretion of Emmaud-ud-dein Mahmûd the Kermaunian, and Abû Bukker the son of Ally the Jilaunian, he kindled afresh the devouring flames of oppression and violence, and restored, in all its iniquitous forms and practices, the hated system of the tyrant Ashruf.

Sûltan Aweiss, the son of Ameir Sheikh Hussun Bûzûrg, second of the Eylekhaunians.

After having, for many years, maintained himself in independent power, over Baghdâd, and the territory adjoining to the Tigris, Sheikh Hussun the Eylkhaunian, not unfrequently entitled Sheikh Hussun Bûzûrg—the greater, appears to have died a natural death some time in the course of the seven hundred and fifty seventh of the Hidjerah; on which the chiefs attached to his government concurred in bestowing the diadem and authority of the father, on Sûltan Aweiss, his eldest son by Dilshaud Khautûn, the daughter of Teymûr Taush, and sister of his inveterate rival Sheikh Hussun Tchobauny. This prince then succeeded to his father's government in Rudjub of the year seven hundred

Sultan Aweiss, IId of the Eylkhaunians.

A. H. 758-59. A. D. 1357-58. Habeib-us-seyr.

and fifty seven ;* and he proved, according to our author, without exaggeration of language, a just and humane sovereign, the father of his people, and the liberal encourager of genius and learning in every shape. Aided by the fame of his virtues, he experienced therefore but little difficulty in reducing to his authority, in a very short space of time, the whole of Irâk Ajem, with Azerbâijaun and Arran ; and in recovering, at least, the western provinces of the Persian empire, from that abject state of misery to which they had fallen, under the flagitious tyranny of its recent oppressors.

In the spring of the seven hundred and fifty ninth of the Hidjerah, when it was well ascertained that Berdy Beg Khaun had returned into Keptchauk, and that Aukhy Jouk had made himself master of Azerbâijaun on his departure, Sûltan Aweiss quitted his capital of Baghdâd, at the head of a numerous and formidable army, and directed his march for Tebreiz. In some part of the intervening mountainous frontier, he was resolutely opposed by Aukhy Jouk ; and a conflict of two days ensued between the hostile chiefs, on the former of which neither pretended to claim the victory ; but, on the second day, the Sûltan succeeded in driving his adversary from the field of battle. Aukhy Jouk retired towards Tebreiz closely followed by his conqueror ; to whom on his approach, he abandoned that metropolis, without resistance, continuing his own retreat towards Nakhtchûaun. Sûltan Aweiss entered Tebreiz shortly afterwards, and took up his quarters in the palace of the Reshidian family ; where he received the submission of the Ameirs of the party of Ashruf. These he treated, at first, with distinguished kindness ; but at the expiration of a few days conceiving some suspicion of treachery, he condemned not less than forty seven of them, during the sacred month of Ramzaun,* to perish by the sword of the executioner. A remnant escaped, however, to join Aukhy Jouk, with whom they next proceeded from Nakhtchûaun to Kârabaugh.

Not long after this, Ameir Ally Pëiltun was detached by Sûltan Aweiss, to crush the designs of the enemy. But, in consequence of some secret discontent which he harboured against his employer, this commander either through treachery or criminal misconduct, suffered himself to be defeated ; and the Sûltan was compelled, by the consternation which followed among his troops, to abandon Azerbâijaun, and return

* July, 1356.

to Baghdâd. Hence, Aukhy Jouk found himself in a situation to repossess himself once more, of that devoted province, and to resume at leisure his plans of oppression and violence. A. H. 759-65. A. D. 1358-63. Habeib-us-seyr.

In the spring of seven hundred and sixty,* he was, however, assailed from another quarter, and finally driven from Tebreiz, by Mûbaurez-ud-dein Mahommed of the race of Mûzuffur, with the army of Shirauz. He now separated from the associates of his turbulent designs, and took sanctuary with a certain devotee of the name of Suddur-ud-dein Kebaun, whom he had adopted as his spiritual father. Some time afterwards, Sûltan Aweiss recovered Azerbâijaun, on the retreat of the Shirauzian; and prevailed upon him, by a promise of indulgent and liberal treatment, to quit his asylum, and repair to the presence. But, when he had continued for some time to enjoy the advantages of the Sûltan's humane protection, he could not be withheld from entering afresh, with Ally Peiltun, and Jullaul-ud-dein the Kazvinian, into a conspiracy to subvert the government of his protector; and the design being discovered to the Sûltan, by the Sheikh Suddur-ud-dein recently alluded to, Aukhy Jouk and his accomplices were immediately condemned to die for their ingratitude.

To omit the recital of some events of little moment, which distinguished the intervening period, the narrative may be suffered to pass without much injury to the subject, to the seven hundred and sixty fifth of the Hidjerah;† when Khaujah Merjan, who conducted the government of Baghdâd, as the lieutenant of Sûltan Aweiss, ventured to exalt the standard of rebellion against the authority of his superior. The Sûltan marched without delay to chastise the disobedience of his refractory vassal, who appeared at first disposed to hazard a conflict in the field; but the banners of his master no sooner met his view, than he conceived himself abundantly fortunate to make good his retreat, behind the walls of Baghdâd, after destroying the bridge of the Tigris.‡ The day following, however, calculating on the distinguished moderation and clemency of his offended sovereign, he threw open the gates, and dispatched the whole of the principal and most res-

* 1359. † 1363.

‡ This, with similar passages in other parts of the original, led the translator to conceive that the city of Baghdâd, must still have lain on the western bank of the Tigris; else, where the utility of destroying the bridge on that river?

A. H. 765-71. A. D. 1363-69. Habeib-us-seyr.

pectable inhabitants to meet and conduct the Sûltan in triumph, into the city. Sûltan Aweiss had the magnanimity to realize the expectations, by pardoning the offences of this audacious and ungrateful rebel.

Having devoted a period of eleven months to a variety of amusements at Baghdâd, Sûltan Aweiss conferred the government of that place on Sûltan Shah his treasurer, and proceeded towards Mossûle; which he succeeded in wresting from the possession of the brother of Behram Khaujah the Tûrkman. From Mossûle, he continued his march upwards to the plains of Môush, where he gave battle to the same Behram Khaujah, who is described as the uncle of the afterwards celebrated Kâra Yûssuf; and having carried pillage and desolation through all the possessions of the tribe, that of the Kârakûynlû, or black weathers, he returned by the route of Kârakeleissia, or the black churches, to the metropolis of Tebreiz.

While the Sûltan was absent at Baghdâd on this occasion, Melek Kâwus the son of Keykobaud, prince of Shirvaun, whose descendants retained a considerable share of distinction even to the days in which the author composed his history,* embraced the opportunity to make two successive incursions into the territory of Karabaugh; from whence he transported the greater part of the population into his own country. On his return into Azerbâijaun,† the Sûltan, on intelligence of these repeated acts of aggression, resolved to employ his minister Behram Beg, with other distinguished chiefs, to chastise the insolence of the aggressor, and finally to reduce Shirvaun. The troops of Sûltan Aweiss entered the province accordingly in great force, Mèlek Kâwus retiring before them into, or within the range of, the strong holds of his country. When the invading generals had continued, however, for a period of three months, to harass his dominions in every direction, without evincing in any shape a disposition to withdraw, the prince of Shirvaun, considering that if he did not contrive by a seasonable submission, to avert the mischief, his country must be finally ruined, adopted the hazardous resolution of delivering his person into the hands of Behram Beg; by whom he was immediately conveyed in fetters to the presence of his sovereign. After an imprisonment of three months, his confidence in the liberality of his adversary, was justified by a restoration to the government of his native and hereditary dominion.

* The early part of the sixteenth century of the Christian æra, † A. D. 1364.

From this period to the seven hundred and seventy first of the Hidjerah, the only events recorded by the historian, are the deaths of Ameir Kaussem, the brother of Sûltan Aweiss, of Sûltan Shah Khâzen the governor of Baghdâd, who was succeeded by Khaujah Merjan, and of the Sûltan's favorite minion, Beliram Shah; for the latter of whom, he appears to have exhibited some unprecedented demonstrations of grief and mourning. A. H. 771-73; A. D. 1369-71. Habeib-as-seyr.

During the year seven hundred and seventy one, nearly three hundred thousand persons are stated to have perished, either in or about Tebreiz, of a dreadful pestilential disorder; and in the course of the following year, Ameir Wully, who, on the assassination of Togha Teymûr Khaun, had possessed himself of the territory of Jûrjaun adjoining to the south-east angle of the Caspian, discovering some designs hostile to the authority of Sûltan Aweiss, the latter proceeded in force towards that quarter. In an obstinate conflict which took place in the territory of Rey, Ameir Wully was totally defeated by the Eylkhaunian; who pursued his routed troops without intermission, and with great slaughter, all the way to Semnaun. At that place the Sûltan relinquished the pursuit, and, having conferred the government of Rey upon Kûtlûg Shah, returned into Azerbâijaun. Two years afterwards, on the departure of Kûtlûg Shah for Isfahaun, the same government was vested in Aadel Aga, of whom much will occur in the subsequent pages; but of whom, for the present, it will be sufficient to state, that he was the same person referred to, by the historians of these times, under the designation of Saurek Aadel; that he commenced his career as superintendant of the arsenal; after which, becoming enrolled in the train of Sûliman Begum, the foster mother of Sûltan Aweiss, he gradually attained to the most important governments under the Eylkhaunian monarchs.

During the seven hundred and seventy third of the Hidjerah, is mentioned the death of Ameir Zauhed, the brother of Sûltan Aweiss; who fell from the terrace of the palace of Oujaun, in a fit of intoxication, and was killed on the spot. In the course of the same year, Ameir Wully appeared before the gates of Sâwah, which he attacked and carried by assault. Mûbaurek Shah the governor, after concealing himself for some days, finally secured the protection of the conqueror, by present-

A. H. 773-76. A. D. 1371-74. ing him with his daughter, a maid of singular beauty and attractions. The Jûrjaunian withdrew shortly afterwards to his own province. Melêk Kâwus dying in the course of the year seven hundred and seventy three, the country of Shirvaun was bestowed on his son Hoshung; who had accepted of some employment under the authority of Sûltan Aweiss.

Habeib-us-seyr.

The government of Baghdâd was consigned to Khaujah Serour, on the death of Khaujah Merjan, towards the conclusion of the seven hundred and seventy fifth of the Hidjerah: and in seven hundred and seventy six, that part of the city which lay along the Tigris, being overwhelmed by an extraordinary inundation of the river, near forty thousand of the inhabitants perished among the ruins. Khaujah Serour is said to have been so deeply affected by this unforeseen calamity, as to have died of grief; on which his government was transferred to Wejeiah-ud-dein Ismâeil, the son of Nejeib-ud-dein the Vezzeir.

Towards the end of the latter Rebbeia of the same year, the 776th of the Hidjerah,* Sûltan Aweiss was attacked by a severe and dangerous disorder, from which he never recovered. According to the relation of Hauffez Abrû, he had been apprized of the period of his death for three months previous to the attack which produced it; and he had in consequence, made every arrangement preparatory to the awful crisis, even to his shroud and coffin. The symptoms of his approaching dissolution became, at last, sufficiently visible to all, and the Ameirs and officers of his court assembled round the pillow of their amiable sovereign, to receive his dying instructions. The Sûltan expressed a desire that the succession to the supreme power, should be considered to have devolved to his son Hûsseyne, and the government of Baghdâd and western Irâk to Sheikh Hussun; but, as the latter was the elder brother, he left them to decide, whether he would submit to such an arrangement. The courtiers considering this a sufficient warrant for their proceedings, hastened to secure the person of Hussun, whom they immediately threw into imprisonment. The Sûltan breathed his last, on the night of the second of the latter Jummaudy ;† and the devoted Hussun was the same night, dispatched to accompany the spirit of his father.

Sûltan HÛSSEYNE, the son of Aweiss, third of the Eylkhaunians.

* September, 1374. † November 7th, 1374.

The succession thus secured to him by the assassination of his elder brother, Sûltan Hûsseyne ascended the throne of Tebreiz without opposition, immediately confirming to the several Ameirs, the honors and appointments which they had held under the authority of his father; and, if the advantages of a person uncommonly handsome, and of eloquence to command universal esteem and obedience, had been sufficient to ensure a prosperous and splendid reign, the new monarch is described to have possessed these qualifications in a very eminent degree.

A. H. 776-77. A. D. 1374-75. Habeib-us-seyr.

SULTAN HUSSEYNE, IIId of the Eylkhaunians.

Early in the spring of the seven hundred and seventy seventh of the Hidjerah, Sûltan Hûsseyne conducted a force against the possessions of Behram Khaujah, and Kâra Mahommed, the Tûrkmans; who had by this time established themselves at Arjis, or Arjish, and in the territory adjoining, north westward, to the lake of Van. Having witnessed the successive reduction of many of their castles, the Tûrkman chiefs, finally submitted to a treaty, under which they engaged, by way of tribute, to furnish the Sûltan with an annual supply of twenty thousand sheep. In the course of the same year he was, however defeated with great loss, at Jermaukhan, by Shah Shûjia, the son of Mahommed of the race of Mûzuffur, the Shirauzian, and compelled to fly to Baghdâd. But when he had continued, for a period of about three months, to enjoy the fruits of his victory at Tebreiz, Shah Shûjia being recalled to Shirauz, to oppose the hostile designs of his brother Yaheya, Sûltan Hûsseyne hastened to avail himself of the opportunity to regain his capital.

Subsequent to this, for some time at least, the Sûltan appears to have resigned himself to his pleasures; and removing from Tebreiz to Oujaun, he fixed his permanent residence at the latter place, inviting Aadel Aga from Sûltauniah to take upon himself the entire management of the government; and this the latter accordingly proceeded to exercise with unlimited controul.

Such a delegation of authority proved, however, as had been experienced on a variety of former occasions, the source of serious discontent among the Ameirs; and a combination was soon concerted among them to ruin the minister. In order to assist in the execution of their design, they undertook to reçal from Syria, whither he had been ban-

A. H. 780-82. A. D. 1378-80. Habeib-us-seyr.

ished for life by the Sûltan, a certain Kauzy Sheikh Ally; and soon after the return of this person, they proceeded in the course of some public discussion of affairs, to declare to Aadel Aga, that although they had hitherto acquiesced without remonstrance in the authority which he had been chosen to exercise, they were now come to a resolution no longer to submit to it. The Aga replied, with apparent unconcern, that they were perfectly at discretion to judge for themselves; and immediately quitting the assembly repaired to his own mansion, and from thence, without giving them time to deliberate on their further plans, made the best of his way to Sûltauniah. The factious chiefs repented, when too late, that they had suffered an adversary so dangerous to escape the toils; and they employed an agent to endeavor, by every concession in their power to make, to prevail upon him to return. The minister was, however, not to be imposed upon by professions so insidious, and continued his journey without remission, until he reached the plain under the walls of Sûltauniah. Soon after he had thus escaped from his enemies, he gave protection to Shah Munsûr, who had fled from Shirauz to avoid the resentment of his brother Shah Shujia; and he obtained the government of Hamadaun for the fugitive.

Sûltan Hûsseyne, under considerable alarm with respect to the ultimate views of his Ameirs, on the flight of Aadel Aga, availed himself of the pretence of a ride to the country, to withdraw as suddenly from Oujaun, and to hasten with all the celerity of which he was capable, to Tebreiz; where he immediately prepared to defend himself, by barricading the streets and entrances into the town. On the elopement of the Sûltan, the seditious nobles threw off all further restraint; and having distributed the contents of the treasury and arsenals among their followers, proceeded straight for Baghdâd. In the mean time, intelligence of their movements was early conveyed by the Sûltan to Aadel Aga; and they were pursued by that minister, accompanied by Shah Munsûr the Shirauzian, without delay, at the head of five thousand horse. They were overtaken by the advanced guard of these troops under Shah Munsûr, at the station of Altûnkoua; and part of them having dispersed for safety, the remainder claimed the protection of Munsûr, who unguardedly promised them their lives. Kauzy

Sheikh Ally and others of the disaffected Ameirs, who had thus surrendered themselves, were now conducted to the camp of Aadel Aga, who immediately hastened in charge of them towards Tebreiz. When he reached Meraughah, on the way to that metropolis, in consequence of a letter from the Sûltan written in letters of gold with his own hand, the minister, however, in spite of the most serious remonstrances on the part of Shah Munsûr, who had pledged himself for their personal safety, directed the whole of the prisoners to be put to death; with the exception of the factious Kauzy, who contrived to redeem himself from the sword of the executioner, at the expence of one hundred tomauns.* Shah Munsûr immediately withdrew to Hamadaun, highly offended at the disregard with which his intercession in behalf of the rebellious Ameirs, had been thus treated; while Aadel Aga continued his march to Tebreiz, where additional favors awaited him from the gratitude of his sovereign.

A. H. 780-82. A. D. 1378-80. Habeib-us-seyr.

On the death of Khaujah Serour, Ameir Ismâeil, the son of the Vezzeir Zekkareia, had, as formerly noticed, succeeded to the government of Baghdâd. Having, however, by his indiscriminate advancement of individuals of low birth and vicious morals, given considerable offence to Shahzâdah Sheikh Ally the son of Sûltan Aweiss, who resided there at this period in a private capacity, Ameir Ismâeil was unexpectedly, attacked on his way to the principal mosque, one Friday in the 782d of the Hidjerah, and assassinated, by the man who bore his quiver; and his uncle, in endeavoring to assist him against the murderer, shared his fate. The assassin and his accomplices hastened immediately to the presence of the Shahzâdah to announce what had passed; without, however, obtaining credit for their information, until they had returned for the head of the fallen chief, which was then suspended to the end of a beam in the walls of his own palace. On this subject, it is described as a remarkable circumstance, that while he was one day superintending the progress of the building, a carpenter was about to cut off the end of this very beam, because it projected through the wall; when Ismâeil himself interposed with the observation

* There would be considerable difficulty in deciding what this might amount to. The tomaun of the present day, (1799) is estimated at about thirty half crowns. But the tomaun taken at ten thousand, would make the sum one million; whether of dinaurs or direms, must yet be doubtful. T.

A. H. 782. A. D. 1380. Habeib-us-seyr.

that it might one time or other, serve some such purpose as that to which it was now applied, little dreaming that he was unconsciously prognosticating the fate of his own head.

When these proceedings became known at Tebreiz, Sûltan Hûsseyne yielded with a good grace to confer the government of Baghdâd upon his brother; assuring him in the letters which accompanied the patent of investiture, that he could not entertain the slightest objection to his assuming the authority which had thus incidentally fallen to him; he should only recommend it as a measure of expedience, that some nobleman of rank and talents might be retained about his person, in order to superintend the discipline of the soldiery, and watch over the peace and tranquillity of the people at large; and for this object, any person of that class whom he thought fit to name, should be immediately directed to attend his orders. The agent employed to convey these dispatches, returned to his master highly gratified with the reception which he had experienced from the Shahzâdah; although the latter proceeded to exercise his own discretion, in his choice of the officers of his government; bestowing the charge of the Vizzaurut upon Abdulmêlek Tûmghatchei, and raising the murderers of Ameir Ismâeil to the most distinguished appointments under his authority.

Finding, however, on experience, that his affairs derived but little advancement from the exertions of such men as these, Sheikh Ally at last directed his views towards Peir Ally Baudek, the governor of Shûshter on the part of Shah Shûjia the Shirauzian; who had formerly served among his stipendiaries, and whom he now invited to Baghdâd. Peir Ally gladly accepted the invitation, and was invested by the Shahzâdah on his arrival, with the uncontrouled administration of the government; and he succeeded in a short time, in reducing the whole of Arabian Irâk under the authority of his employer.

This was an extension of power, that did not exactly square with the views of Sûltan Hûsseyne and his minister; and, accordingly, as soon as he had assembled and equipped a sufficient force for the expedition, that prince proceeded, in the spring of the seven hundred and eighty second of the Hidjerah,* towards Baghdâd. Shahzâdah Sheikh Ally, and his minister abandoned the place, at his approach, without resistance, and retired to Shûshter, the capital of Khûzistaun; whi-

* A.D. 1380.

ther, had the intreaties of Aadel Aga availed, they would have been immediately pursued by the undivided force of the Tebrizians to their entire extermination. But, the habits of debauchery to which the Sûltan was become now deplorably devoted, irresistibly attracted him to Baghdâd; while Aadel Aga, with a part only of the army, proceeded, under considerable dissatisfaction of mind, towards Shûshter. There in a short time, he concluded a treaty with the enemy; only stipulating, that the Shahzâdah should for the future confine himself to the territory of Shûshter, and the province of Khûzistaun, without interfering any more with the government of Baghdâd. Aadel Aga rejoined Sûltan Hûsseyne on the tenth of Zilhudge ;* but perceiving in the monarch no disposition to abandon his effeminate courses, he left him for the last time; and with the troops of his own government, returned to Sûltauniah, where he proceeded to exercise without restraint, all the powers of independent authority.

A. H. 782-83. A. D. 1380-81. Habeib-us-seyr.

Not long afterwards, the principal inhabitants of Baghdâd, with a remittance of four hundred tomauns in specie, conveyed to Shahzadah Sheikh Ally, and his minister at Shûshter, an invitation to return and resume his authority among them. This, they did not conceive themselves under any engagement to decline; and they accordingly advanced without further delay into Arabian Irâk. The effeminate Sûltan Hûsseyne contented himself with dispatching two of his generals, Mahmûd Dowauty, and Omar Keptchauky, to oppose the design; but these commanders being defeated with great slaughter, and taken prisoners, by Peir Ally Baudek, the Sûltan quitted Baghdâd on intelligence of the disaster, with a precipitation which partook of all the circumstances of a disgraceful flight. Making, however, the best of his way towards Tebreiz, he ultimately contrived to reach that place in safety, after experiencing a thousand difficulties, and being reduced to practice a thousand shifts and expedients.

About the period at which Sûltan Hûsseyne returned to Tebreiz, in these circumstances of defeat and distress, Aadel Aga was employed in recovering some of the castles in the territory of Rey, which had been taken possession of by Ameir Wully; who had by this time extended his authority from Jûrjaun into Mazanderaun westwards. Disregarding all considerations of personal hazard, in order to concili-

* March 5th, 1381.

A. H. 784. A. D. 1382. Habeib-us-seyr.

ate, and perhaps restore to himself the confidence of Aadel Aga, the Sûltan did not hesitate to detach to his support the greater part of the troops of his province; thus resigning the protection of himself and his capital, to a very slender and in-competent force. Such was his situation, when in the early part of the seven hundred and eighty fourth of the Hidjerah, his brother Sûltan Ahmed, sufficiently celebrated under the title of Sûltan Ahmed Jullâeir, than whom in audacity of mind, according to our author, this earth has seldom produced the equal, carried away by an unprincipled ambition of power, suddenly quitted Tebreiz and took the road to Ardebeil, which he held in jagueir, or feudal subjection under the authority of his brother. From Ardebeil, in spite of every solicitation on the part of Sûltan Hûsseyne to return, he proceeded towards Moghaûn, and from thence into the peninsula of Aran, between the Cyrus and Araxes, where he succeeded in assembling a body of troops; and at the head of these he now retraced his steps towards the metropolis of Azerbâijaun. On the fifteenth of Suffur of the seven hundred and eighty fourth of the Hidjerah,* he entered that metropolis by surprise; and although the unhappy Sûltan contrived to conceal himself in the first moments of alarm, he was however early discovered, and the same night condemned to die, through the merciless rigour of an unfeeling brother.

This prince appears to have enjoyed his precarious sovereignty for a period of eight years, five months, and two and twenty days; but, if the representation of some historians be true, that, notwithstanding his acknowledged singular endowments, he was not only immoderately addicted to his pleasures, but guilty of actions equally inconsistent with the dignity of a monarch, and unworthy of his character as a man, his fate could not have been either long, or extensively lamented.

Sûltan Ahmed Jullaeir, and Sultan Bayezzid, last of the Eylkhaunians.

Sultan Ahmed Jullaeir, last of the Eylkhaunians.

It is here repeated that Sûltan Ahmed the son of Aweiss, was a prince not less distinguished for his singular audacity, than for his sanguinary and turbulent spirit, the gloominess of his mind, and the unrelenting cruelty and injustice of his disposition. With these qualities, he is however allowed to have possessed from nature some very considerable endowments, and in particular he is described to have been

* April 29th, 1382.

an unrivalled proficient in music. But without entering further into the discussion of these points, which cannot at present be very material, the author proceeds to state, that however he had stained the palace of Tebreiz with the blood of one brother, there yet remained another in Sûltan Bayezzid, who with some difficulty contrived to effect his escape to Sûltauniah, to dispute his claims to the sovereign power. A. H. 784. A. D. 1382. Habeib-us-seyr.

At that place Sûltan Bayezzid was received with distinction and regard by Aadel Aga, who declared in support of his authority; which he immediately prepared to assert with all the force of his government. Aadel Aga was accordingly soon on his march towards Tebreiz, having first, on some jealousy or other, found it expedient to confine the person of Shah Munsûr the Shirauzian, to the fortress of Kerrautû. Being however deserted on his arrival at the town of Miaunah, by Yaughy Baussety the son of Ally Aynauk, and Abû Sâeid the son of Deher Melek, these two chiefs conveyed intelligence of his approach and that of Bayezzid, to Sûltan Ahmed; and the latter, whose power was as yet but imperfectly established, very gladly availed himself of this early information, to abandon Tebreiz; which was, shortly afterwards, entered without resistance, by Aadel Aga and his royal associate. Consigning the government of Tebreiz to Abbas Aga and Mûssaufer Boudatchei, Aadel Aga continued his march to Marend; from whence he detached two of his captains, Mahmûd Dowauty, and Kâra Bostaum, towards the Araxes, or Oras, with orders to establish themselves on that river, and to seize and fortify the bridge of Zeia-ul-mûlk. All which was accomplished without difficulty.

In the mean time, Sûltan Ahmed contrived to open a secret correspondence with these two commanders, as well as with Abbas and Mûssaufer, who had been left in charge of Tebreiz; and he finally succeeded in persuading them, that the services which they rendered to another were justly due to himself alone. This change of disposition on the part of his followers, was by some means or other intimated to Aadel Aga, and he conceived it prudent to return without delay to Sûltauniah; while Sûltan Ahmed, on intelligence of his retreat, dispatched Hamzah, one of his generals, accompanied by Yaughy Baussety, and Abû Sâeid recently mentioned, towards Tebreiz. These chiefs, on approaching the neighborhood of that city, and observing from afar the

A. H. 784-85: A. D. 1382-83. Habeib-us-seyr.

column of troops under Mûssaufer and Abbas, who were marching to join Sûltan Ahmed, mutually expressed an apprehension, that if Abbas and his collegue, who were both of the same national stock with the Sûltan, that of Jullâeir, were once admitted to a familiar intercourse with the prince, the result must necessarily prove, an acquisition of influence over his councils, far superior to any thing to which they could pretend. It was therefore determined at once to set their minds at rest on this point, before the objects of their jealousy were suffered to proceed any further; and the two chiefs were accordingly put to death, at the conference which necessarily took place, and before they had yet opened their lips in explanation of their designs. The heads of the two commanders were conveyed to Sûltan Ahmed; who thought fit, since the act was past redemption, and however privately he disapproved of it, for the present to dissemble his resentment. He soon afterwards re-entered Tebreiz, and for some time devoted his attention to regulate the government, and to conciliate the minds of the people.

He had not, however, been long thus laudably engaged, when suddenly interrupted in his pursuits, by reports repeatedly announced of the approach of Shahzâdah Sheikh Ally, and Peir Ally Baudek; who had been drawn into Azerbâijaun by the insidious representations of Aadel Aga. The Sûltan hastened to oppose, and to give them battle; which he was enabled to do, on the banks of the huft-roud, or seven rivers; but, his left wing being thrown into confusion by the unexpected desertion of Omar the Keptchaukian, who went over to the enemy, he was totally defeated, and compelled to retire by the route of Khowy, to Nakhtchûaun. Here, however, at the tomb of Peir Mahommed Nakhtchûauny, he had an interview with Kâra Mahommed the Tûrkman, whose aid he earnestly solicited to obtain vengeance on his enemies.

The Tûrkman chief expressed his readiness to embark in his quarrel; stipulating, however, that the Sûltan should on his part engage, first, that his troops, when the enemy were brought to action, should remain inactive spectators, at a place which at the proper period would be pointed out to them, and so continue until with his own followers the Tûrkman should have decided the victory; and secondly, that in the event of success, he should relinquish all claim to share in the booty,

whatever it might prove. To both these stipulations Sûltan Ahmed subscribed without difficulty. On which, with an address which evinced considerable skill in the art of war, the Tûrkman proceeded to form a body of five thousand men, drawn together for the occasion, into separate Kûshûns, or battalions of three hundred each; and subdividing each Kûshûn into sections of thirty men, he further directed that these should advance to gall the enemy with their arrows, in distinct parties of ten; alternately retiring and relieved by the succeeding parties in rotation, until the issue of the contest should be determined. In this disposition Kâra Mahommed gave battle to the Shahzâdah Sheikh Ally, and Peir Ally Baudek; both of whom falling in the course of the action, the Tûrkmans obtained a signal victory, and returned to their stations, with an immense booty. Sûltan Ahmed again repossessed himself of Tebreiz; and in derision of his attempts to subvert his authority, transmitted the head of Peir Ally, to Aadel Aga at Sûltauniah.

A. H. 784-85. A. D. 1382-83. Habeib-us-seyr.

Shortly afterwards, however, Aadel Aga was again on his march for Tebreiz; but some mutual proposals towards an accommodation intervening, the Sûltan had been induced to dispatch two of his officers to hold a conferrence with his adversaries, and by the mysteries of their common faith, to confirm the basis of a treaty of peace. Nevertheless, while he was expecting the return of his agents, the Sûltan was suddenly apprized that Aadel Aga was at hand; and becoming alarmed at intelligence which he was not prepared to receive, another flight to Nakhtchûaun, Moghaun, and Aran, was found unavoidable, and his last alternative was an application to Hoshung prince of Shirvaun. In the mean time, Aadel Aga took up his quarters at Oujaun; where the Ameirs of the province in general submitted to him, and were received with equal kindness and distinction. Such was the situation of affairs, when through the mediation of Ameir Hoshung, a treaty was at last concluded between the hostile chiefs; by which it was finally arranged that Azerbâijaun should be ceded in full sovereignty to Sûltan Ahmed; Irâk Ajem to Sûltan Bayezzid; and that Aadel Aga should be associated with Sûltan Ahmed, in the possession of Arabian Irâk.

Returning to Sûltauniah upon this arrangement, an application was conveyed to Aâdel Aga from the principal inhabitants of Baghdâd,

A. H. 785 86. A. D. 1383. Habeib-us-seyr.

soliciting that a person in his confidence might attend them to that city; and engaging that they would undertake to secure the whole of it, in his behalf. In consequence of this, Tûrsoun, a couzin german of his own, of established character and reputation in arms, was selected by Aadel Aga, to accompany the persons who had promoted the application into Arabian Irâk, and, with Kowaum-ud-dein Alenjeky as his deputy, to assume the government of Baghdâd. On his arrival, Abdulmêlek Tûmghatchei, who was in the temporary exercise of authority, attended by the party concerned in the assassination of Ameir Ismâeil, proceeded to visit the new governor; and, with all who accompanied him, was immediately put to death. A treasure of two thousand tomauns found in his dwelling, became the prey of an indigent and rapacious multitude; and the whole city being upon this abandoned to sedition and outrage, the money which had been collected for Aadel Aga disappeared in the universal uproar that ensued.

Intelligence of these disorders and usurpations being, however, early conveyed to Sûltan Ahmed, now at Tebreiz, he hastened without delay to put an end to them. On the march, he was joined by Shah Munsûr the Shirauzian, who had contrived to effect his escape from Kerrautû; and Tûrsoun, having fled from Baghdâd, in the direction of Yakoubiah, on the approach of the Sûltan, he was immediately pursued and overtaken, and a few days afterwards perished, together with his deputy, by the sword of the executioner.

Having passed the winter at Baghdâd, Sûltan Ahmed returned in the spring of seven hundred and eighty five,* into Azerbâijaun; leaving Shah Munsûr the Shirauzian, whom he never saw again, well established in the countries on the Tigris, and the metropolis of Baghdad under the separate government of Khaujah Yaheya the Semnaunian. In the neighborhood of Meraughah, he was now opposed in battle by the troops of Aadel Aga; whom he appears to have defeated with considerable slaughter. Aadel Aga retiring upon this to his government of Sûltauniah, the Sûltan proceeded to Oujaun; and advancing shortly afterwards with accelerated speed in pursuit of the Aga, that chief withdrew at his approach; and entrusting the defence of his capital to one in whose fidelity he thought he could rely, made the best of his way to Hamadaun. From that place he immediately dispatched to solicit the assistance of Shah Shujia prince of Shirauz.

* A. D. 1383.

Shah Shujia embraced with avidity the opportunity thus presented, of extending his power into Azerbâijaun; and conducting his troops immediately to the station of Oukaun, he was there joined by Sûltan Bayezzid and Aadel Aga, whom he accompanied shortly afterwards into Hamadaun. At that place the agents of Sûltan Ahmed now also presented themselves, to demand an interview with the prince of Shirauz; at which they declared on the part of their master, that so far as related to Sûltan Bayezzid his hereditary superior, he was not in the slightest degree disposed to withhold from him, his just share of power; and that he would very cheerfully subscribe to any arrangement which Shah Shujia might think it equitable to dictate on that head. But, with respect to Aadel, that he was a refractory and rebellious vassal, who had insidiously availed himself of the Shah's protection; and he trusted that he would neither be encouraged in his audacity, nor enabled to execute his unprincipled designs of usurpation. Having already conceived the design of discarding Aadel Aga, and of obtaining possession of Sûltauniah for himself, in the name of Sûltan Bayezzid, Shah Shujia proceeded to disclose these views with little reserve to the agents of Sûltan Ahmed; and the plan was finally resolved on between them. The first indication of some such secret arrangement, was an order from Shah Shujia, that the Tebrizian Ameirs in the service of Sûltan Bayezzid, should discontinue their visits to Aadel Aga.

A. H. 785-86. A. D. 1383-84. Habeib-us-seyr.

Sûltan Ahmed now withdrew to Tebreiz; while his brother Bayezzid, accompanied by Ibrauhim Shah, and Abdulkereim, two of the officers of Shah Shujia, to whom he had engaged to assign the entire administration of his government, took the road to Sûltauniah; the Shirauzian, on his part, confiding to this engagement, proceeding to Shûshter, the capital of Khûzistaun, anciently Susa. On their arrival at Sûltauniah, nevertheless, Omar Keptchauky, and Mahommed Jemsheid, two principal commanders in the service of Sûltan Bayezzid, proceeded to dispute both the policy and expediency of committing either town or citadel, to the discretion of Shah Shujia's officers; and the result was, that these officers were designedly lodged in a confined and sequestered part of the city, while the Sûltan and his court took possession of the citadel, without further attending to their situation in the slightest degree. Hence, reduced to extremity for the

A. H. 785-86. A. D. 1383-84. Habeib-us-seyr.

very means of existence; both Ibrauhim Shah and Abdulkereim, were compelled in the depth of winter to make the best of their way to Shirauz.

When he had, however, continued in the exercise of his authority for a period of fifteen days, Sûltan Bayezzid, most unexpectedly, and apparently without provocation, put to death Omar the Keptchaukian, one of his most distinguished captains; and this act of capricious cruelty filling the rest of his officers with suspicion and alarm, they all immediately fled his court. And, intelligence of his brother's folly being soon conveyed to Sûltan Ahmed, that prince repaired without delay to Sûltauniah; and having obtained possession of the citadel by capitulation, he immediately placed it in a respectable state of defence, and established his son Keybouga, a child of two, or perhaps of ten years old, in the government, under the tutelage of Tchobaun Kourtchei, possibly his chief engineer. After which consigning the territorial management to Sheikh Mahmûd Jandaur, the Sûltan returned to Tebreiz, compelling his brother Bayezzid to bear him company.

In these circumstances rumour widely circulated the intelligence, that the irresistible TEYMUR was on his march towards Irâk and Azerbâijaun; and not long afterwards, the envoys of that celebrated conqueror, made their appearance at Tebreiz. Sûltan Ahmed, however, declined seeing them until he should have removed to Baghdâd; for which city he immediately directed that they should proceed under a proper escort, while he followed himself, at his own convenience. Aadel Aga, whose enterprising ambition continued still unsubdued by adverse contingencies, hastened to avail himself of the absence of the Sûltan, and once more obtained possession of Sûltauniah; and being immediately joined by many thousands in arms, proceeded to fortify and secure himself in that city. This produced a renewal of hostilities between him and Sûltan Ahmed; in which while they were yet engaged, the gilded crescents on the standards of Teymûr announced the actual arrival of that monarch on the frontiers of Farss and Irâk Ajem, and drew the attention of the hostile chiefs, from the efforts of mutual extermination, to contend with the more dreadful evils of foreign invasion.

A. H. 786-812
A. D. 1384-1409

After having maintained an unequal contest with the armies of Teymur, for a period of considerable duration, Sûltan Ahmed was at last constrained to fly for protection to the court of Bajezet, the fourth of the Othmanlû, or Ottoman Turks. (Eylderim Bayezîd—Bayezid the thunderbolt,) with whom he continued, until that prince was called upon to defend his own dominions, on the approach of the same invincible conqueror. He then in company with Kara Yussuf the Turkman, who had also sought the protection of Bajezet, secretly so called, withdrew through Syria into Egypt. The Sûltan of Egypt, Al Melik Feridje, treated them for some time, with friendly hospitality; but ultimately threw them into prison, with the design of conveying them in chains to the presence of the Tchegatâian conqueror. But while he was preparing to carry his design into execution, it was fortunately ascertained that death had terminated the fearful career of Teymûr; and the two chiefs were immediately set at large, and permitted to make the best of their way, Sûltan Ahmed into Arabian Irâk, and Kara Yussuf into Azerbâijaun respectively. Sûltan Ahmed contrived without much difficulty to regain the capital of Irâk; and Kara Yussuf was equally successful in regaining Azerbâijaun. But the Turkman chief having soon gone to be absent on an expedition to the borders of western Anatolia, his ally, Sûltan Ahmed the partner of his exile, and the associate of his misfortunes, in direct violation of his engagements, availed himself of the advantage, to enter Azerbâijaun, and take possession of Tebreiz. This profligate breach of contract was not long without its punishment. Kara Yussuf returned from his expedition, and at the distance of two farsangs, or about eight miles from Tebreiz, on Friday the twenty-fifth of the latter Rebbea, of the 819th of the Hidjerah,* gave battle to his faithless ally. In this Sûltan Ahmed was totally defeated, and endeavoring to conceal himself within the city, he was the same night discovered and put to death by his indignant conqueror; who having held a precarious authority, for seven and twenty years four months and ten days. With him terminated the power of the family of Ilkanat, which commenced, as we have already seen, with Ameir Hussan the Eylkhanian, the son in law of Ameir Tchobanu Yeldûz so often mentioned in the preceding pages.

* September 6th, 1409.

A. H. 812.
A. D. 1409.
Hepsibus-
ogy.

The concluding events of the reign of Sûltan Ahmed Jullâeir, have been thus briefly anticipated, in order to hasten to the more important subject of the history of *Teymûr*; which will be presented to the reader in the subsequent volume—if it be permitted to the author of these pages to hope for the continuation of life and health, to prosecute his design to its termination.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

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